WORKERS VANGUARD

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 271 2 January 1981

Wide World

Baltimore, September 1980—10,000 people apply for 70 jobs.

Reagan's "Honeymoon":

Inflation, Recession, Austerity

As Ronald Reagan, the consummate Cold War brinksman, moves into the White House, the economy is on the brink, Central America is on the brink, and, of course, the permanent hostage crisis undulates to the brink and back. It has become a cliché that Reagan faces the worst economic situation since FDR took office in 1933, but talk of a national "economic emergency" program was dispelled as soon as it was mentioned by a Reagan aide. Reagan did not plan to take "extra-legal" steps, assured Edwin Meese III, big shot of the transition team. And on December 24, Reagan's most prestigious economic adviser, former Federal Reserve head Arthur Burns, warned that there is no sense talking now about an economic emergency when a "real one" is on the way.

While right-wing true believers may have thought they put their man in the White House, economic policy is firmly in the hands of Wall Street, not the Orange County Chamber of Commerce. The New Right is understandably upset that the new treasury secretary is Donald Regan, chairman of Merill, Lynch stockbrokers,

continued on page 8

For Sit-Down Strikes!
Restore Parity With Ford and GM!

No Concession to Chrysler Blackmail!

Once again snapping the whip of threatened company bankruptcy, Chrysler in league with the federal government is leading an assault on a basic principle of trade unionism—equal pay for equal work. Sensing the UAW leadership's timidity, now Ford too has stated it will follow Chrysler in a wage-cutting, benefit-slashing offensive the likes of which the UAW has never yet seen. As we warned a year ago, the Chrysler bailout was the opening wedge of a capitalist drive to gut the union. This is not just a matter of solidarity with the brothers in Chrysler now under the gun; it is a matter of life and death for the United Automobile Workers. Beat back the Chrysler/bankers/government attack—restore parity with Ford and GM!

"At Chrysler, at least, no more automatic wage increases tied to inflation," chairman Lee Iacocca decreed on December 17, and he went on from arrogance to insult: "Boys, you've been the highest paid group of guys in the world.... It's freeze time, boys. Chrysler's got good jobs available at $17.50. We don't have 'em at $20." Tossing aside any pretense of negotiating, he lectured about the workers' "binge" and warned that the freeze plan was "rigid." As for the 45,000 Chrysler workers on indefinite layoff, Iacocca had nothing to say (*Detroit News* and *Detroit Free Press*, 18 December 1980). Thus, the Chrysler chairman unilaterally ripped up the sweetheart contract negotiated last year. It just wasn't sweet enough for him.

But for auto workers, it was a sellout of sellouts. As we wrote at the time:

> "In the old days before unions, when a company lost money it turned to the workers and told them: take a wage cut or you're out on the street. Eliminating this cutthroat practice was one of the main goals of the great CIO organizing drive in the 1930s. Equal pay for equal work, regardless of profits or losses of a particular capitalist employer, was and is a basic principle of industrial unionism. But with Chrysler facing bankruptcy, the Fraser bureaucracy...has brought back the 'pay cut or walk' era."
>
> —"Chrysler Bailout Bleeds Workers," *WV* No. 246, 28 December 1979

About half the workers got a pay cut, the other half got their pink slips.

Since the company continues to lose

continued on page 8

AP

Workers must not pay for unsold Chryslers.

Italy: Struggle for Power

Milano
22 Decemher 1980

To the editor:

Would you bring to your readers' attention the article on the FIAT strike appearing in *Le Bolchévik* [paper of the French section of the international Spartacist tendency]. Though most of the article duplicates "Italian CP Knifes FIAT Strike," *WV* No. 270, 12 Decemher 1980, the longer *Le Bolchévik* article includes additional political material emphasizing the centrality of the Transitional Program in leading the class struggles of the militant Italian proletariat to decisive victory.

Parodi
for the Lega Trotskista d'Italia

WV replies: See below for material from *Le Bolchévik* No. 21.

EXCERPTS FROM LE BOLCHEVIK, JANUARY 1981

...In Italy [capitalist "austerity"] meant a direct attack on the conquests of the "Hot Autumn" of 1969 when the bosses conceded demands going to the limits of militant trade unionism, and beyond, in order to cut short a mushrooming pre-revolutionary situation that was spreading down the peninsula from the huge FIAT works in Torino. These concessions had placed Italian capitalism in an excruciating contradiction, impossible to maintain over the long run.

So long as the economy was on the upswing, the bourgeoisie could tolerate—against its will—far-reaching union power at the factory level. But caught in the throes of a deepening international depression, FIAT & Co. went on the warpath against the gains of '69, demanding that the laws of capitalist economic rationality finally be applied. To *win* this crucial strike it was necessary to mobilize the working class, throwing Italy into a pre-revolutionary crisis and pointing with a series of transitional demands toward the proletarian rule in which *socialist* economic rationality would prevent massive unemployment and huge pay cuts. But since the present misleaders of the workers movement *oppose* the overthrow of the bottomlessly corrupt, bankrupt Italian ruling class, they went the other road, sabotaging the FIAT strike and leading it down to defeat. The consequences of their treachery will be felt by workers throughout West Europe....

The inability to answer Agnelli's frontal attack on the gains of the workers movement revealed again the glaring crisis of revolutionary leadership. Against the economic chaos and destruction being wrought by moribund capitalism, in Italy today the need is posed pointhlank for a planned economy based on collectivized property. Yet once again, as during the Torino factory occupations of 1920 and the "Hot Autumn" of 1969, the workers movement has failed to transcend a syndicalist form of militant reformism and assert its will to rule. Endlessly demanding "more" amounts to declaring a permanent strike while the workers continue receiving pay and the petty bourgeoisie grows increasingly desperate. Continuing this impossible situation will simply produce a big fascist movement as the capitalists insist on the iron necessity of smashing the bourgeois-democratic framework in order tn restore "profitability." Clearly this is what the ominous anti-union back-to-work march at FIAT could lead to, and that is why Berlinguer & Co. went into panicky retrèat.

Nowhere is the need more evident for the Trotskyist Transitinnal Program of proletarian revolution. The FIAT strike begins as a trade-union struggle, hut in order to succeed class-struggle policies are urgently needed pointing to a working-class seizure of power. Against galloping inflation and looming mass layoffs, the present wage "indexation" and unemployment insurance are wholly inadequate. What is needed is a genuine *sliding scale of wages and hours*, extended to cover previously non-unionized wage earners as well. Rather than the contradictory "factory council unions" (*sindicati dei consigli*), the hybrid synthesis of the "conquests of '69," communists must demand the imposition of *workers control*, i.e., dual power at the factory level. And instead of calls for PCI "participation" in the government, reinforcing the rickety bourgeois state with the "clean hands" of a popular front, there must be a *workers government* of soviets. That is what it will take to expropriate FIAT, the bellwether of Italian private capital....

The combativity repeatedly displayed by the Italian working class over the last dozen years has not yielded a leadership to match this quality. Nor will more militant struggle alone produce such a leadership. Yet the conditions are present for the rapid building of a Bolshevik-Leninist, Trotskyist party. As a result of the 1969 upsurge Italy saw the largest growth of centrist groups in all West Europe, embracing tens of thousands of militants seeking to break with the dead-end reformism of the PCI. Here also was the home of "proletarian" urban guerrillaism à la Red Brigades, also growing out of leftist frustration with the phony communism of Berlinguer & Co. The Trotskyist Transitional Program is crucial to break through the impasse of popular frontism and terrorist despair.... ■

SWP Scurrying Over FBI Informer

New York, N.Y.
November 15, 1980

Dear Spartacist League:

Enclosed you will find the draft of a position paper I have written for the North American Man/Boy Love Association on the topic of man/boy love and feminism. This is for your information....

I also enclose a copy of an introduction I have written to a new publication of internal SWP documents on gay liberation, to be published as a book fairly soon by Steve Forgione and Kurt Hill, both former SWP members who are gay. Their book will pick up where the one I put out in 1976 left off—that is, from 1974 to 1979, the last discussion on gay lib within SWP for the foreseeable future, no doubt. I don't think they have very many queers left inside the group, which is not surprising. My introduction is a bit bitchy, perhaps, but entirely accurate, I believe, in assessing why the SWP behaved the way it did in implementing its "turn" to the "working class."

I thought the Workers Vanguard article (Nov. 14, 1980 issue) on Ed Heisler was quite good. Having read Seigle's internal "security" report, I think, if anything, you could have punched away a little harder. It looks to me like there's a lot of scurrying around going on over there at SWP. So far, interestingly enough, they haven't uncovered any FBI informants or pigs involved in the various internal SWP struggles on gay liberation, but here they come up with one who helped them to implement their "turn" to the "working class," which they attempted to use against involvement in gay liberation. The key and most interesting question is why Heisler revealed this information at this time and in this way. Maybe he's going to testify as a government witness if the SWP trial ever comes up. Or maybe—speculation only, of course—the government wants to protect agents it has placed even higher up in the SWP apparatus. I find it hard to believe that the greatest influence they were able to acquire after decades of effort was Heisler, but who knows? Anyway, Seigle's report surely fell short of his own personal capabilities, I believe. It just goes to show what hacks the SWP leadership have become.

Incidentally, you may get a charge out of this. I know I did. In August of this year, I am reliably told that the New York local of the SWP heard a "security report" (?!) which was followed by a vote to ban several New Yorkers from any future SWP forums or public events. These individuals included myself, Steve Forginne, Kurt Hill, and John Lauritsen. The SWP is really insane. At least now I know I'll have all my Friday nights free. Still, I haven't been to one of their forums for more than a year and a half. What are they afraid of?...

Yours for freedom and socialism,
David Thorstad

What About the "Trend"?

Minneapolis, Minnesota
Decemher 6, 1980

Dear Spartacist,

Maybe the incomparahle polemicists of the Spartacist League are getting a little rusty or they just choose to ignore developments in "the Trend," but I urge you to consider some kind of polemics against it. Sad as it may be, this rump of the new left is about the only barely living thing in the Stalinist movement, and is attempting to estahlish a new round of Stalinoid/Maoid groups. I must quote yourselves in the pamphlet, "China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism":

> "Thus the main challenge to Trotskyism will come not from the dwindling band of post-Angola hard-line Maoists, but from the critical Maoists, dissident Maoists and ex-Maoists. A main orientation of Trotskyists at present must be to prevent the deep crisis of Maoism from dissipating itself in a new layer of nationally limited, impressionistic, inherently unstable Stalinoid formations."

Couldn't have been said better. The Bukharinite/liberal Maoist TR, the workerist Stalinists of the PWOC-led OCIC, and the slightly more sophisticated "ideological" Stalinists of the Silberite Line of March journal are hattling over what's left of the new left, all trading jabs at Trotskyism, and all trying to prove which side of the flip-flop is better.

You may think I'm some kind of crank to keep on writing these letters but I think you're getting a bit out of touch with some wings of the left. If you can write 2-1/2 pages on the RWG, why not "the Trend"?

Sincerely,
Gregory Gibbs

P.S. The SWP has changed or is changing their line on Afghanistan, according to anti-draft activists in Mpls. This came out about 2 months ago. Hadn't seen any hints of this in your press so I thought you might not know.

WV replies: Reader Gibbs has got a point. Since our analysis of the immediate predecessor of the "Trend" in our 1977 article, "The Maoists United Will Never Be Repeated" (*WV* No. 183, 25 November 1977), we have not commented much on this soft Stalinoid milieu. We intend to rectify this deficiency.

Would Sollenberger Kiss the Cross?

New York City
4 December 1980

To the editor,

I would like to inform *WV* readers of a little-known incident quite relevant to the artiele "RWG on Religion and Poland—On the Road to the 'Third Camp'," in *WV* No. 269, 28 November. Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) aceuses the Spartacist tendency of wanting to divide the Polish working class along religious lines. On the contrary. It is the leadership around Walesa which is seeking to direct the new union movement into an anti-communist religious crusade.

The West German *Der Spiegel* (17 November) contains a diary-type account of the Gdansk-centered general strike last August by Ewa Milewicz, a member of the social-democratic KOR. She describes what happened when a delegate to the Interfactory Strike Committee stated he was a member of the local executive of the Communist party:

> "The hall is an uproar, there are shouts: 'Out with him. Out!' Totally confused, the man on the podium attempts to justify himself before the excited delegates. He was ready to swear on everything that was sacred and dear to him: he was a helieving Catholic, had married his wife in church; although a party member, he had his children baptized.
>
> "The hall bowls: 'We know his sort! Who made *him* delegate?' The man on the podium turns white with fear. The people in the hall remain implacable. In the end he says: 'I will swear to you on the crucifix that I'm telling the truth—I'm a party memher, but in reality I belong to you.'
>
> "The crucifix is hanging too high for the small man. Someone gets a chair, the man climbs on it, kisses the figure of Christ."

Knowing Peter Sollenberger, we have no doubt that in a similar situation he would not only kiss the crucifix, but wouldn't admit he was a memher of the RWG in the first place.

Comradely,
J. Seymour

JACKIE CLARK
General Executive Board
International Convention Delegate

Our union is under attack. It is the only thing that stands between us and the companies in their drive for productivity. The companies haven't changed much since 1934, but the union no longer uses the tactics that built the ILWU. To beat back company attacks (firing stewards, scrapping grievance procedures, attendance policies, productivity quotas, runaways) we must use the full strength of the union — mass picketing, the right to strike, honoring all picket lines, support from the longshore division and the Teamsters.

We need a new leadership with a program to turn the union around, making it into a fighting union that defends and improves conditions.

I am a steward at Heublein and a member of the Militant Caucus. I helped build the labor-centered mobilization that stopped the Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday in San Francisco in April. I stand for:

•Early strike preparation for 1982 Master Contract to win what we need — 100% COLA, right to strike, no probation period, shorter work week with no loss in pay.

•Independence of the union from government intervention. Answer fines and injunctions with strong, united action. Union action, not phoney government programs, to fight racial and sexual discrimination. No lawsuits against the union.

•For organized labor defense against racist KKK/Nazi violence. The government won't stop them — we must.

•For labor solidarity here and internationally. Honor all picket lines. Help striking unions with pickets and money. Join actions that aid workers in other countries.

•No support for Carter or Reagan. Democrats and Republicans are bosses' parties. Both try to whip up reactionary war sentiment against the USSR. We need a workers party that will defend our interests and fight for a workers government.

JACKIE CLARK
Book #10509

MIKE KASIAN
General Executive Board
International Convention Delegate

Employers are on a rampage against union conditions. The Militant Caucus stands for mobilizing the full strength of the ILWU to defend our jobs. The port shutdowns in Los Angeles and Seattle are examples of militant action. For mass pickets to defend striking houses. Defy court injunctions. Eliminate the "no-strike" clause.

I am against suing the union. Intervention by the bosses' courts will only weaken us. Fight discrimination with union action.

The U.S. economy is a shambles. We must not pay for capitalist bungling. Prepare now for the '82 contract. Fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay, 30 for 40.

I helped organize the San Francisco ANCAN mobilization in April. 1200 people came to "Sweep the Nazis Off the Streets!" Labor stopped these scums from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday. Build labor/minority defense guards against Klan/Nazi violence.

Assist class brothers and sisters in other countries. For international labor solidarity.

Carter and Reagan are both whipping up Cold War hysteria against Russia. They hate the USSR for the same reason they hate unions — both stand in the way of corporate profit. Soviet leaders are just like our union bureaucrats — they are only out for themselves. Soviet workers are better off having kicked out their capitalists and organizing a planned economy. But just as we defend our own misled union against the bosses, we stand with Soviet workers against "open shop" Carter. Soviet workers will settle scores with their own misleaders.

Labor must break its alliance with the Democrats and build a workers party based on the unions. War, racism, inflation and unemployment are permanent features of capitalism, and only a planned economy, organized by a workers government will end this once and for all.

Member Woolworth House Committee.

MIKE KASIAN
Book #10462

Electoral statements of victorious Militant Caucus candidates.

Two Militants Elected in New Bay Area ILWU Vote

OAKLAND—A big victory was scored by the Militant Caucus in December 11 elections of the West Bay division of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6. Militant Caucus (MC) members Jackie Clark and Mike Kasian, both first-time candidates, were elected to the General Executive Board (GEB). This topped the Caucus' excellent showing in the first vote on November 13 in which Clark was elected to the GEB (see "ILWU Local Elects Militant," *WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980). A new election was held because the November 13 vote in the West Bay was invalidated by the local's Balloting Committee.

The militants' gains were made with a large voter turnout: 1,130 voters in the December 11 rerun, down only slightly from 1,342 on November 13. And the militants improved their relative standing in the hotly-contested GEB race, in which 18 candidates competed for nine positions. Jackie Clark had placed sixth in the earlier vote, but was fifth in the rerun with 395 votes. And Kasian went from number 13 to number 9 with 320 votes!

"In the new elections we pushed very hard on the fact that the policies of Jimmy Carter and the Democrats got us into this situation we're in now and put Reagan in the White House," Mike Kasian told *WV*. "We emphasized the need for a workers party, while the bureaucrats had come out for Carter. We also said the Greensboro verdict gave a green light to the Klan. We in the Militant Caucus helped organize the April 19th rally that stopped the Nazis in San Francisco. Now there's the racist violence in Contra Costa, and a lot of members, especially black members, see the need for the union to take action. We call for the ILWU to take the lead in organizing defense guards of unions and minorities to stop those attacks."

Militant Action Needed to Stop Colgate Shutdown

Another key issue in the ILWU is the loss of union houses through plant closures and runaways to non-union states, especially Nevada. Militant Caucus candidate Pete Woolston, from the East Bay division of Local 6, proposed union action in his official election statement in the November Local 6 *Bulletin:*

> "Fight runaways with real organizing drives plus agreements with Teamsters/Longshoremen to ship nothing to/from runaways unless Master Contract scale paid. To prevent closures, sitdown strikes should be organized well in advance and backed up by whole union."

Woolston fought for adoption of this strategy as a department steward at Thrifty, when the company was preparing to close the plant down in early 1979. Due to the Local 6 leadership's do-nothing policy, Thrifty succeeded in running away to Nevada without a serious struggle by the union.

Now the burning issue of plant closures has again shown the need for the MC's program. The Berkeley Colgate plant, one of four Colgate-Palmolive facilities in the United States, is being "studied" for probable closure by the company. Even Abba Ramos, the usually complacent business agent for ILWU workers at Colgate, commented worriedly:

> "300 Local 6 jobs are at stake. Colgate is the largest Local 6 house in the East Bay and has been part of this union for over 40 years. Some of the most militant strikes in the history of the ILWU have been waged by brothers and sisters at Berkeley, including an 11-month strike in 1962."
>
> —Local 6 *Bulletin*, 22 November 1980

But is Ramos' answer militant union action? Hardly. "There must be legislation to curb these monstrous acts," he wails (*People's World*, 13 December 1980).

The Communist Party's *PW*, which regularly lauds Ramos, is stumping for "a new plant closure bill with strong teeth to deal with such things as restricting runaway shops." The same issue of *PW* headlines yet another call to "han the Klan." As always these reformists counsel the workers to rely on the government, not the power of labor. The idea that the capitalist government will stop plant closures or protect minorities from the Klan is only more ludicrous now that Ronald Reagan is moving into the White House.

The Colgate issue is providing an early demonstration of the bankruptcy of the "rank and file coalition," members of which make up most of the active union leadership in the plant. This ramshackle opportunist bloc includes not only *PW* supporters, but also supporters of Irwin Silber's "Trend," a resting place for homeless ex-Maoists. Trend supporter Bob Seltzer, a member of the Colgate plant committee, came out openly *against* strike action at a rally at the Berkeley City Council on November 25: "If you strike at this point, Colgate would love it. People would lose their severance pay, probably." Strike action, plant sitdowns, appeals for hot-cargoing are always unwise "at this time" for the reformists. Instead, Seltzer advocates the International's timeworn impotent strategy of yet another consumer boycott. Clearly these reformists are no alternative to the present top leadership of the ILWU.

Far from proposing any solution to runaways and job losses, incumbent Local 6 president Keith Eickman in his election statement attempted to paint a glowing picture of rising living standards and conditions in the union, utterly flying in the face of reality. Then he sniped at his opponents: "I ask you to reject the attempt to build caucuses" (Local 6 *Bulletin*, November 1980, election edition). Far from taking his advice, the membership has given the class-struggle Militant Caucus more electoral support than ever before. Now the MC must move forward from its electoral victory and consolidate this support, building the caucus to prepare a new fighting leadership for the ILWU. ■

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No. 271 **2 January 1981**

Anti-Union Decision in Anwar Case

Victimized steel worker says: Picket lines mean don't cross.

WV Photo

An arbitrator ruled December 5 against Keith Anwar's bid for reinstatement at the Inland Steel Company in East Chicago, Indiana. Anwar, a United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 1010 member, was fired in May 1979 for refusing to cross the picket line of another Steelworker local. The case was supported by steel workers throughout the Chicago/Northern Indiana district. In October 1979 Local 1010 had sponsored a rally to defend the right to honor picket lines at which Anwar was the featured speaker. Over $2,000 was donated for the defense, and resolutions in Anwar's support were passed by Steelworker locals and the USWA District 31 Conference.

A leaflet issued December 18 by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee reported:

> "It took a hell of a fight to get this case to arbitration but once there, the union fought hard and shot holes through every company argument. But this 'impartial' arbitrator sided with the company on every issue.
> "The arbitrator told a union official at Local 1010 that although the union presented a good case he couldn't 'let one man stop 19,000.' This comment zeroed in on the real stakes in this case—the right to strike and honor picket lines. The historic, labor solidarity tradition of honoring picket lines is what built the unions we have today."

In supporting the steel bosses' claim that they have a ("god-given"?) right to fire any worker who respects an official union strike picket line, the arbitrator argued, "the no strike—no lockout provision of the Collective Bargaining Agreements between the parties has appeared in Collective Bargaining Agreements for a period of approximately 35 years."

Over the years, the USWA tops have capitulated to management's attempts to tie steel workers' hands through a dangerous no-strike clause. But nothing in this clause, or the contract as a whole, prohibits honoring picket lines, a right which has been repeatedly recognized by the NLRB. Moreover, the right to strike and to honor picket lines was not the result of backroom bargaining, but won through bitter struggles—such as the Little Steel Strike of 1937. The arbitrator's cynical attempt to use the union contract to justify the anti-union decision is a stinging indictment of how the bureaucracy has whittled away the fundamental gains on which the CIO was built.

How the steel union misleaders who negotiated the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA) have croded labor's basic rights can be seen in the bitter seven-month USWA strike now going on at NIPSCO (Northern Indiana Public Service Company). Here, company operations are going on with *unionized* tradesmen crossing Steelworker picket lines. The 4,000 workers from USWA Local 12775 (production) and Local 13796 (clerical) struck against massive company "takeaway" contract demands. But local building trades unions have refused to stop the scabbing, despite appeals from the steel workers, including a personal appeal from International President Lloyd McBride.

The NIPSCO strike can be won—and fast—by stopping the scabbing and shutting the plant down! But USWA District 31 director Jim Balanoff and McBride have no intention of defying the state and company and mobilizing for a mass, militant picket line. Indeed, construction union bureaucrats often try to justify their own members' scabbing by pointing to such incidents as the 1978 bricklayers strike at Inland Steel, where McBride/Balanoff sent USWA workers across the bricklayers' lines. (Again, it was steel worker militant Keith Anwar who refused to cross that picket line.) The key to victory at NIPSCO is enforcing the elemental working-class principle for which Anwar and his supporters have fought: "Picket lines mean don't cross!"

Despite the setback at arbitration, the Keith Anwar case will be pursued with the National Labor Relations Board. The Defense Committee announced, "we hope the union will support his effort...we cannot stand by and watch the companies destroy our picket lines and our ability to defend ourselves." Funds are urgently needed to continue the fight. Contributions can be sent to: Keith Anwar Defense Committee, Box 7914, Chicago, Illinois 60680.

For Labor/Black Defense

Against Contra Costa Klan Terror!

OAKLAND—Since July an escalating series of race-terror attacks, some accompanied by KKK death threats, has aimed at driving several black homeowners and families out of Contra Costa County. It is the urgent task of Bay Area trade unions to organize integrated labor/minority defense guards to protect the homes and stop these attacks. However, a collection of reformists and union bureaucrats have formed a "Contra Costa Community Coalition" explicitly on the basis of relying on government authorities to stop the attacks. Yet the cops and courts deliberately look the other way as the cross-burners and night-riders go into action!

Among the victims are 51-year-old black longshore union member Roosevelt Presley and his family. According to Stan Gow, an ILWU Local 10 Executive Board member and co-editor of the "Longshore Militant," Presley attended the Local's Executive Board meeting December 11 to ask for the union's aid. ILWU International officials had prepared a statement calling for the formation of a union committee to "work with the Contra Costa County sheriffs' department."

Presley quietly demolished this strategy with a brief factual account: three sheriffs sit in their patrol cars every night in the parking lot of Lucky's supermarket three miles away. Meanwhile racists cruise by his house throwing bottles through the windows, and on November 20 firing a shotgun blast through his front door. When asked what he wanted from the union, Presley responded, "a lot of big guys" prepared for defense. At the meeting Stan Gow put forward a motion:

> "Be it resolved, that Local 10 organize defense squads to protect the homes of brother Presley and other families under attack..., that ILWU Local 10 calls on Locals 2, 6, and 34 and the rest of the Bay Area labor movement to organize similar squads and cooperate with ILWU Local 10 to put a stop to these outrageous assaults."

Turning their backs on the black longshoreman facing Klan terror, the Exec Board defeated Gow's motion. Attempting to cover this betrayal, the officials finally came up with the idea of helping Presley by...hiring a private security guard! After the meeting, even some board members who voted for this plan were wondering aloud, "But what's this guard going to do when 20 KKKers come after him?" More to the point, what's fellow unionist Presley supposed to do?

Pacifism Invites Attack

The Contra Costa Community Coalition was formed December 13 at a meeting attended by some 400 people and dominated by union bureaucrats, ministers and reformists (most notably the Stalinist Communist Party [CP], and the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party [SWP]). In its majority, this coalition opposes the formation of labor defense guards. And it operates in tandem with the social-democratic-led East Bay Organizing Committee, which is in charge of listing "house-watchers," whom they require to sign a pledge to be on an "unarmed nonviolent volunteer watch."

To make matters worse, Organizing Committee leader Paul Milne has repeatedly been quoted in the local press saying that these watchers are "unarmed and nonviolent" and are only there to see that the police do their job! As a direct result of this idiot advertisement, the emboldened racists have attacked, threatened and chased these sitting-duck "watchers" (who ran for the sheriffs and couldn't find them)!

At this same December 13 meeting, a couple with "white power" T-shirts attempted to gain entrance. They posted themselves by the door for two hours, until they were finally surrounded by some 60 black motorcycle club members who had heard about the meeting on radio and drove up in formation to volunteer their services in stopping the attacks. As this incident shows, if the unions actually took the lead in organizing defense guards against KKK attack, they could quickly mobilize the necessary muscle to stop the fascists!

The Contra Costa Coalition's subcommittee on unions is a reformist sandbox with a large component of CP and SWP supporters. It is controlled by ILWU International loyalists and preoccupied with forming committees to form still more committees to organize a march on Martin Luther King's birthday "or on a later date." This is the same cast of characters who last April 19, because they were afraid of a "confrontation," did everything in their power to prevent the successful mobilization of 1,200 unionists, minorities and socialists that stopped the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco.

At the December 23 meeting of the Coalition's union subcommittee, interventions by Stan Gow and several Spartacist League supporters from various unions succeeded in polarizing the meeting for-or-against the need for workers' self-defense. Gow read a motion he had raised in the Local 10 Exec Board and called for all who stood for self-defense to work to win their unions to organizing defense guards. SL spokesman Al Nelson drew out the conclusions of the debate on the floor:

> "It's clear there are two different positions being put forward here. On the one side, union officials have made it clear from their statements—the motion from AFSCME Local 1695, the SEIU motion and the ILWU officers' official statement—that they are opposed to self-defense and instead they are for calling on everyone from Governor Brown to the sheriffs to the FBI to stop these attacks. Furthermore, these pacifists invite trouble by declaring publicly that they are unarmed and unable to defend themselves and in so doing are simply inviting attack by the Klan and the racists....
> "Several years ago in UAW Local 6 a member named C.B. Dennis was undergoing the same kind of attacks as has been happening here. His house was firebombed. His local, UAW Local 6, organized official 24-hour defense guards around his house and those attacks stopped. When local racists were interviewed in the press, one stated that they were afraid of the UAW. He said, 'We don't mess with the whole UAW!'
> "Unfortunately, given the opposition to self-defense manifested in the

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1,200 WSU Students Demand:

Oust South End Apologists for KKK/Nazi Murder!

Students at Wayne State University in Detroit are campaigning to oust the editors of the campus newspaper, the *South End*, for their grotesque apologies for racist murder. On November 17, an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina acquitted five Klan/Nazi killers, who had in broad daylight, in front of TV cameras, slaughtered five supporters of the Communist Workers Party at an anti-Klan demonstration. This racist "justice" provoked outraged editorials in student newspapers around the country—but in the heart of black Detroit, long a labor stronghold, *South End* editors Mike Nuttle and John Burnett brazenly saluted the acquittal, apologizing for the racist murders, and provocatively insinuating that the anti-Klan protesters had staged their own executions! "Perhaps they needed martyrs for an issue that would rekindle the flickering fire of racial animosity," commented Nuttle in his vicious 25 November editorial, "Leftists Hinder Justice at Greensboro Trial."

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) at Wayne State took the lead in joining with other outraged students to form the "Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder." Over 1,200 students on the largely working-class and minority campus have signed the Committee's petition to oust Nuttle and Burnett. In addition, the black fraternity Phi Beta Sigma, professors, campus workers, former *South End* staffers and former editor Pat Byers are supporting the campaign, as are prominent Detroit unionists and civil rights leaders, including United Auto Workers Region 1-A and the Detroit NAACP. Other supporters include state senator Jackie Vaughn III; Robert Katz, chairman of the Detroit Bar Association's Civil Rights Committee; Dan Bremer, Board of Directors, Flint ACLU; and eight members of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) student assembly, including president

Leftists hinder justice at Greensboro trial

"A jury Monday found four Ku Klux Klansmen and two Nazis innocent of murder and riot in the deaths of five communists at a "Death to The Klan" rally last fall.

The protestors were killed during a confrontation at a march sponsored by the Communist Workers' Party.

Protestors who survived the shooting labelled the trial a sham and refused to testify for the prosecution."

This is a partial account of the outcome of the Greensboro trial by Associated Press and United Press International compiled and printed by the Detroit Free Press.

The following is another account of the trial's outcome, as it appeared in a leaflet distributed at a demonstration to "Protest Racist 'Justice' in Greensboro."

"Monday an all-white jury in Greensboro, North Carolina let six Nazi/Klan murderers go free? This amounts to a KKK license to kill Blacks, other minorities, unionists and leftists. Meanwhile the victims of last November's Greensboro mas... still up on charges for 'incite... This is justice in Carter's/Re... racist America. Come to the... line to protest this racial and... individuals who agree with t...

...es urged to participate, bringing their own slogans and banners. The time to act is now! All out!"

"Racist justice?"

How can this trial be labelled "... justice" when witnesses against the ac... klansmen refused to testify for the pr... tion? One can't protest "Racist justice"... hindering the execution of that justice.

One can't label a trial a "sham" an... retort to the trial's outcome by accusing... dent Carter and President Elect Reag... forgiving a "racist America."

One can't attack the judicial system as be... ing unfair to minorities after failing to aid that same system in prosecuting those accused of committing atrocities against minorities.

It reeks of hypocrisy.

It is impossible to say whether or not testimony from members of the Communist Workers' Party would have convicted the klansmen. However, attorneys for the klansmen contended that the klansmen had killed the communists in self-defense because the communists fired first.

...would have been incarcerated already. The question was merely who shot first?

Why would the CWP members refuse to...

...tactic to try to equate the Klan with the courts, or at least imply that the courts favor the klansmen and their racist beliefs. Hence, we utilize all "Carter's/Reagan's racist America" as the villians in the flyer distributed to announce the protest of "Racist justice."

Perhaps it's a cruelly manipulative game, whose intentions are to possibly set the scenario for even greater attempts at mass manipulation.

One can only speculate when motives are al...

The South End

Infamous editorial supports racist "justice" (above). South End editor calls cops on student protestors (right).

Young Spartacus

Marc Breakstone. Nelson Johnson, a CWP leader and survivor of the Greensboro massacre, also endorsed, as did 50 other participants in a December 5-6 conference in Greensboro on fighting racist repression.

The Ad Hoc Committee's petition stated in part:

> "Sounding like J. Edgar Hoover incarnate, Nuttle amalgamates CWP and Wayne State protesters who, he speculates, are engaged in 'a cruelly manipulative game whose intentions are to possibly set the scenario for even greater attempts at mass manipulation.' He sees no 'manipulation' by the state in securing the acquittals of five known murderers.... The *South End* editorial might go over in some lily-white bible school in Mississippi, but it won't go over here!... Once a paper which defended the rights of blacks and labor, the *South End* has become a nest of apologists for racist murder. The 25 November editorial must be the last such reactionary filth to be inflicted on the Wayne State campus from the pages of *our* paper!"

The *South End*'s first response was to print "Shove It—SYL!" on its masthead, while Burnett crumpled up and threw the petition in the face of a Committee member. When over 20 Committee members again presented the petition to Burnett, he *called the cops* on them—which caused even the do-nothing Student Council to protest, and brought the number of students signing the petition from 450 in the first two days to over 800.

Nuttle/Burnett's reactionary, dictatorial policies are nothing new—last June they tried to set up the SYL with a libelous editorial by Nuttle which sought to link the organization to some fires set in the Student Center Building. "Firebug Hits Student Center; Spartacists Cry 'Frame-Up'" was the front-page headline for the *South End*'s grossly distorted story. And they refused to print a petition by over 80 WSU students, professors and workers protesting the smear campaign (see "Nasty Lies or Murder Set Up?" *Young Spartacus* No. 84, September 1980).

Nuttle and Burnett arrogantly refused to print the Ad Hoc Committee's petition and just before Christmas brought out a *South End* full of anti-communist baiting and a racist pro-Klan "humor" column. Meanwhile, the Committee's support continued to grow, and on December 12 Committee spokesman Gloria Howse presented its case to the WSU Board of Governors, which retains real control over all official "student" publications, stating:

> "Attempting to create a climate for racist terrorists to act with impunity, the editorial is an offense and a threat to the students and staff of Wayne State and the Detroit black and working-class population. Just as those who deny or try to minimize the reality of the Holocaust are rightly taken as Nazi sympathizers despite pious disavowals, so the *South End*'s attempt to pass off racist terror as a little 'racial animosity' inflamed by those who protest against it cannot be tolerated by defenders of the civil liberties of minorities, unionists or socialists....
>
> "Hence, the petition to you...that you remove from their positions of abusive authority the apologists for racist murder currently running the paper."

The Board, however, refused to take any action, retreating hypocritically behind vague statements about "freedom of the press." But it is Nuttle and Burnett—and the WSU Board of Governors—who have consistently squelched and censored student opinions. As Howse pointed out in her speech, the *South End* has been managed undemocratically for 11 years. Its publication was suspended in 1969, and black radical editor John Watson, a leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, was removed for explicitly political reasons. That was a particularly dirty business, as the *Detroit Free Press* (29 June 1977) has pointed out, printing an FBI statement which admitted that anonymous critical letters (part of the FBI COINTELPRO program) had "played a major part in the reducing of the *South End* yearly allotted funds by $10,000." Freedom of the press for the *South End* means removing those responsible for its racism, redbaiting and squelching of dissent by suppression and slander.

Today's racist, provocative editorial policy in the *South End* is the result of the Board's actions over the years. The *South End* is a disgrace and insult to the Wayne State student population. Wayne State students must, with the aid of their allies in the Detroit labor movement and black community, continue the fight to regain control of the *South End*, so that it no longer be used as a mouthpiece for racist reaction and a threat to every defender of the rights of minorities, unionists and socialists! ■

> statements of the trade-union officials here tonight, I'm afraid it's going to take someone getting killed before you wake up to the seriousness of this. If those black families are left isolated by the labor movement and forced to rely on their own resources to defend themselves, it's going to result in a race war on the Klan's terms."

As usual, the union bureaucrats lined up on the side of suicidal pacifism and calls for the "protection" of the capitalist government. Trying to straddle the middle ground in this fundamental division there huddled an exposed clot of centrists including supporters of the Socialist League/Democratic-Centralist (SL/DC), the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) and none other than perennial Trotskyoid opportunist Harry Turner.

The SL/DC and RWG introduced six motions to the subcommittee, one of which contained a call (on the coalition) to form union defense guards. The motion naturally failed. The centrists naturally remained part of the coalition, and even ran for the steering committee. Thus they lent credence to an outfit formed for the purpose of *calling on the cops* to "defend" the threatened families and fundamentally *opposed* to labor/black defense guards. Thus they played a role similar to the loyal left opposition in the SWP's class collaborationist antiwar NPAC coalition with the Democratic Party doves.

This is a perspective of defeat. It will not aid the Presleys or any of the other victims of Klan terror. The program of the Trotskyists was succinctly summarized by comrade Nelson at the December 23 meeting: "The Klan has maybe a thousand members in northern California, but there are hundreds of thousands of union members in the Bay Area. What there needs to be is a show of force by the labor movement in the form of officially organized defense squads, like 50 big union guys standing outside those houses with baseball bats and cargo hooks in front of TV cameras saying very simply, 'There will be no more attacks on these houses.' This is called self-defense." ■

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IRANIAN LEFT AND THE TEST OF WAR

Chauvel/Sygma

Setboun/Sipa-Black Star

Bureau/Sygma

In the war between Khomeini's theocratic state and Hussein's military dictatorship, the main enemy is at home.

DOWN WITH THE COLONELS!

DOWN WITH THE AYATOLLAHS!

TURN THE GUNS THE OTHER WAY!

As the Iran-Iraq border war drags into its fourth month, Khomeini's "Islamic Republic" is as chaotic and unstable as ever. The Kurdish insurgency in the northwest has tied down more than a quarter of Teheran's armed forces, leaving the fighting on the Iraqi front in the hands of a motley collection of army regulars, fanatical *pasdaran* ("revolutionary guards"), mullahs and assorted leftists. Meanwhile, the political tug of war between the "ties" and "turbans"—the more Westernized and conservative camp followers of President Bani Sadr versus the Persian equivalent of the Moral Majority—has sparked riots around the country.

When the shah of Iran was overthrown almost two years ago by a popular uprising led by the Persian Shi'ite clergy, the entire left with the exception of the international Spartacist tendency came out in support of the "Islamic Revolution." Khomeini was hailed as a "progressive," even though he had already declared a holy war on communism, democratic rights, unveiled women, booze and sex. To the left apologists for "the Imam," Khomeini's curses against America as "the Great Satan" were proof enough that he was leading an "anti-imperialist revolution."

However, it didn't take too long for the popular euphoria over the "Islamic Revolution" to begin to dissipate. Workers and the poor got endless sermons about martyrdom but few jobs and little to eat. Kurds and other oppressed national minorities had their villages bombed to rubble. Arab oil workers had their strikes smashed by the Persian-chauvinist *pasdaran*. "Immoral" women were viciously assaulted and even stoned to death, "deviants" were put up against the wall and shot. The left increasingly came under attack by armed gangs of Muslim fanatics whose bloody work was blessed by "the Imam."

Now the reactionary war between the Ba'athist colonels in Baghdad and the Teheran regime has posed an acid test for the entire Iranian left. For Leninists it's perfectly clear that neither side in this wretched war deserves support. The bonapartist Ba'ath regime, which has terrorized Iraqi Kurdistan and driven the mass-based Iraqi Communist Party underground to preserve its shaky rule, is fighting to grab oil-rich Khuzistan, cripple its historic Persian rival and emerge as the new dominant power in the Gulf. Teheran is fighting to preserve Iran's "territorial integrity"—that is, to keep the Kurds, Arabs of Khuzistan and other national minorities captive in this prisonhouse of peoples.

In such a conflict, Marxists must adopt a position of *revolutionary defeatism* for both sides. As we wrote shortly after the war began:

> "Clearly the working people and oppressed of the Middle East and the world have no interest in the victory of either side in this squalid border war to determine which anti-working-class gang of chauvinists controls the Shatt al-Arab."

However, our position is not one of above-the-battle neutralism or pacifism:

> "But war is also the mother of revolution. And the Iraqi-Iranian conflict lays bare their real 'border problem': the oppressed nationalities that are divided by the artificial border separating Iran and Iraq, especially the Kurds and the ethnic Arabs who compose a majority of Khuzistan...."
>
> —"Iran/Iraq Blood Feud," *Workers Vanguard* No. 265, 3 October 1980

A defeat for either side could open revolutionary possibilities for the Iranian and Iraqi proletariat not seen in years. Given the Communists' historic strength among the strategic Iraq oil workers, a humiliating outcome for Hussein's great military gamble could well produce a proletarian-centered popular explosion. As for Iran, a military defeat would give a revolutionary proletarian vanguard an exceptional opportunity to break the laboring masses from the chauvinism and obscurantism of the Shi'ite clergy. This is why revolutionary defeatism is not simply an internationalist obligation but the key to the liberation of the Iranian and Iraqi masses.

Tragically, none of the major left tendencies in Iran has adopted a revolutionary perspective of struggling to transform the reactionary nationalist war into civil wars against the Ba'athist colonels and the Persian Shi'ite ruling caste. Publications of the various Iranian left groups are often hard to come by and sometimes even harder to interpret. But from the materials that have recently been available in Europe and the U.S., it is possible to see where the more significant tendencies line up on the key issue of the Iran-Iraq war.

Social Chauvinism

Although Khomeini endlessly curses "godless Communism," the pro-Moscow Tudeh party has rushed to the defense of the "Iranian Revolution." Tudeh party members have been instructed to report to the mosques to sign up for military duty under the *pasdaran*. The Stalinists are capable of incredible feats of opportunism, but they've really outdone themselves on this one. The Tudeh party is defending arms in hand one of the most crazed anti-Soviet, anti-communist regimes in the world from the very government that Moscow for years has promoted as one of the vanguards of the "Arab revolution"!

The other main tendency in Iran taking a defensist position is the Fedayeen Majority. In contrast to the Stalinists, the Fedayeen haven't been simply faithful followers of "the Imam" all along. Fedayeen guerrillas played a courageous role in defending Kurdish areas under attack by the army and *pasdaran* last year. But under the pressure of the wave of popular patriotism, these radical-populist nationalists made common cause with "their nation."

With the outbreak of the war, the Fedayeen Majority instructed its members and sympathizers to sign up for military duty. However, Khomeini branded the Fedayeen as being "the same as Saddam Hussein" and these would-be "soldiers of Islam" were rebuffed. When they were finally allowed to consummate their betrayal and join the units under the control of *pasdaran*, the Fedayeen Central Committee sent Khomeini a telegram vowing that "the blood of the Fedayee and the Pasdaran would flow in the same stream while defending the Islamic Republic."

Bani Sadr had already made it clear what "defending the Islamic Republic" means: "First of all, we must purge Kurdistan of armed political groups in order to be able to face the Ba'ath regime." Obedient to the bourgeoisie, the Fedayeen Majority purged itself from Kurdistan and declared that it would "not participate in any military operation against the forces of the Iranian Islamic Republic" (*KAR* supplement, October 1980). Meanwhile, in the first week of the war the government bombed Mahabad, a key center of the Kurdish insurgency.

Of all the defensists, perhaps the most despicable are the so-called "Trotskyists": the utterly craven HKE allied with the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the gyrating HKS aligned with the Mandelite wing of the United Secretariat (USec). The HKE in particular has done just about everything possible to make Trotskyism synonymous with

opportunism, cowardice and treachery in the minds of Iranian militants. The HKE hailed the veil as a "symbol of resistance," denied the right of self-determination to the oppressed minorities, referred to the bloody *pasdaran* as their "brothers," cheered the Islamic thugs' "purification" of the universities that left 20 Fedayeen dead at Teheran University alone, and condemned the leftists who resisted the clergy's stormtroopers.

Today both HKE and HKS want to be known as the "best builders of a *pro*-war mass movement for the Islamic theocracy. In its 30 September issue the HKE's *Kargar* carried a five-point "action program" for the war effort. By endlessly repeating the phrase "Iranian Revolution," the HKE hopes to obscure the fact that it is calling on the oppressed to be cannon fodder for a clerical-reactionary, Persian-chauvinist regime ruling a *capitalist* state. As for the HKS, it rationalizes its defensist line by portraying the Iraqi attack as imperialist; its statement on the war in *Kargaran-e-Sosialist* of 2 October babbles about "a united mobilization against the counterrevolution," "militant resistance to imperialism," and "the imperialists' military intrigues against the revolution."

A defensist line for Iran in this war is so patently anti-Leninist that even in the USec there's opposition. A war of words has been going on in the pages of the British section's *Socialist Challenge*, and the Japanese and Lebanese sections have submitted oppositional resolutions calling for a defeatist position on both sides. The Lebanese section's resolution correctly states, "Any position on the left supporting one of the two camps in the current war in its present form is incompatible with the most elementary internationalist duty" ("On the Current War Between Iraq and Iran," in Arabic). Quite correct, but what about the USec's support to the Arab states in the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars, its siding with Algeria in its 1963 border war with Morocco, etc.? The USec's rotten revisionism didn't begin yesterday.

"Independent" Defense of the Fatherland?

With the Tudeh party and the Fedayeen Majority solidly (though not too comfortably) in Khomeini's camp, the most significant semi-opposition, in a numerical as well as military sense, to the Iranian regime comes from the Mujahedin Khalq. At the beginning of the war the Mujahedin reportedly announced that it was mobilizing its militias but was keeping them independent of the control of the *pasdaran* and army (*Guardian* [New York], 26 November). According to *Le Monde* (16 October) in Khurramshahr and Abadan, Mujahedin Khalq militants fought alongside the *pasdaran* and Fedayeen.

The Mujahedin certainly have no principled objection to defending the "Islamic Republic" against Iraq. Leninist principles are alien to these radical populist Muslims, who base their vision of a classless society on the *Koran*, not *Das Kapital*. Their independent stance and critical attitude toward the government have much more to do with the fact that their organization has suffered particularly intense repression.

Like the Mujahedin, the Fedayeen Minority has kept its military forces independent of the *pasdaran*. But the Minority has adopted at best a vaguely neutralist political line on the war. In a policy statement entitled "We Condemn Iraq's Military Intervention" (23 September) the Minority asserts that "the recent war has a reactionary content" and "while the outcome can be anything for the Iranian and Iraqi governments, the result for the oppressed masses of both countries can only be ruin and misery."

The Fedayeen Minority concludes that "the principal task is to organize and lead independently the mass resistance movement in the occupied territories" (*KAR* [Minority version], No. 81). Clearly the Fedayeen Minority does *not* call for resistance in the *un*occupied territories against the reactionary, chauvinist Khomeiniite regime. And this is made fairly explicit:

> "...if, in Iraq, the objective conditions are prepared, the task of communists and other Iraqi revolutionary forces is to transform this war into a civil war against the regime. But in Iran the masses are not conscious and have confidence in the government. One cannot have this slogan...."

In other words, these Iranian leftists call for the overthrow of the Iraqi state, which happens to be fighting their "fatherland," but refuse to call for the overthrow of their "own" bourgeois government.

A line somewhat similar to the Fedayeen Minority is that of the Ashraf Deghani group, which split from the Fedayeen upholding that organization's earlier guerrillaist orientation. The Ashraf group's position on the war can best be characterized as abstentionist: "Communists will never participate in a war that has an unjust character" (*Über den Krieg der beiden Staaten Iran und Irak*, September 1980). Over and above such statements the group's propaganda consists of vague rhetoric about "defending the masses," a formulation which could in the future open the door to defensism. The clearest indication of the nationalist-populist (i.e., non-Leninist) nature of the Ashraf group is that it has *nothing to say to the Iraqi proletariat*; indeed, the Iraqi working class is not even mentioned in its basic statement on the war. And a leaflet distributed by Ashraf supporters in Germany, "Autonomie für Kurdistan," amid much talk about not forgetting about the oppressed Kurds, refuses to call for the right of self-determination for the Kurds.

Peykar: Stalinists Caught in Contradiction

Surprisingly, the closest approximation to a revolutionary line on the war has come from the hard Stalinist-Maoist Peykar (Struggle) group. Originally a split from the Mujahedin Khalq, Peykar had a reputation as "super" Maoists, enemies of "Soviet social-imperialism" and the like. It is also insanely, violently anti-Trotskyist. For example, last January Peykar supporters in Frankfurt endorsed a murderous assault on the German section of the international Spartacist tendency, which nearly cost the life of one of our comrades, in a meeting on Afghanistan. And on October 25 in Paris Peykar members stood by while a pack of mullah lovers attacked comrades of our French section selling *Le Bolchévik*. Several hours later, as a reward for their sectarian stance, Peykar militants who had been criticizing the Fedayeen for selling out to Khomeini were themselves attacked by an alliance of Fedayeen and Muslim fanatics.

Peykar adheres to the "two-stage revolution" (first the bourgeois-democratic, then the proletarian revolution). This is, of course, a central defining feature for a Stalinist organization, especially in backward countries. However, on paper at least, the group has taken a revolutionary defeatist position on the war:

> "The proletariat of Iran and Iraq should aim their guns towards their own governments. They should continue their revolutionary policy in their own revolutionary war—i.e., the overthrow of the reactionary regimes and establishment of the rule [of] workers, peasants and other toilers."
>
> —*Peykar* No. 73, 24 September 1980

(This is not, however, the position of Peykar's Iranian supporters in West Germany, who are propagating the usual "defend the fatherland" line.)

We do not know what Peykar's paper defeatist line means in terms of the real life of the organization. Is it a conjunctural, even accidental, position or does it represent significant motion within the organization? The rest of the Iranian left is predictably accusing Peykar of having gone "Trotskyist." But there is no reason to believe the group has broken fundamentally with Stalinism. It is virulently anti-Soviet, supporting the feudalist Islamic counterrevolutionary guerrillas in Afghanistan. If, however, Peykar is seriously carrying out a defeatist line in Iran, this places this arch-Stalinist group in an insoluble contradiction.

Join with Kurdish, Iraqi Workers!

Unlike petty-bourgeois nationalists, Marxists have no reason to take a pessimistic, passive or pacifistic attitude toward the revolutionary possibilities posed by the Iran-Iraq war. Here we have two bonapartist regimes, both resting on a relatively narrow social base and both beset by considerable domestic social disaffection, that have been locked in a military stalemate. On each side there is a real proletariat, concentrated in the oil industry and having traditions of militant, even insurrectionary, struggles under mass Stalinist parties. And straddling the borders of both belligerents are the Kurds, whose struggle for an independent state has periodically destabilized both the Iranian and Iraqi bourgeois regimes.

But for the Stalinists and the Fedayeen Majority, "defense of the Iranian Revolution" means the Kurds' just struggle for self-determination must be put on the back burner. Ghani Boulourian, leader of one of the splinters of the Kurdish Democratic Party (Iran) who is close to the Tudeh, recently stated, "The Islamic Republic is engaged in an anti-imperialist struggle that must be sustained as a priority" (*Le Monde*, 13 December). Meanwhile, despite Peykar's formally correct position on the war, it too avoids calling for the right of self-determination for the Kurds and other national minorities. Neither its main position paper on the war nor the two pamphlets on the Kurdish question by its Kurdish co-thinkers, the KOMALA group, even touch upon the question of Kurdish self-determination! But for Trotskyists, as long as the Kurdish struggle is not decisively subordinated to one or another side in the squalid Iran/Iraq border war, it merits military support from Trotskyists, who unlike the Stalinists and radical-populist nationalists are defenders of the democratic right of self-determination.

Just as the Iranian Stalinists hide class betrayals behind rhetoric about the "Iranian Revolution," their Iraqi counterparts use empty phrases about the "Arab revolution" to cover their class collaborationism. When the Iraqi CP was participating in the bourgeois government of General Abdul Karim Kassem after the overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy in 1958, the Stalinists denounced the Ba'athists as "fascists." When the Ba'ath regime of Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr let the CP into the government in 1972, these "fascists" had become "socialists." Today the Iraqi CP leadership in exile in Syria is calling for a popular front with the genuinely fascistic Shi'ite terrorist group Al Dawa to oust the "reactionary" Ba'athists.

From the national-defensist social-patriotism of the Fedayeen Majority to the "defend the masses" Guevarism of the Ashraf group and the social-patriotic tailism of the Fedayeen Minority, there are only differences of nuance over the Iran/Iraq war. And a "pox on both your houses" neutrality sometimes expressed by the Fedayeen Minority is only the beginning of wisdom. What is necessary is the forging in both Iran and Iraq of Trotskyist parties that can win the working classes and oppressed minorities to a common internationalist struggle. As Trotsky wrote in "War and the Fourth International" (1934): "modern war between capitalist nations carries with it a war of classes within each of the nations...the task of the revolutionary party consists in preparing in this latter war the victory of the proletariat." ■

AP

February 1979, leftist-populist Fedayeen rally behind "Islamic Revolution." Soon Khomeini reactionary fanatics terrorized left, national minorities.

Reagan "Honeymoon"...

(continued from page 1)

sometime backer of Democrats, and Eastern Establishment figure *par excellence*. Oh well, they can at least take heart in the appointment of the secretary of agriculture, John R. Block, a former paratrooper who believes "food is now the greatest weapon we have" and intends to make foreign countries beg for their wheat!

Amid all the speculation and comparison with the outgoing Carter administration, one thing not in doubt is the steadily rising Cold War buildup of U.S. imperialism's arsenal. In addition to the massive increases in the military budget established by the Carter "human rights" anti-Soviet crusaders, the Reagan "nuclear superiority" anti-Soviet crusaders are pushing for another $20 billion for fiscal year 1981, including money for the once-rejected B-1 bomber and a mobile version of the Minuteman ICBM.

But (most of) the American voters who brought in the Reagan gang didn't do it to start a nuclear holocaust. They were fed up with Carter's economic policies and threw him out. Traditionally Democrats and Republicans place before the American people a rather different menu of rhetoric, but very much the same plate of policies. The Democrats preach a brand of phony populism and pork-barrel politics while the Republicans rely on a more ideological appeal to the "good old" verities of free-market capitalism. How many actually believe in the Republican Party rhetoric about "getting U.S. capitalism going again" is another question. But anybody who bought Reagan's snake oil about unleashing a revitalized U.S. capitalism will find out in a short time that Reagan has only more of the same and worse: inflation, recession, austerity, and ultimately economic crisis and war.

Double-Dip Trouble

Interest rates at an all-time high, accelerating inflation, 7.5 percent unemployment—and things are going to get worse. We are about to be hit by the second half of a double-dip recession. Arthur Burns admits the economy "could be on the brink of another downturn" (*New York Times*, 25 December 1980). *Business Week* (29 December 1980), which is pretty conservative in its predictions, states categorically in its year-end issue: "The point is that the business upswing is over, no matter what the numbers show over the next several weeks. The year 1981 will begin in recession."

It's common in business circles to blame this second dip of the 1980-81 slump on the high interest rates. This is confusing cause and effect. What the jump in the prime rate from 11 percent in July to 20-plus percent now shows is that at the present time any, however modest, increase in production immediately drives up prices, triggers even greater inflationary expectations and involves massive borrowing by capitalists, consumers and government alike.

Although production has increased since July, the real volume of retail sales (corrected for price hikes) has remained flat. Thus, the mini-recovery from the roller coaster slide last spring/early summer was in effect an inventory buildup, especially in consumer durables. One of the reasons for business borrowing, up 9 percent since July, has been to finance unexpected and unwanted inventory accumulation.

At the same time real take-home pay for the average worker has continued to fall. So many people can try to maintain their standard of living only via the credit card, installment purchase, bank loan and so forth, although consumer indebtedness was already at an historic high when the bottom dropped out of the economy last spring. Then, too, they figure they will be paying back these loans in worthless dollars. But the bankers don't intend to let that happen, so they have jacked up interest rates well above the present rate of inflation.

Marshall/UAW Solidarity

Ford Mahwah, N.J. gate closes shut behind 3,500 jobless auto workers.

Reaganomics: Spell it i-N-F-L-A-T-I-O-N

Whatever big business is saying about Reagan, they are acting like he won't be able to do a damn thing about the economy and what he does do will feed the inflation. That too is why interest rates took off from the day after the election. And the money market boys are certainly right.

Insofar as Reagan's economic program is not just campaign rhetoric, he presented himself as the great tax cutter. All the problems of the economy, indeed, of declining American power, were to be exorcised by the simple formula: cut taxes. All this tax-cutting talk was associated with the new-fangled "supply-side" economics. In its unadulterated form, "supply siders" like Arthur Laffer argued that a big enough tax cut would stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue. This Alice-in-Wonderland "theory" was the rationale behind the famous Kemp-Roth tax bill, which proposed to cut tax rates by 30 percent over three years *without touching government expenditures*. The American big bourgeoisie were not amused. They regarded Kemp-Roth (rightly) as inflationary fiscal crackpotism.

And now that they have won governmental power, even the Reaganite "populists" are singing a different tune. The two leading "supply siders" in Reagan's entourage, Congressman Kemp of tax-bill fame, and designated head of the Office of Management and Budget David Stockman, concede:

> "The vigorous tax-cut package required to spur the supply side of the economy could raise the total fiscal 1981 deficit to the $60 billion to $80 billion range. Thus, unless the tax-cut program is accompanied by a credible and severe program to curtail fiscal 1981-1982 outlays, future spending authority, and overall Federal credit absorption, *financial market worries about a 'Reagan inflation' will be confirmed.*" [our emphasis]
>
> —"Memo to Reagan: 'Avoiding an Economic Dunkirk'," *New York Times*, 14 December 1980

Messrs. Kemp and Stockman demand that Reagan call "an economic state of emergency" to enact a few "modest proposals": reduce social-welfare programs such as unemployment compensation, Medicaid, food stamps, school lunches by 20 percent; cut back construction of highways, mass transit, sewage facilities by 20 percent, etc. This is all they want to do!

Even the new, more right-wing Congress is unlikely to risk the popular furor this volume of cutbacks would unleash. After all the budget squabbling is over, Reagan *will* get his big military spending hikes and his constituency will pressure him into some kind of tax cut. Since it is politically impossible to push through non-military cutbacks in the Kemp-Stockman range (smaller ones there will be), the coming budget deficits will be very large indeed. So, spell Reaganomics i-n-f-l-a-t-i-o-n.

Hard Times for Labor, Blacks

Reagan can't do anything to speak of about inflation and unemployment, but he can punish the so-called welfare bums, dump the CETA program, close ghetto hospitals, dismantle inner city schools, scrap the minimum wage for black youth. Axing these programs will, of course, do next to nothing to bring down the massive federal budget. But it will serve as a racist gesture from a government whose electoral platform the KKK said could have been written by a Klansman. Many blacks see the connection between the rise of racist terror across the country and the occupation of the White House by a certified right-winger. And we can expect black struggles ahead over the cutbacks in social programs, as witness the 2,000 people who came out to protest the closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital last fall.

What does it all mean for the working class? Since the fall of 1978 (when Carter and the union tops agreed to wage-price guidelines), the real take-home pay of the average worker fell 11 percent (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics press release, 23 November). That is one of the main reasons the Democrats lost the election. While the spring/early summer downturn was exceptionally sharp, it was also highly concentrated in Midwest heavy industry, especially auto and steel, and in housing construction. Thus, the large majority of workers are being killed by inflation, while not immediately afraid of pricing themselves out of a job. For that reason, the American ruling class is worried about determined catch-up wage fights by its workers in the coming period. "Unions are expected to drive some hard bargains next year to try to defend their members' real take-home pay," observes the conservative London *Economist* (13 December 1980) writing on the U.S. economic scene. Moreover, the three big unions with contracts coming up in the first half of 1981—coal, railroad, postal—are in a strong economic position even in the face of a recession. In at least two of these three situations a full cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) is the key issue.

As workers and blacks begin to fight, black misleaders and labor fakers will start winding up the "fight the right" rhetoric in the attempt to lead workers back into the Democratic Party in opposition. The Democrats' ace in the hole is that they know that the problems which defined the Carter years can only get worse under Reagan. Their first response, therefore, after the Reagan/Republican election victory was to say, "Go ahead, drastically increase the military arsenal, cut taxes, balance the budget and end inflation." The Democrats know that what angered people against Jimmy Carter will soon enough be directed at Ronald Reagan and the Republicans. Democratic leaders like Kennedy can be more easily sold as an opposition by the reformists who long for a class-collaborationist anti-Reagan movement, remembering nostalgically the "good old days" of FDR and the popular front. But the real "fight against the right" must be a fight against both parties of the ruling class. It must be a political fight to mobilize the workers as a class contending for power, and behind their leadership the black ghetto poor, in the fight for a workers government and socialist economic abundance. ■

Chrysler Blackmail...

(continued from page 1)

money hand over fist, it is now threatening an even bigger pay cut. The new plan would drain as much as $600 million out of the UAW contract in addition to the $450 million in special concessions made last year. It involves a 21-month freeze on the base wage and abolition of the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA). This means that each worker would surrender $2,000 per year in COLA *in addition to* the $8,000 already given up!

How Much Will Fraser Give Up?

The Solidarity House gang surrendered last year and is ready to do so again. "I don't see any other choice," moans Fraser, "the Chrysler Corp. is in real trouble." And Chrysler division vice president Marc Stepp echoed the

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Anti-Galbraith

The latest *New York Review of Books* (22 January 1981) contains an essay by the doyen of liberal economists, John Kenneth Galbraith, on "The Conservative Onslaught." This is a good example of the intellectual bankruptcy of New Deal liberalism, even in the hands of its most sophisticated representatives. As a polemic against Milton Friedman and the other ideologues of the Old and New Right, it is pathetic and evasive. While tilting at such straw men as the "romantic" belief in "the free market," Galbraith does *not* deal with the main economic argument of the big capitalists like Chase Manhattan's David Rockefeller and Citibank's Walter Wriston. These plutocrats, the real powers behind "the conservative onslaught," maintain that the present level of government expenditure, taxation and borrowing depresses business investment and so has caused the progressive collapse of industrial productivity.

Galbraith cannot explain why Friedmanite economics (once generally ridiculed) has won increasing support on Wall Street and in Fortune 500 boardrooms. Nor can he account for the new-found appeal of the Republicans among blue-collar, even unionized workers (44 percent of those who voted pushed the lever for Reagan). The frustrated liberal eminence is reduced to scapegoating Carter's economic advisers for blowing the election:

> "Much, if not most, of Mr. Reagan's success must be attributed to President Carter's economists—to the macroeconomic management that combined a severe recession with a severe inflation, with a drastic slump in the housing industry, with particular economic distress in the traditional Democratic industrial states—and all these in the year of an election."

But this does not explain why the liberal wing of the Democratic Party in Congress was routed by the Republican right. And it certainly doesn't explain why (as Galbraith himself likes to point out) Carter's own economic policies were more Friedmanite than Keynesian. Recall in 1976 the farmer from Plains, Ga. campaigned against "big government."

If Galbraith's analysis of the conservative onslaught is worthless, so is his alternative to it. To the right-wing demagogue's cry, "Slash taxes!" he answers with the traditional liberal-populist refrain of "Tax the rich":

> "When demand presses on resources, there must be increased taxes and these must be primarily on the affluent.... I would urge increased use of indirect taxation on objects of [illegible] luxury consumption; it is hard to have tears for those who must pay more for luxury automobiles, furniture, housing, attire, or entertainment."

Galbraith evidently assumes the rich have no powers of economic resistance, that they are passive objects at the hands of the IRS. In his liberal-populist sociology, classes are not determined by the relation to the means of production (capitalists and workers), but by the level of consumption (rich and poor). Thus, Galbraith writes archly:

> "We hesitate in these careful days to suggest an opposition of interest between the rich and the poor. One should not stir the embers of the class struggle."

Reading his essay one would think the rich get their money off trees in their backyards or are simply highly-paid employees of impersonal corporations. We must inform the distinguished Harvard professor that the affluent of this society are rich because they *own the means of production*. It is they who *decide* what fraction of corporate profit is expended on executive salaries, dividends, internal loan repayments, "perks" and the like, and what fraction is reinvested in plant, equipment and hiring more labor.

Let us take a major shareholder of a big corporation, whose personal income largely derives from its dividend payments. What will he do if the income tax rate for his bracket is sharply increased? Will he manfully tighten his belt, give up his membership in the country club, move out of his mansion into an apartment house? Don't bet on it. He and his fellow shareholders will simply vote to raise dividend payments or take money from the firm in other, less obvious ways. In addition to executive salaries, dividends, interest payments, every corporation enhances the affluence of its principal owners in innumerable *non*-taxable ways. Increase sales taxes on Cadillacs and Mercedes, and more will be purchased by businesses as "tax-deductible expenses."

In general an increase in government expenditure, *regardless of the mechanisms by which it is financed,* will be offset by a reduction of private capitalist investment. That is why Japan, which has a very small military budget and a relatively small non-military budget, has by far the highest rate of industrial investment of any advanced capitalist country.

For decades liberals like Galbraith have maintained that capitalism could be made to work better—be more productive, more egalitarian—through this or that fiscal or monetary policy. Back in the 1930s John Maynard Keynes argued that capitalists could be induced to "play the game," i.e., reinvest their wealth in increasing production, for lower stakes. Experience since has shown him wrong. That is the underlying basis behind "the conservative onslaught." What the working class has to do is to change both the game and the players. This is called socialist revolution.

company's not-very-subtle threat: "I'm firmly convinced the workers will do what they have to do to survive" (*Detroit News*, 17 December 1980). If Fraser was upset with Iacocca, it was not for wanting to cut the ranks' wages, but because the Chrysler Corp. chief infuriated auto workers by his insulting tone. "You make this process extremely difficult for the union with such off-the-cuff remarks," Fraser advised Iacocca in an official union letter.

Indeed, the "process" of gouging the UAW ranks did not sit well with the 250 delegates to the Chrysler Council which met in Detroit on December 22. The Council did vote by a show of hands to re-open the contract, but Fraser admitted there was a "pronounced minority"

UPI

Chrysler boss Iacocca's (left) arrogance makes it harder for Fraser (right) to sell sellout to the workers.

in opposition, and the initial *New York Times* report said the Council had rejected a freeze. UAW spokesman Don Stillman made a point of refuting this report: "It is inaccurate to say that we rejected the Chrysler plea." But many of the ranks have a rather different attitude toward "the Chrysler plea." Said one: "They can take that wage freeze and stick it. You're goddamned right I'm upset. We can't make a living the way it is, with prices always going up."

Trying to make the sellout easier to sell, Solidarity House says it is awaiting a verdict by the government Loan Guarantee Board that the concessions are a "true necessity." But whose government is it, anyway? Reagan's appointed cabinet of corporate executives only underscores what is no less true of Democrat Carter's—it is the bosses' government!

Making some pretense at being unionists, the Chrysler Council came up with a few of their own demands, such as additional "profit-sharing"—truly a sick joke! But then there's no sign that Fraser opposed the Chrysler plan in his role as a member of the board of directors (another "gain" of the bailout). And he reportedly absented himself from a recent board meeting which discussed labor issues. Meanwhile the *Detroit Free Press* (16 December 1980) reports Fraser is angling for a seat on the Ford board of directors as well!

This role as a director of the American auto industry is increasingly fitting for Fraser, whose *only* long-term "strategy" for mounting unemployment is a chauvinist campaign against foreign cars. The UAW has reportedly spent $200,000 of its members' money to place ads for slogans such as "Paying for Imports With Our Jobs Is a Price We Can't Afford." But what working people here as well as in other countries cannot afford is national economic protectionism. Freed from any competition GM and Ford would profit-gouge like there was no tomorrow. Americans, including blue-collar workers, buy Toyotas, Datsuns and Volkswagens because they save a lot of money not only on the car but also on $1.40-a-gallon gas. And with real wages having fallen more than 10 percent in the past few years, this is no small saving.

The UAW bureaucracy, vaguely social-democratic in outlook, has no solution to the irrationality of the capitalist system (production for profit not use) except unemployment for workers in other countries. Instead of fighting the class struggle here and abroad, Fraser & Co. agitate for trade war against the Japanese and West Europeans. And at a certain point trade war escalates into a different order of war.

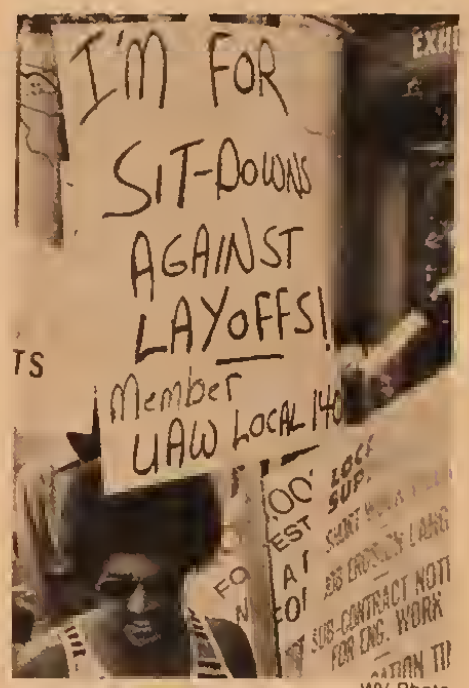
No Bailout, No Concessions, Restore Parity!

Chrysler has already drawn down $800 million of the $1.5 billion in federally guaranteed loans authorized a year ago, while in 1980 the firm ran $1.7 billion in the red, the largest loss ever for an American corporation. These losses are not simply a result of the present recession. Chrysler failed to retool in the late 1970s and so cannot supply (even to the extent GM and Ford can) the demand for smaller, fuel-efficient cars.

What will the incoming Reagan administration do about the Chrysler lemon? A strictly "free market" policy would dictate no loan guarantee. But a Chrysler bankruptcy would create tremendous financial chaos, and Reagan's is nothing if not a Wall Street administration. At any rate, what is clear is that the government, no less than the company, will make the workers pay.

What is also clear is that the new scheme will not "save jobs" any more than the last round of concessions did. When Chrysler first called for a government bailout in 1979, indefinite layoffs from Chrysler numbered about 25,000; *they now number 45,000.* At least one plant (in Warren, Michigan) was recently sold with millions in cash going to the bosses. And the Mack Avenue stamping plant is scheduled for closing June 20. When the UAW bureaucracy campaigned for the Chrysler bailout over a year ago, the reformist left quickly fell in behind, sometimes tacking on a call for "nationalization" as a socialist-sounding cover. We warned that such reformist schemes to prop up inefficient firms would come out of the workers' hides. And we put forward a class-struggle alternative striking at the heart of capitalist property rights:

> "The only way workers can hope to salvage this situation of sunk companies is to seize them. Not piracy but mutiny. What then? Either Chrysler is broke or it isn't. If it is broke then the workers ought to democratically elect a board to liquidate Chrysler. But not a cent to the Wall Street shareholders of Chrysler! Let the stocks, bonds and bank debts go down the tubes. All the money from the sale of assets should go to the Chrysler workforce including the foreign workers."
>
> —"Whatever Chrysler's Worth—Give It to the Workers," *WV* No. 238, 17 August 1979



WV Photo

Detroit, July 1979—Militant auto workers demonstrate for sit-down strikes over Chrysler closing.

Now Chrysler (with Ford right behind) is threatening the workers: either a massive pay cut or massive layoffs. But auto workers are not powerless. The sit-down strike was key to creating the UAW in the 1930s. The same weapons can defeat the auto bosses now.

- —No concessions to Chrysler—Restore parity with GM and Ford!
- —Prepare for strike sit-down action! Workers to get all money from any Chrysler liquidation!
- —For guaranteed unlimited sub/unemployment pay and welfare benefits!
- —Oust the bureaucrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!■

Indian Left Chauvinism Over Assam Violence

by Umesh Sharma

WEST BENGAL—It is more than a year since a chauvinist movement began in [the northeastern Indian state of] Assam to drive out the non-Assamese. What began with the slogan "Ali, coolie, Nepali, Bengali, uaal jao" ("Muslims, imported Indian laborers, Nepalis and Bengalis, get out!") has now become a matter of the formal legal status of the immigrants from Bangladesh. Pogroms against these so-called "foreigners" have spread to Tripura and neighboring states, leaving hundreds dead and tens of thousands homeless.

New Delhi became especially alarmed when the Assamese chauvinists stopped the flow of oil out of the state, which is the souree of most of India's domestic production. But after denouncing the agitation as a conspiracy inspired and financed by the CIA, China, Bangladesh and Pakistan, the government of Indira Gandhi has started discussions with the leaders of the agitation in hopes of finding a way out. A strange way of dealing with conspiracies!

In order to understand the reality behind these developments, we should first remember the fact that 99.4 pereent of the Assamese-speaking people of India live in their home state of Assam. The Assamese have been historieally the least mobile section of Indians. It is also a faet that Assam remains underdeveloped. In the tea plantations, the labor has always been drawn from other parts of India, including Nepali-speaking people from West Bengal and Nepal, and also workers from U.P. [Uttar Pradesh], Bihar and other Hindi-speaking areas. The latter are called "coolies" by the Assamese gentry. Finally there are the Bengali-speaking people in Assam who for decades have been the main victims of Assamese chauvinism. They constitute the second-largest linguistic group in Assam.

When the British hoisted their flag over Assam in 1826, they adopted a policy of appointing mainly Bengali Hindus to the lower rungs of administration (the upper were reserved for white men). Then the British sought to increase agrarian revenue and adopted the policy of importing lakhs [hundreds of thousands] of Bengali peasants to settle in the uncultivated riverine tracts along the Brahmaputra. The British, however, did not like to annoy the tribal population of Assam, and to that end in the 1920s they instituted the Line System, which exeluded certain tribal areas from the new settlers.

That did not satisfy a section of the Bengali leadership. Maulana Bhasani migrated to Assam in 1928 and demanded the abolition of the Line System, putting forward the idea of a united "Bangassam" as a solution to East Bengal's landlessness. Then came the Muslim League ministry in Assam in 1937, which carried out the policy of "sponsored immigration" of Muslims from East Bengal. After partition in 1947, and again in 1950 and 1964, there were Hindu-Muslim riots which led to further immigration of Bengali Hindus into Assam. After the 1971 civil war whieh led to the ereation of Bangladesh, persecuted Bihari Muslims fled to Assam, and many Bengali-speaking Muslims also immigrated to escape the famine in Bangladesh.

So the problem in Assam is that although the Assamese-speaking people constitute the largest linguistic group in the state, they are not an absolute majority. The Assamese elite and ruling class eonsider the big non-Assamese groups to be a threat to their political power. More serious is the problem of unemployment and pressure on the land. Even workers of the tea plantations and their kin, faced with unemployment, have reverted to agriculture. The Assamese petty bourgeoisie has to face fierce competiton from the non-Assamese in business and also in white-collar jobs. Thus they have tried to disenfranchise many of the non-Assamese immigrants.

In 1950, just before the 1951 census, riots broke out in Assam that in effect allowed the Bengali Muslims only two alternatives: death and depredation, or repudiating their real identity in the census and deelaring themselves non-Assamese. Riots broke out against Bengali Hindus before the census of 1961 and again in 1971, with the result that they too had to disown their identity. Most of the Bengali-language institutions in Assam were closed forever. And now a new eensus is imminent in 1981 and we have the present agitation, which despite claims to the contrary has meant barbarous attacks, arson and torture of the minorities. About 5,000 people have had to seek refuge in West Bengal, while others have fled to Bangladesh.

That is the real nature of the agitation which was eharaeterised as a "popular movement" not only by the Bharatiya Janata Party, the Janata Party and Lok Dal [all fragments of the former Desai/Singh governments], but also initially hy the pro-Moscow Cnmmunist Party of India (CPI) and by the "Marxist-Leninist" RSPI(ML) [Indian associates of the British Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff and Michael Kidron]. The Communist Party (Marxist), the major Stalinist party in India (whieh wields power in state governments of West Bengal and Kerala), in contrast, denounced the Assam agitation as "seeessionist." The CPI soon followed suit, sermonising about the sacred nature of national unity. The CPI(M) seems to have forgotten that Stalin (their hero) had diseovered 800 nationalities in India, and to be sure, the Assamese were one of them.

The CPI(M) defends the Bengali-speaking minority of Assam, which is not unexpected as the majority of that party belongs to West Bengal. But they forget about the legitimate national rights of Assamese-speaking people. After opposing deployment of central government troops in other states, after denouncing central interference in the affairs of West Bengal, CPI(M) leader Jyoti Basu did not hesitate to appeal to Mrs. Gandhi to intervene in Assam. She did indeed, dissolving the CPI(M) governments of Assam and Tripura, while the killings go on and on.

Though the majority of the so-called "Naxalite" (i.e., Maoist) groupings have denounced the agitation as chauvinist, there are some even in West Bengal (e.g., the group that published *Aneek* in Bengali) who support it as a "popular movement" and invoke the principle of the right of self-determination. What is missed in their arguments is that Marxism is opposed to national oppression of all kinds. Unlike the fake "socialists" and "communist" companions of Jyoti Basu, Bolshevik revolutionaries believe that the Assamese have a right to secede, but they have no right to oppress non-Assamese. Moreover, the interests of the revolution are the supreme law to a Bolshevik, and that demands unity of the working masses.

The worst position on Assam is, however, that of the state-capitalist RSPI(ML). This group, which borrows everything from Cliff and Kidron while presenting it as the original contribution of their leaders K.P. Sharma and D.O. Brahma, blames the whole problem in Assam on "Bihari Muslims, the staunch enemies of Indian nationalism and newly emerged Bangladesh nationalism," who were allowed "to enter northeast India without authorisation and live there" (*Krantiyug*, 5 August 1980). The RSPI(ML) observed "Assam People's Movement Day" on August 15, and wrote in a verbose editorial:

> "When the popular movement of Bangladesh was built and led against the domination of West Pakistan, it became difficult for the Bihari Muslims to live in East Pakistan. They fled to Assam from East Pakistan.... Responsibility for rehabilitation anywhere in India lies with the government of India, not with the people of Assam, as these foreigners have entered forcibly."
> —*Krantiyug*, 29 July 1980

The editorial calls upon the government to "rehabilitate" the Bihari Muslims elsewhere.

It is not the case that the unfortunate Bihari Muslims were admitted to India. Mrs. Indira Gandhi, who allowed one million Bengali refugees to stay in India in 1971 and armed and fed the forces loyal to the Awami League [which on Indian bayonets beeame the leadership of Bangladesh], has shown consistent hostility toward the [mainly Muslim] Urdu-speaking population of Bangladesh. It was not without support from Indira Gandhi and "progressives" of India that the Awami League killed and maimed Bihari Muslims as "collaborators" of the Pakistani regime and forcibly oeeupied their houses and property.

Pakistan today feeds no fewer than 700,000 Afghan refugees on "grounds of humanitarian and Islamie brotherhood," but showed no such eonsideration for the 350,000 Bihari Muslims they left stranded since 1972 in 66 camps in Bangladesh, living "in unbearahle, inhuman conditions, surrounded by filth and misery" (*Sunday* [Calcutta], 14 September 1980). In 1979 the Stranded Pakistanis' General Repatriation Committee gave a call to 50,000 Bihari Muslims in Bangladesh to undertake a long march to Pakistan through India. Both Prime Minister Charan Singh and Jyoti Basu, head of the CPI(M)-dominated "Left Front" government of West Bengal, were prompt in sealing the borders.

The sad plight of the Bihari Muslims has been called "processed genocide." To Indian followers of Stalin and Tony Cliff, that is okay because the vietims happen to be "staunch enemies of Indian and Bangladesh nationalism." Most of these, however, were poor people from U.P. and Bihar who went to East Pakistan either as a result of the anti-Muslim pogroms after 1947 in India or due to abject poverty. It is criminal to exterminate, deport or even disperse a people against their will in order to ensure a majority for a given group. True Bolshevik revolutionaries defend the right to national self-determination while opposing all forms of national oppression. Fake Marxists like Basu and "Leninists" like Sharma/Brahma reveal their true colours by worshipping the deities of bnurgeois nationalism. ■

El Salvador...

(continued from page 12)

aristocracy came to a crashing end in 1929. As the bottom fell out of the world market, Salvadoran farm laborers were hit with mass unemployment. Meanwhile, the oligarchy moved to oust an elected "reform" government. In January 1932, the newly formed Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) planned an insurrection after a putsch by General Maximiliano Hernández Martinez. Although the PCS leadership was rounded up (and later executed), coffee estate workers in western El Salvador rose and were brutally repressed. In the following weeks Hernández drove home this bloody "lesson" to the wnrking masses, teaching them to "stay in their place" by slaughtering 30,000 people, roughly 3-4 pereent of the country's entire population.

This was *la matanza*, the Salvadoran bourgeoisie's response to the first Communist-led uprising in the Americas. No one on either side of the class barricades has forgotten it, and today 1932 is still the watchword of hardliners in the ruling elass and army. When the FDR leaders were assassinated, the crime was attrihuted to a "Maximiliano Hernández Martinez Brigade." And a spokesman of the growers association recently remarked, "Coffee growers should not anguish over the situation today; there was a similar one in 1932, and if it was solved then, it can be solved now" (*NACLA Report*, March-April 1980). Only this time the "solution" they are talking about is 100,000 dead.

Bullets Replace Ballots

The roots of the current political crisis ean be traced most direetly to the heavy-handed vote fraud which stole two elections, in 1972 and 1977, from Christian Democratic (PDC) winners and continued the succession of repressive army governments under military hardliner General Carlos Romero. With liberal reform efforts consistently stymied, a radical left opposition grew rapidly both in the cities and countryside.

Three different guerrilla "armies" arose, each with its own mass-based coalition. The first, the FPL, was founded by Salvador Cayetano, a former leader of the Communist Party who split from the PCS over its supine support for El Salvador in the 1969 "football war" with Honduras. The FPL is linked to the People's Revnlutionary Block (BPR), the largest and originally most radical of the coalitions, which grouped most of the organized rural laborers and the teachers union. The second guerrilla outfit is the ERP, originally a Guevarist group which had roots in the left wing of the Christian Democrats. Its "popular organization" is the February 28th People's Leagues (LP-28), strong among high school students and market vendors. The third group, the FARN, is a front fnr the United People's Action Front (FAPU), which controls the largest union federation, including the combative electrical workers.

The incredible number of fronts, armies, parties, coalitions, etc. makes El Salvador left polities extremely difficult to unravel. However, several points can be made. First, the main left groups are based on mass organizations of workers, peasants and the urban poor, counting tens of thnusands of supporters. This contrasts with Nicaragua where the strategy of the bonapartist Sandinista armed forces was to conquer the main urban eenters from without. This mass mobilization is one reason why the imperialists are more worried about the Salvadoran left taking power than they were at the prospect of a Sandinista victory in 1979. Second, the political differences are at most taetical and even then murky. Furthermore they are extremely fluid, so that groups pass easily from one coalition to another, and yesterday's left wing today stands on the right. And while today "unity" is the watchword, Salvadoran factional polities can be deadly: when the ERP's most prominent member, well-known leftist poet Roque Dalton, opposed its "militarist" line in 1975 he was executed by his "comrades." Above all, even before their general rightward turn since 1979, none of the "guerrilla left" groups

had a program and strategy for proletarian revolution in Central America; all were based on an eclectic mishmash of radical nationalism and various brands of Stalinist "revolution by stages" reformism.

During the early and mid-'70s the guerrilla groups engaged in a series of kidnappings, radio station takeovers, embassy occupations and assassinations of hated military figures and capitalists. The kidnappings proved highly profitable—the ransom for coffee baron Jaime Hill was $8 million, and the FARN alone gathered roughly $40 million between 1975 and 1979 (Harald Jung, "Class Struggles in El Salvador," *New Left Review*, July-August 1980). Meanwhile, falling coffee prices and a bad harvest in 1978 led to unrest in the countryside, while strikes increased in San Salvador. The right wing replied with bloody terror. When the BPR occupied the capital's basilica in May 1979, police mowed down demonstrators on the cathedral steps, leaving more than two dozen dead. But the demonstrations continued.

"Human Rights Junta"

Obviously, General Romero's white terror was not working to stem the tide of worker and peasant unrest. It was at that point that Jimmy Carter's "human rights" administration stepped in. Shortly after Somoza fell, Carter sent State Department Latin America expert William Bowdler to El Salvador, asking Romero to step down. When the general refused, he was overthrown on 15 October 1979 in a coup which was obviously "made in USA." The composition of the new junta was clearly brokered by Washington: it included "moderates" like Colonel Adolfo Majano, leader of the "Military Youth" officers faction, together with right-wingers like Colonel Jaime Gutiérrez, reputedly the Pentagon's man. They were joined by the "social-democratic" MNR leader, a leading industrialist and the head of the Catholic university.

The left was initially disoriented by the U.S.' maneuver. But almost as soon as they were sworn in, the "human rights junta" was presiding over an unprecedented wave of rightist terror. The army, national police and paramilitary thugs went wild in the slums and villages murdering peasants and leftists at a rate unheard of under Romero. In response the "guerrilla left" and their above-ground "popular organizations" began drawing together with the Communist Party, leading to the formation of the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM) in early January. On January 22, anniversary of the 1932 revolt, the CRM held a mammoth inaugural rally of an estimated 200,000 in the capital. As the crowd entered the Plaza Central, rightist snipers on the rooftops of the presidential palace and the Bank of El Salvador began firing automatic weapons into the crowd: over 100 dead, 300 wounded...

At the turn of the year the junta fell apart, with reform-minded civilians opting out. Education minister Samayoa joined the FPL guerrillas (and was captured later, never to be heard from again). Agriculture minister Alvarez Córdova left to form the Democratic Front, which joined with the CRM to form the Revolutionary Democratic Front, and this "black sheep" of one of the 14 Families became the titular head of the opposition popular front. They were replaced by more Christian Democrats. But the killing went on.

While the junta's agrarian "reform" and its associated terror got under way in March, the left-wing guerrillas stepped up harassment of government armed forces. In the cities increasingly massive demonstrations reached a peak with a successful two-day protest general strike in June which solidly shut down San Salvador. But eventually the massive bloodletting began to intimidate the left's supporters from repeatedly trooping out to face deadly machine-gun fire, and an attempted general strike in August failed to close businesses or stop mass transportation in the capital. Dissension in the opposition led to the resignation of the FARN guerrillas from the guerrilla command, reputedly to seek an alliance with liberal officers around Colonel Majano.

Meanwhile, however, the "Military Youth" have been isolated within the armed forces, its members removed from operational commands and now Majano dropped from the junta. (Like every other former government leader, he immediately went underground.) Pentagon man Gutiérrez is now "vice president" and sole army chief, while PDC leader Napoleón Duarte became figurehead president. (Approving this arrangement, the latest stage in the "creeping coup," was the main business of the special U.S. mission supposedly investigating the nun killings.) The Salvadoran ruling class closed ranks around its military protectors; a "Productive Alliance" document given to Reagan advisers asserted, "The only solution to this problem is to destroy the Communists militarily...." The FARN, its attempt to strike a deal with some dissident bourgeois force having failed, returned to the guerrilla command. And the "final offensive" is proclaimed.

For Central American Workers Revolution!

With Majano now out of the government and issuing calls to oppose the junta by "any means necessary," the FDR popular front, embracing most petty-bourgeois sectors and several bourgeois figures, may be picking up liberal support. Yet if a few "modernizing" colonels or Archbishop Rivera y Damas were to link arms with the guerrilla left, it would not be to aid revolutionary struggle but to act as a brake, to ensure that it remains within capitalist hounds. Former junta member Majano shares responsibility (no less than the vile Christian Democratic politicians) for the more than 9,000 murdered by rightist repression last year. He is a blood enemy of the Salvadoran working masses. In the opposition, he and his fellow officers would see their primary duty as preventing armed struggle from "going too far." They and bourgeois forces in the Democratic Revolutionary Front seek above all to preserve the blood-soaked officer corps and capitalist property from destruction.

Again and again since the October coup it has been demonstrated that popular-frontism paralyzes and disorients the struggle against the generals' counterrevolutionary terror. When Romero fell the new junta attempted to neutralize and even win over the left. They almost succeeded. The PCS joined the cabinet. The LP-28 briefly gave conditional "wait-and-see" support. The BPR called on the junta to carry out its promises, helping to spread illusions that it could or would. Later, the August general strike failed (as a strike, anyway) in part because petty-bourgeois components of the FDR kept their shops open and their buses running. After this setback, the FARN broke ranks in order to seek more powerful bourgeois backing. The rest of the left was banking on picking up international diplomatic support through tours by bourgeois scions like FDR head Alvarez Córdova, later murdered by the rightist death squads. Both efforts failed. But it was class collaboration that paralyzed the left in the face of a mounting counterrevolutionary bloodbath.

Nationalism, too, stands in the way of victory over the military butchers. The Central American statelets, which emerged from colonial rule as a single federal state, have never been viable as independent economic or political units. Each one has its own oil refinery, but none have real industrialization, and the Yankees get the bananas. The ruling classes are quick to unite, however, when it is a question of defending capitalist rule from the spectre of communism. The CIA coup against the bourgeois nationalist Arbenz government in Guatemala was mounted from Honduras. Somoza allowed the Bay of Pigs operation to leave from Nicaragua, after training in Guatemala. Today, ex-Somoza troops are serving in El Salvador and several thousand more are being maintained in Honduras, which just signed a long-delayed peace treaty with El Salvador in order to facilitate policing the border against guerrillas.

In the face of likely imperialist intervention, and merely to defeat their "own" bourgeoisie, forces seeking proletarian revolution anywhere in Central America will face defeat if they limit themselves by artifical national frontiers. The borders of El Salvador or Nicaragua are far less defensible than Cuba's coasts, and even there the U.S. attempted a counterrevolutionary invasion. Yet the necessary goal of a Central America-wide revolutionary mobilization of the working masses is frustrated by the class collaboration of the Salvadoran guerrillas and the Nicaraguan Sandinistas. Seeking a modus vivendi with the "national" bourgeoisie, they refuse to internationalize the struggle against the capitalist exploiters: hence the absence of effective Sandinista military support to the Salvadoran rebels.

The Trotskyist program of permanent revolution—not for bogus "democratic" capitalism, but for a workers and peasants government to expropriate the bourgeoisie—is the only banner under which Central America will be liberated from the military boot, oligarchic exploitation and imperialist domination. This program is starkly counterposed to all brands of nationalist populism and Stalinist reformism in the Salvadoran left. Yet the major ostensible Trotskyist grouping in the world, the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," has endorsed the program of the FDR popular front, which calls for a "popular, democratic and antioligarchic" (i.e., *not socialist*) revolution, which appeals to "healthy, patriotic, and worthy elements that belong to the current army"—e.g., the Colonel Majanos (*Intercontinental Press*, 5 May).

Two small pseudo-Trotskyist groups inside El Salvador, the Morenoite PST and the formerly Lambertist OSI, raise as one of their central demands in the present revolutionary crisis, "For a free, democratic and sovereign constituent assembly" (*Correspondance Internationale*, October 1980). Yet *not even bourgeois liberals* are calling today for a constituent assembly, at a time when the constitution of soviets, organs of *workers* power, is on the agenda. Like the USec, the PST's main goal is to gain sufficient importance to enter the guerrilla command (DRU). But the struggle for Trotskyism in Central America is not a fight to unite with the popular-frontists but to defeat them politically, through independent mobilization of the working class around the communist program and internationalist struggle for a Socialist United States of Latin America.

U.S./OAS/Latin American bourgeois rulers: All hands off El Salvador—No imperialist intervention! U.S. workers: Boycott all military goods to Central American rightist regimes! Military victory to the leftist insurgents! For a Trotskyist party! For workers soviets—For workers and peasants governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America! ■

ILWU Boycotts Military Shipments to El Salvador!

SAN FRANCISCO—ILWU International president Jimmy Herman announced here on December 22 a boycott action by the union's 18,000 longshoremen at 30 ports on the U.S. West Coast, British Columbia and Hawaii against American military goods to the junta in El Salvador. A Delta Lines shipment of batteries and vehicle parts designated as riot-control equipment was immediately stopped on San Francisco's Pier 30.

This boycott is thoroughly needed and can be a powerful act of labor solidarity with the El Salvadoran workers and peasants. But why is it so belated? Herman's press statement explained: "Our policy in this matter is in line with the suspension of military assistance ordered by President Carter earlier this month."

Thus the ILWU bureaucracy is mainly tailing after the Carter administration (which supported, supplied and still supplies every bloody right-wing junta in Latin America) in its supremely hypocritical and low-cost attempt to clean up the image of the Democratic Party for a future electoral comeback. The outgoing Jimmy Carter cut off aid only after American nuns were killed, and Jimmy Herman acted only after Jimmy Carter gave the green light.

The shallowness of the International's concern is shown by their unwillingness to back up the boycott with a defense of the union members against threatened company reprisals. The Pacific Maritime Association (the employers' association) claims the boycott violates the no-strike agreement and could lead to suspension of weekly wage guarantees. Instead of announcing the union's readiness to *strike* if necessary to defend its members' pay guarantees, Herman moaned to local newspapers that this boycott could cost 18,000 union members $390 a week in pay guarantee plan (PGP) benefits for the presumably lengthy duration of the boycott! He also expressed his pious "hope" that the government would cancel the shipments rather than risk the workers' pay.

Longtime ILWU Local 10 Exec Board member Howard Keylor, co-editor of the "Longshore Militant" newsletter, told *Workers Vanguard*:

> "This boycott is long overdue. It's the first ongoing boycott in 40 years that the International has called for more than one day or one shipment. An ongoing boycott could be effective if it's carried through, but it's being carried out in such a way as to leave us open to reprisals and retreats. If Herman were serious about this boycott he'd back it up with the threat of union-wide strike action to defend our PGP.
>
> "It took two years for the International officers to consent to a one-day boycott of Chilean cargo after the 1973 coup. Even that boycott wouldn't have succeeded for the one day it was called without the intervention of the Militant Caucus in San Francisco and the Spartacist League-initiated picket line in Los Angeles. It took another four years and the approval of the Democratic Party leadership for the International to boycott one shipment of bomb fins to the Chilean junta. What the union ought to be doing now is mobilizing the rank and file to stop PMA from penalizing the membership for this action so that it can be carried through."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Popular Frontism Disarms Masses Before White Terror

For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!

DECEMBER 28—El Salvador, Central America is on the brink of full-scale civil war. Profoundly socially polarized, wracked by almost indescribably bloody right-wing repression, the country is locked in a battle to the death. On one side is a discredited U.S.-backed regime defending the privileged rule of a tightly knit oligarchy. On the other are the impoverished worker and peasant masses who have suffered for half a century under Latin America's longest continuous military dictatorship. The Carter plan to defuse the explosive situation in El Salvador with a "human rights junta," implementing a few cosmetic reforms, has failed. Now it is a confrontation that can end only with the overthrow of the murderous generals or in a massive reactionary bloodbath, possibly assisted by the direct intervention of Yankee imperialism. Victory depends on mobilizing the energies and determination of the masses to sweep away the uniformed butchers forever, through workers revolution, rather than simply replacing them with a new gang of "democratic" bourgeois rulers.

NACLA

Salvadoran masses protest junta terror. Only workers revolution throughout Central America can sweep away the bloody oligarchs and their butcher generals.

As Jimmy Carter's lame-duck presidency limps to the end, tiny El Salvador, a country of fewer than five million people, is being posed as the first foreign policy "test" for the incoming Republican administration. The Sandinista victory in Nicaragua and a growing guerrilla insurgency in Guatemala have given U.S. rulers cause to fear that the fall of El Salvador's bloody junta would, in the words of a Christmas Eve *New York Times* editorial, "tip the balance of forces in all Central America and threaten even Mexico." Thus, anxious to create an "irreversible situation" before Reagan takes office, the Salvadoran Unified Revolutionary Directorate (DRU) announced on December 13 that orders had been issued calling left-wing militants to "take up combat positions" throughout the country. "The situation will be red-hot by the time Mr. Reagan arrives," declared DRU member Fermán Cienfuegos in Mexico City (*New York Times*, 27 December 1980). At press time a major guerrilla offensive has reportedly been launched in the northern province of Chalatenango.

Meanwhile, the anti-communist killers are in high gear with their crescendo of mass terror. The spectre of "another Cuba" in "America's back yard" has led the Republicans to signal the Salvadoran military that they will have free rein, and whatever military aid is needed, to drown the left in blood. Asked during his election campaign whether he would send the Marines into Central America, "Big Stick" Reagan replied coyly, "Never say never." There is a very real danger that El Salvador could become the victim of a Santo Domingo-style U.S. intervention, possibly with "inter-American" support from the neighboring dictatorships in Guatemala and Honduras. Or from the more presentable Venezuela, Colombia and Costa Rica, whose troops reportedly took part in joint military maneuvers—code named Operation Centaur—with the U.S. on the Puerto Rican island of Vieques. As revealed by a recently leaked official "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America," already under the Carter administration plans are far advanced for such imperialist "peacekeeping" action.

Guerrilla leaders have warned that U.S. intervention would turn El Salvador into "another Vietnam and the tomb of the Yankee marines." Given the junta's superiority in firepower, the lack of geographical conditions for guerrilla war, the sizeable military forces of the dictatorship and the (so far) bitter-end resistance of an entrenched bourgeoisie, this will be no easy task. But the Salvadoran masses have no choice—passivity has not stopped the escalating massacre. And if the working masses rise up in an all-round insurrection, from the coffee-growing hills of the west to the San Salvador slums and factories, they can defeat the white terror. Just look at the first days of the Spanish Civil War when nearly unarmed workers successfully stormed Francoist fortresses. Even if the Salvadoran proletariat does not fight its way through to establishing its own class rule, at least a radical plebeian uprising against the murderous junta will enable them to avenge—if only minimally—the grotesque crimes of these butchers and their dollar-crazed oligarch benefactors!

The battle cannot be limited to little El Salvador, however—the "*pulgarcito* (Tom Thumb) of the Americas." To stop the torturing, murdering Salvadoran *gorilas* and their Yankee godfathers, the whole Central American isthmus must be set aflame with proletarian revolution. This will force the petty-bourgeois bonapartist Sandinista regime in Managua to confront head-on the dilemma it has sought to escape: either breaking sharply with the bourgeoisie and arming Salvadoran leftists, or capitulating to the imperialist pressures and likely sealing its own doom. It also means linking up, just as the imperialists fear, with the potentially powerful Mexican proletariat. And it requires militant acts of labor solidarity from the workers movement throughout the hemisphere, especially in the U.S. The West Coast longshore union's ban on military cargo to El Salvador—though so far only on paper—points in the right direction (see box).

"El Salvador is more sharply divided than Nicaragua between left and right," editorialized the *New York Times* (24 December 1980). And they were right. Here the battle was not against a single tyrant opposed even by important sectors of the bourgeoisie, but a much clearer struggle pitting the exploited masses against their capitalist exploiters. Yet repeatedly the Salvadoran left has tried to paper over the abyss between the opposing class forces by proclaiming a "national" and "patriotic" fight for "democracy," not socialism, and tying the workers to "progressive" bourgeois forces. Already this treacherous policy of popular frontism has blocked mass struggles against the generals' terror, and as the showdown approaches it stands in the way of the key task: splitting the army, not between "democratic" and "fascist" officers, but between the proletarian/peasant ranks and an officer corps committed (even its most liberal elements) to the preservation of capitalist rule. Here the program of agrarian revolution—expropriate the latifundistas and coffee barons—is key to winning the peasant youth conscripted into the army.

The Salvadoran left drew inspiration from the July 1979 overthrow of Nicaragua's bloody patriarch, Anastasio Somoza, by the radical petty-bourgeois Sandinista guerrillas. They have even modeled their joint military command on the Nicaraguan FSLN, baptizing it the "Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front" (FMLN) after a Salvadoran militant who served with Augusto Sandino in Nicaragua in the 1920s and later was the martyred Communist leader of a 1932 uprising in El Salvador. But unlike the Sandinistas, the Salvadoran workers and peasants do not face the tottering power of a hated strongman who alienated the traditional bourgeoisie and transformed the National Guard into his personal bodyguard. In El Salvador the ruling class is centered on a landed oligarchy, the so-called "14 Families," which for at least *half a century* has solidly supported naked military rule to prop up their economic domination.

The "golden age" of the coffee

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 272

16 January 1981

Sweep Nazis/KKK Off the Streets!

Mobilize Labor, Blacks Against Reagan Racism!

January 15th:
Fascist Provocation in Buffalo
Liberal "Holiday" in D.C.

WV Photo

Detroit, one week after the Greensboro massacre: blacks, socialists, auto workers say, "Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

While thousands of poor Americans froze in their unheated apartments or huddled into emergency National Guard armories for survival, Ronald Reagan and his "team" decided to wear dove-gray vests and striped pants for the inauguration. At a time when ordinary working people are ravaged by massive unemployment, plant closings and spiraling inflation, some capitalist politicians felt Reagan's "fashion statement" was too obviously a show of ruling-class contempt. But who is surprised that Reagan's inauguration is a holiday for Wall Street? Certainly not black people. They're getting ready for the president who was the preferred candidate of the Ku Klux Klan. Now the KKK says it wants to march in Reagan's inaugural parade. So here comes Reagan's America, in striped pants and white sheets.

Reagan's America also means: cutting welfare, slashing the few remaining government social programs, scrapping minority job training, knocking out food stamps, instituting a sub-minimum wage for black youth. Now there are cries in Congress to dump the Voting Rights Act as even many of the token gains of the civil rights movement are being systematically challenged and junked. And with Reagan in the White House, the fascist killers are on the rampage while all sorts of racist fringe groups are multiplying.

An "open season" of hideous racist murder is rocking black communities throughout the country. Greensboro: the all-white jury's acquittal of the KKK/Nazis who had shot down five left and black protesters in a cold-blooded, broad-daylight attack. Atlanta: a black child found murdered or missing every three-and-a-half weeks. Buffalo: sixteen black men brutally murdered, two found with their hearts cut out. Police terror on the rise from Miami to Chicago. Many blacks are afraid to walk the streets. Others are exercising their right to arm themselves.

King's Birthday a "Holiday"?

Black people, forced to the wall, have no choice but to fight back against Reagan racism. Under the threat of racist violence from fascist gangs and racist policies from Congress and the White House, even the Urban League—an organization which has never struggled for anything but bourgeois respectability and federal/corporate dollars—has called for a return to the tactics of the civil rights movement. No doubt many people will turn out for the demonstration called for January 15 in Washington demanding Martin Luther King's birthday be made a national holiday. A few might also be drawn into the liberal/confrontation antics of several "counterinaugural" demos announced for January 20.

The Washington "Martin Luther King Mobilization" is being pushed by members of the Black Congressional Caucus, District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry's office and their reformist tails, the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Official march sponsor is talented pop star Stevie Wonder who says the national holiday will symbolize "this nation's commitment to peace and honor, universal brotherhood through love and freedom, unity for all people." The march sponsors see the mobilization as a symbolic device to recommit black militants to the impotent pacifism and liberalism which King stood for.

Even as blacks march in King's name, the token gains made by the civil rights movement are being stripped away. "States Rights" rings out again from the halls of Congress. Sworn enemies of the 14th and 15th Amendments are no longer regarded as racist crackpots in the highest circles. Already in the late 1960s, the liberal civil rights movement died in the northern ghettos. Its strategy of reliance on the federal government and lack of a program answering the social and economic realities of racist American capitalism never had an answer for the urban black and working people. Any attempts to revive it are doomed to failure.

Today, housing is more segregated than ever. The clock has turned backwards on busing and school integration as well. Twenty-six years after the Supreme Court ordered school desegregation, a dual system of public education has been institutionalized. One fifth of all black students attend all-black schools; half attend schools that are more than 50 percent black. And now that blacks are isolated in ghetto schools, the government is dismantling them. Many blacks once bought the civil rights myth that education was a sure way out of the ghetto. Yet today blacks with a college degree are jobless at a higher rate than white high school

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A Review:
"Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW" ... 7

Labor/Black Defense Needed

Drive Nightriders Out of Contra Costa!

We reprint below a special issue of "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" (2 January 1981), published by the Militant Caucus in the ILWU.

An urgent and dangerous situation is confronting the Bay Area labor movement. Since the shooting attack on a Rodeo housing project in July, life for black residents of Contra Costa County has turned into a nightmare of fear and violence as the homes of black families have been hit with organized racist terror. Members of several of the families under attack are union members, and one of them, Roosevelt Presley, is a member of ILWU Local 10.

The Union's response was debated at a recent ILWU Local 10 Executive Board and two clearly counterposed positions emerged. Here is part of a statement issued by the ILWU International Officers for that meeting:

> "The recent wave of terror and harassment directed against black families in the north Richmond area of Contra Costa County is a sickening reminder of the depth and persistence of bigotry in our society.
> "The attacks, which have included cross-burnings, arson and sniping are apparently the work of armed, well-organized and secret racist groups such as the Ku Klux Klan. Along with other recent incidents—such as the acquittal of six Klansmen and Nazis of murder charges in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the revelations regarding secret KKK military training centers in Louisiana—they provide chilling evidence of a new surge of organized racism.
> "The ILWU has deep roots in the Richmond area. Many members have lived and worked there for many years. They have participated in many struggles for a better life for all working people, including their right to live where they choose, regardless of race. We will not permit these gains to be compromised or destroyed by a handful of thugs. The fact that the safety of the family of a member of Local 10, Roosevelt Presley, has been threatened, only deepens our commitment." (ILWU, Local 10, *Special Bulletin*, Dec. 15, 1980).

A good statement of the situation. But what did the officers propose therefore to mobilize the Union to stop these attacks? NOTHING! Instead a "Civil Rights Committee" was proposed to: urge members to work with the Contra Costa County Sheriff's Department; raise reward money; and express the union's "concern" to local, State and Federal law enforcement agencies!!

In sharp contrast to these do-nothing proposals, Local 10 Executive Board member Stan Gow stated that these racist attacks were intolerable and constituted a deadly threat to all minorities and labor in the Bay Area. His motion stated: "Be it resolved, that Local 10 organize defense squads to protect the homes of brother Presley

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U.S. Delivers Hundreds to Junta Killers

Stop Deportation of Salvadoran Refugees!

In bleak Border Patrol detention camps in the California desert, hundreds of refugees from El Salvador's murderous junta are awaiting deportation back to a country where to return from exile is to be marked for execution by the government-backed rightist execution squads. According to Immigration officials, several hundred persons a week are being flown back to El Salvador from Los Angeles alone. Their bodies begin to appear on the roads leading from San Salvador's airport soon after the planes touch down.

Chauvel/Sygma

Junta victims in El Salvador Cathedral.

The Salvadoran detainees in the El Centro, California camp are some of the thousands who have fled their homeland since the right-wing junta began its campaign of assassinations and repression. Many have fallen victim to vicious smugglers (the so-called *coyotes*) of the sort who left 13 Salvadoran would-be immigrants to die of thirst in the Arizona desert last July. Those who are captured by the Border Patrol are thrown into camps where conditions are worse than in prisons for convicted criminals.

In the El Centro facility a flu epidemic has struck most of the detainees, but no doctor or medicine except aspirin is available. Many have asked for political asylum, but none have been allowed to stay in the U.S. This contrasts sharply with the "extended voluntary departure" rights granted to pro-shah Iranians and pro-Somoza Nicaraguans, or the "political refugee" treatment awarded war criminals like South Vietnam's Nguyen Cao Ky and thousands of his fellow anti-Communists.

Ricardo Hernández, 20, is one of the detainees. He left El Salvador after being fired as a striking worker and threatened by a factory manager. "He told me he was the brother-in-law of a junta member, and he had the power to have people killed," Hernández told the *Los Angeles Times* (8 January). A friend who had been deported in December warned Hernández over the telephone that many of those deported were being killed. *WV* interviewed Hernández, who told the following story:

WV: "Do you know if everyone who is being deported is being killed?"

Hernández: "Well, last week about 60 were sent back in one deportation and we know of at most 20 that survived."

WV: "How are they being killed? Are they rounded up right in the airport?"

Hernández: "No, in the airport there is no problem. It's on the highway where there are watchtowers. They're arrested for 'questioning' and if you don't have papers they kill you."

WV: "And of course nobody returns with papers."

Hernández: "No. On the way out of El Salvador they throw them away for fear of the INS [Immigration and Naturalization Service]."

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle defense organization in accordance with the aims of the Spartacist League, has sent a telegram to the Immigration and Naturalization Service protesting the INS' role as purveyor for the junta death squads and demanding: Stop deportations to El Salvador! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! Down with racist, anti-working class immigration laws! ■

Gow and Keylor Re-Elected in ILWU Longshore

Stan Gow and Howard Keylor were re-elected for the seventh year in a row to the ILWU Local 10 Executive Board as Militant Caucus candidates. They received 304 and 275 votes respectively, maintaining approximately their same ranking (20th and 24th out of 35 seats) as in the past years. This reflects a stable base of support in the Bay Area longshore local.

The second round of elections will take place on February 12 for Local 10 delegates to the longshore division caucus and convention, which will set contract policy. Last year Gow was elected as caucus and convention delegate, and this year both he and Keylor are running for those positions.

Keylor commented to *WV* that the elections reflected "a tilt towards the anti-Bridges Larry Wing group in the bureaucracy. This often happens in a contract year, because Bridges was associated with so many contract giveaways and defeats in the past.... What counts is what happens between now and contract expiration [June 30]. If the employers demand takeaways, this could precipitate a real fight."

We reproduce below Gow/Keylor's election poster with their program for a class-struggle leadership of a fighting ILWU.

ILWU LOCAL 10

Vote for GOW and KEYLOR

Build a Class Struggle Leadership!

Build a Fighting Union!

HOWARD KEYLOR
Re-elect for Executive Board
Elect for Caucus and Convention Delegate
and Investigating Committee

STAN GOW
Re-elect for Executive Board
Re-elect for Caucus and
Convention Delegate

•STRIKE TO WIN IN 1981! 100% COLA for wages and pensions • Jobs for all • Shorter work shift with no loss in pay • Manning scales on all operations • Abolish 9.43, crane supplement, and S.E.O. steady men • Eliminate "no strike" and "PGP abuse" sections • No compulsory arbitration • Open negotiations to membership

•NOT LONGSHOREMEN VS. CLERKS BUT ILWU VS. PMAI No court suits against any union • Protect seniority • Organize the unorganized

•FOR LABOR SOLIDARITY AGAINST GOVERNMENT/EMPLOYER STRIKEBREAKING! Don't handle scab or diverted cargo • Honor all picket lines • No raiding

•FOR UNION ORGANIZED LABOR/BLACK/LATINO DEFENSE TO STOP NAZI/KLAN TERROR! No reliance on racist cops and courts

•DOWN WITH CARTER/REAGAN'S REACTIONARY ANTI-SOVIET WAR DRIVE! No to protectionism

•FOR INTERNATIONAL LABOR SOLIDARITY! Boycott military cargo to South Africa and other reactionary regimes

•NO MORE "LESSER EVILS"! Carter paved the way for Reagan • Break with Democrats and Republicans • Build a workers party based on the unions • For a workers government and a planned economy

Labor: Don't Handle Perdue Birds!

It Takes a Tough Union to Break the Chicken King

Frank Perdue: Take your chicken and stuff it.

Frank ("It takes a tough man to make a tender chicken") Perdue is being challenged by a union organizing drive. The chicken boss' titillating TV commercials ("Is your husband a breast man or a leg man?") have helped the bright yellow brand-name Perdue birds dominate the East Coast market and made the Ed Koch look-alike a media celebrity. But behind all the raunchy folksiness is a highly automated, aggressively anti-union operation, run with ruthless paternalism. Perdue brags, "My chickens eat better than you do," and he ought to know, paying his workers a paltry $4.29 an hour. "He's a godfather," complained a bitter trucker.

Keeping the union out of his Chesapeake Bay eastern shore chicken empire is "our prerogative in America," Perdue says. An unsuccessful effort by the Teamsters last August to organize Perdue truckers resulted in the firing of 30 drivers. Fifty-five of the hundreds of Accomac, Virginia plant workers who had honored their picket lines were also dismissed. Recently, Perdue bought four unionized chicken-processing plants, shut them down and reopened them as strictly non-union operations. In response, the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen and the Retail Clerks—now merged into the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, third largest in the AFL-CIO—are gearing up for battle.

"It takes a tough union to make a tough man tender," said union president William Wynn. Potentially the combined Food Workers union could pack a wallop, with over 90,000 members in the New York City area alone. Most Northeastern big city supermarkets are unionized, the chicken business is booming as beef prices go up and up, plus there's lots of local competition (Cookin' Good, Paramount). If the union used its power and its members refused to touch the scab birds, it could stop the bulk of Perdue's sales overnight. But in fact the Food Workers aren't doing very much, except to call a consumer boycott (officially declared on December 8, it still hasn't gotten off the ground in terms of regional implementation).

Baltimore-based boycott coordinator Jerry Gordon calls Perdue the "J.P. Stevens of the poultry industry," and union leaders point to the long consumer boycott there as a model. Of course we respect this union-called boycott, just as we did the Farah pants, Gallo wine, scab lettuce, scab grapes, scab sheets boycotts. But it's a pathetic, weak and almost completely ineffective tactic. In the Stevens case, the Clothing Workers union did finally win recognition at a few plants—but it took 17 years, and all the workers got was a few cents more and a dues check-off. Meanwhile the union promised to play dead for two-and-a-half years, plus giving up union organizers' rights to access to other factory workers. The *Wall Street Journal* (30 December 1980), commenting on the Perdue boycott, pointed out that consumer boycotts are "difficult and cumbersome," citing the practically mythical AFL-CIO boycott of R.J. Reynolds, which has had no effect in 25 continuous years!

Even the merest hint of mobilizing their powerful union to stop Perdue birds right in the supermarkets sets the union tops shuddering. "Secondary boycotts are illegal," blurted a Food Workers Local 50 (New York City) representative to a *WV* reporter who had simply asked about "the boycott." The union bureaucracy is saying that it won't lift a finger to mobilize its own ranks—and they certainly haven't in the past. For a decade Butcher Workmen struck Iowa Beef Packers outside Sioux City, where picketers faced automatic weapons and live-in scabs supplied by helicopter. But while the strike dragged on, Iowa Beef Packers conquered the New York market with their "boxed beef" automation, as NYC butchers in the very same union cut, prepared and handled the meat!

Taft-Hartley declared secondary boycotts illegal because they *work*. This capitalist government defends the interests of the employers, and they won't easily give up such a potent weapon to the working class. Union gains in this country were not won without hard, militant struggle against the employers and the government, which calls in the National Guard to break strikes, decrees endless anti-labor laws and does everything in its power to keep the labor movement down. The way to support the Perdue workers and organize the rest of the low-wage poultry industry is to fight to smash these repressive anti-labor laws—and to keep Perdue out of the stores! Labor: Don't handle Perdue birds! ■

More from the "Flinching Scab"

We have just received issue number 3 of the so-called *Fighting Worker*, newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG), the Ann Arbor-based anti-Spartacist cult-sect of Peter Sollenberger. Issue number 1 was devoted to justifying (at length) the RWG's disgusting claim that it is okay to cross picket lines as long as you are only a "non-striking worker." So naturally we dubbed their rag the "Flinching Scab." The Sollenbergerites have not gotten around to answering our polemic ("RWG: A Cult for Scabbing," *WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980), but their latest number contains three articles which, taken together, go to the core of their peculiar brand of political dishonesty.

On the back page there is a palsy-walsy article titled "RWG vs. SL(DC) on Cop Strikes," wherein it is politely explained that they are "forced, however, to dissociate ourselves publicly from the SL(DC) on its position of 'tactical' support for police unions and police strikes." (The Socialist League/Democratic-Centralist is a handful of West Coast supporters of Alan Thornett's Workers Socialist League in Britain, which the RWG has been chasing after lately.) This piece contains various examples of how a cop is a cop is a cop. (What about a scab is a scab is a scab?)

The SL/DC turns up again on page 4, this time as co-signer with the RWG of a joint statement distributed to the abysmally reformist Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) at the latter's convention in Cleveland last October. This leaflet calls upon the TDU to "bring honor" to the "rank and file opposition." It quotes from the *Communist Manifesto*. It cribs programmatic points from Trotsky's Transitional Program and *Workers Vanguard*, liberally distorted of course. But the "joint statement" says *not one word* about the Teamsters' treacherous organizing of the cops. Since the two chummy groups disagreed on the issue, they jointly decided to duck it.

Not so fast. Organizing police "unions" is no minor matter in the Teamsters (IBT). Particularly last fall, after IBT hacks in Chicago, in a revolting ploy to woo police votes in a representation election, gave jobs to two transit patrolmen indicted for the hideous murder of a black man riding the "El" (see "Chicago Teamster Chiefs Hire Killer Cops," *WV* No. 265, 3 October). At their Cleveland convention, the TDU leaders did their best to duck this explosive issue. But it blew up at the final session when a resolution from the minorities workshop was raised to condemn the IBT bureaucrats' racist action. So a motion was raised to table the question, on the grounds that the Chicago TDU had chosen *not* to protest this atrocity. And TDU organizer Ken Paff gaveled through the gag motion without discussion.

It's not surprising that "Teamsters for a Democratic Union" should remain silent in the face of racist murder. After all, the TDU thinks cops should be organized into unions, says nothing when the Teamsters raid the Farm Workers, makes common cause with a right-wing Reaganite opposition (PROD) and invites the capitalist courts into the union to enforce "democracy." It is no less bankrupt, politically and morally, than the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. As for the RWG-SL/DC lash-up, which also seeks to bury the issue of cop terror in their "joint statement," how are they any better? "Ducking" such a key class question is already a policy—a policy of betrayal.

Which brings us to the RWG's page 3 polemic against the SL on the united front. Like quite a few other unstable cliques, clots and cults the Sollenberger bunch dreams that it will overcome its present tiny size not by hard polemical struggle but by getting together with the rest of the left (minus the Spartacist League) to make joint propaganda on the lowest common denominator. The SL is denounced as "sectarian" for allegedly holding that united fronts are mere "events." Instead, "as a minimum" the task should be "*uniting the left* into united-front committees" to fight fascism. So says the "Flinching Scab."

The RWG's vague slogan for "a united front of the left against fascism" *masks* fundamental differences over what fascism represents in this period and *how* to fight it. In the U.S., far and away the most important issue on which the fascists have mobilized against blacks is *busing* (remember Boston in 1974-75). Yet a number of Maoist-Stalinist organizations (e.g., Avakian's RCP, Tung's CWP) and also some social-democratic ones (the IS and RSL, for example) *oppose* busing and therefore stand with the fascists on this burning issue. A number of reformist outfits, notably the Communist Party, campaign for the bourgeois state to outlaw the fascists, laws which have historically been used by the government as a legal cover to go after the left. But despite these fundamental differences, the Spartacist League urgently seeks to organize specific common *actions* against the fascists involving not only other left groups, but especially the trade unions and black and minority organizations. By contrast, what the RWG means by the grandiose slogan of "a united front against fascism" is a few joint leaflets with some like-minded sects.

And it's not just word games for bloodless "theorists." When an SL-built demonstration brought 500 to Detroit's Kennedy Square on 10 November 1979 to stop the Klan from marching in the Motor City, the RWG denounced this as a "fraud," claiming the hundreds of blacks and more than a hundred workers from area factories had been duped. And the 1,200 who came out to a Spartacist-initiated united-front demo, endorsed by more than 35 union officials, to stop the Nazis, what were they—more dupes for another "event"? But when the RWG joined a few left groups, eventually getting 50 people together in downtown Detroit, that is supposed to be a true "united front against fascism." The Sollenbergerites are repeatedly confounded by the class struggle—exposed by the picket lines they cross, by the racist crimes they cover up. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 272 16 January 1981

In Face of Apartheid Repression

Black Trade Unions Take Off in South Africa

The black proletariat of South Africa is flexing its muscles in an increasingly organized fashion, and the racist rulers of the white supremacist bastion are worried. The *New York Times* (28 December 1980) reports: "South Africa's government...now finds itself faced with a phenomenon it has always feared: black-led unions that are unafraid to express political grievances." The article reports that black union membership has grown to 150,000—double the number two years ago—and the South African Allied Workers Union has grown 15-fold in less than six months.

Significantly, the new unions are *not* seeking registration (official government recognition). Not only does registration entail large-scale state intervention in internal union affairs, it binds the union to dilatory procedures for settling industrial grievances. Sensing their real power, and rejecting legal restrictions, black workers have confronted employers directly: according to official statistics, there were 61 strikes (mostly illegal) in the first half of 1980 as compared to 36 in all of 1979.

Despite employer resistance and state repression, not only wage concessions but de facto recognition have been won. For example, the union at Ford's has won the right to put its shop stewards in the plant. The growing strength of the black unions, in defiance of apartheid legality, means that the tactical question of whether or not to register has been solved in the concrete—they clearly have the social power to ignore the legal straitjacket.

Less than two years ago, a couple of government panels, the Wiehahn and Rieckert commissions, had recommended some structural changes in the apartheid system, essentially to bring it in line with the growing black industrial workforce. In no sense a reform of the racist structure, this was an attempt to co-opt a privileged layer of black workers by offering some concessions in residency and workplace restrictions, and the right to form registered unions. But the effective veto of industrial agreements by white unions and the prohibition on multiracial unions make these "reforms" a sham.

Southern Africa

Strike meeting in South Africa—unionized black workers key to smashing apartheid.

As much as South African capital needs black labor, it also fears it: the growing black urban proletariat is *the* social force capable of blowing apart the whole apartheid system. The government has tried to use state terror to control the militancy of the black workers: leaders of the Allied Workers Union have been detained for two years, a former leader of the Ford workers union is now in exile. Recently two leaders of a non-white journalists union were "banned." Employers have also resorted to mass layoffs and have tried to exacerbate tribal divisions within the black population through discriminatory hiring. But this hasn't quelled the militancy or halted the growth of black unions.

Efforts by liberals and fake leftists to boycott Krugerrands and divest universities of investments in "dirty" South Africa (as opposed to "clean" America, where the KKK/Nazis were acquitted of racist murder, where Reagan sounds the trumpets for nuclear first strike capacity and war against the USSR) have flopped. No more successful are the attempts by African National Congress nationalists and the Stalinists to pressure the South African liberal bourgeoisie to reform apartheid. In counterposition to the liberals/nationalists/Stalinists, we have always maintained that the organized black proletariat will be the decisive factor in bringing down the apartheid system. Four years ago we wrote:

> "...the combativity demonstrated in the extensive 1973-74 strike wave (when the bosses extended de facto recognition by negotiating with the unregistered unions) and the protest strikes organized in the non-white townships this summer make the apartheid butchers fear the potential role of organized black workers as a rallying point for mass struggles against white supremacy. Pretoria fears that concessions to the handful of existing black unions will open the flood gates to a mighty surge of social struggles by the five-million-strong black proletariat."
>
> —"South African Revolution—Black Unions the Key!" *WV* No. 140, 14 January 1977

This is just what is now happening.

In this same article we pointed out that "the government is particularly concerned to abort any cooperation among blacks and whites on the trade-union front." To be sure, in the present

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After Ten Years of Racist Persecution

Wilmington Ten Convictions Thrown Out

A U.S. appeals court last month overturned the convictions of the Wilmington Ten, the North Carolina civil rights activists whose cause had become the focus of an international campaign of mass protest. Framed up in 1972 on charges of arson and firebombing, most of the defendants have already served more than four years in jail. The federal court ruled December 4 that the prosecution in the 1972 trial withheld evidence from both the defense and the jury, including psychiatric reports labeling the key witness for the prosecution as a "borderline mental defective" with an IQ of 82, as well as information that gifts and jobs had induced prosecution witnesses to lie on the witness stand.

So ended the nine-year vendetta against the Wilmington Ten by the state of North Carolina, which began in 1971 with the wave of cop and KKK terror known as the "siege of Wilmington." As defendant Ben Chavis told *WV* shortly after his release on parole last February, "The reason why we went to prison was because we defended ourselves against the Ku Klux Klan attack on a black church." For four days racist vigilantes and local police carried out an armed attack on black youth who had barricaded themselves in the Gregory Congregational Church for safety. The church had been the center of pro-integration rallies and an organizing center for a boycott of schools by the black community. During the siege, a nearby white-owned grocery store caught fire.

Rev. Chavis, an organizer for the United Church of Christ's Commission on Racial Justice, had been invited to Wilmington to lead the boycott. *One year later*, the prominent black activist and nine others were charged and convicted of consipiracy to commit arson in the grocery store fire. Their convictions were fought for several years and upheld by the state courts. In 1976 the Supreme Court refused to hear the case and sent the defendants to jail to begin serving terms of 10 to 12 years each. In 1978 after three key prosecution witnesses admitted perjuring themselves, testifying that their statements had been purchased by the prosecuting attorney, the courts still refused to throw out the case. North Carolina governor James Hunt flatly refused the demand of an international protest campaign that the Wilmington Ten be pardoned. Hunt later did reduce their sentences, which led to the subsequent release of most on parole.

AP

The Wilmington Ten in 1976: Framed for defending themselves against Klan terror.

The reversal of the convictions was a victory for all who struggled on behalf of the Wilmington Ten for most of a decade. In particular, worldwide exposure of the state's blatant frameup motivated the appeals court action. By the late 1970s, the case had become an embarrassment to the Carter administration. The Soviet Union cited the Wilmington Ten as a flagrant example of "human rights" violations in the U.S. Amnesty International even took it up, breaking its standard practice of whitewashing the American government and admitting there are in fact political prisoners in the imperialist bastion. Attention to the case was recently heightened following the acquittal in November of Nazi/KKK killers in the broad daylight murder of five left-wing activists in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Indeed the bourgeoisie has been trying to use the Wilmington Ten conviction reversals to counter the impact of the racist acquittals in Greensboro, as seen in the 27 December

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Press Policy and Trotskyist Program in France

This article appeared originally in the January 1981 issue of Le Bolchévik, *newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, French section of the international Spartacist tendency. We are publishing this adapted version in* WV *because our readers should find its presentation of the political basis of Trotskyist press policy to be informative and provocative.*

> "The development of the proletariat proceeds everywhere amidst internal struggles.... Unity is quite a good thing so long as it is possible, but there are things which stand higher than unity. And when, like Marx and myself, one has fought harder all one's life long against the alleged Socialists than against anyone else (for we only regarded the bourgeoisie as a class and hardly ever involved ourselves in conflicts with individual bourgeois), one cannot greatly grieve that the inevitable struggle has broken out."
>
> —Engels to his friend Sorge living in America, 18 January 1871, quoted in No. 1 of *Workers Vanguard*

With this issue, *Le Bolchévik* goes monthly (nine times a year). As the press of a fighting Marxist propaganda group, our paper is an instrument of our goal: to regroup the best of the experienced cadres into the nucleus of the Leninist vanguard party necessary for the revolutionary victory of the working class and the creation of a communist, classless society.

When the handful of cadres of the international Spartacist tendency in France launched *Le Bolchévik* in early 1976, the choice of name was a polemical statement. Our aim was to fight for the program of authentic Trotskyism, the Marxism of our time, wresting the mantle of "Trotskyism" from centrist and reformist impostors. Our choice of name also expressed the strategic goal of Trotskyism in France: to win the masses of Communist workers to a revolutionary program, restoring the traditions of Lenin's and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party to their rightful place: not Place Colonel Fabien [French CP headquarters] but in the struggles of a militant and conscious working class. At a demonstration last spring, one CPer did a double-take on seeing our masthead: "*Le Bolchévik*? I thought all Trotskyists were Mensheviks." We are glad we make our intentions clear.

1976 was the year that fake-Trotskyism's best-known spokesman, Ernest Mandel of the United Secretariat (USec), in the throes of Union of the Left fever, created a small public scandal by announcing he was willing to drop the Trotskyist "label" if the price was right. It was also the year of the daily *Rouge* (paper of Mandel's French section, the LCR). First published right after May '68, *Rouge*—as the name ["red"] makes clear—was the self-proclaimed spokesman not of a program but of an attitude shared by a politically undifferentiated layer radicalized by May '68 whom the LCR baptised the "new mass vanguard." Far from fighting the petty-bourgeois spontaneist prejudices and illusions of its readers, *Rouge* made itself the spokesman for a cacophony of eclectic impressionist impulses—and consciously so:

> "We need a meeting place of all those who are coming to the revolution and socialism and who expect from us infinitely more than a catalogue of slogans, however correct."
>
> —*Rouge*, 15 March 1976

The daily *Rouge* merely gave the LCR the means to express its centrist confusionism more amply and more often. Within the LCR, of course, there was some heated debate about the daily...over the format. Like the big controversy over page size: after all, with large pages like those of *l'Humanité* [the CP daily] you could put your elbow in someone's eye when you turned the pages on the morning metro. And we must mention the incredible level of general unprofessionalism—wrong dates or none at all on the masthead, pages printed with the type in mirror image, polemics by the comp crew against the editors, and so forth. But the LCR could not take such problems seriously, such was its blind faith in the mythical revolutionary "dynamic." A little like a surfer dreaming of the perfect wave, the LCR sees the "dynamic" as automatic and irresistible: the "dynamic" does all the work, you just "go with the flow."

When the "dynamic" flowed left, *Rouge* was there, half a step behind whatever was in motion. And even when it veered right, *Rouge* kept on insisting we were living in almost the best of all possible worlds (e.g., *Rouge* 15 March 1976: "Nothing definitive has taken place in Portugal") and would inevitably get even better if only everything stayed "in motion."

Of course the LCR refused to title *Rouge* a "Trotskyist" paper. Not that the leadership finally had the honesty to bring its "label" into line with its centrist program. But it seemed like liquidating the label would facilitate the "main chance." This was when Mandel announced he would drop "Trotskyism" in the barely veiled hope of fusing with the social-democratic PSU, thereby forming a sufficiently large "far-left" organization to get a look from the popular-front Union of the Left, whose "dynamic" was supposed to lead to revolution. The daily *Rouge* could have been the dowry for the LCR/PSU wedding. But the PSU rejected the advances and itself decomposed more and more. Then the whole strategy met its coup de grâce: the Union of the Left fell apart. *Rouge* went back to weekly, as confused as ever, but even more to the right.

French Trotskyist newspapers in 1944: for general strike against collapsing Nazi occupation, defending freedom of the working-class press against Stalinist/popular-front censorship.

French Trotskyist Press Policy: A Flawed Tradition

The launching of *Le Bolchévik* as the line organ of the Ligue Trotskyste de France represented a break from the nominally "non-party" press policy characteristic of French ostensible Trotskyism. If *Rouge*, a product of the degeneration of late Pabloism, provides comic relief for a press policy discussion, serious precedents come from the Lambertists, now the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI).

In the late 1950s, Pierre Lambert was the leading spokesman for "anti-revisionist" (anti-Pabloist) Trotskyism in France. His *La Verité*, launched as a tabloid weekly, became a theoretical journal after DeGaulle's coup d'état. In the new format, the masthead characterized the paper merely as a "Trotskyist Monthly"; there was no mention of the organization anywhere in the paper. Indeed, *La Verité* explicitly renounced any conception of the press as a party organ:

> "The political rearmament of the vanguard is inconceivable without broad debates among all working-class militants.... The columns of *La Verité* will be open to them without restriction."

The first issue of Lambert's *Informations Ouvrières*, appearing mimeographed in 1959, lacked even *La Verité*'s minimum political characterization. Later *IO* became the organ of the mythical "Workers' Alliance Committees" and finally in 1974 the paper adopted its present self-description as an "Open Forum of Class Struggle." Of course, *IO* is no more an "open forum" than *l'Humanité*. It is in conception the literary analogue of a front group, where the real mechanisms of organizational control are concealed for the purpose of manipulation.

OCI press policy is an aspect of its anti-Leninist revisionism. Its nominally "non-party" press proclivities are fully consistent with its "strategic united front" line which places confidence in reformist-led bureaucratic "unity" as the only necessary precondition for working-class victory. The same 1958 issue of *La Verité* which set forth its press policy also claimed: "Since 1945 the French Trotskyists have called for the autonomy of the union movement from all parties." Thus the OCI—notorious sectarianism and gangsterism notwithstanding—is at bottom liquidationist on the party question. And long before the OCI became simply the creature of its Stalinophobia, degenerating into outright reformism (as expressed decisively over Portugal), Lambertist press policy was rooted in the cynical fake-"mass" conception against which Trotsky fought in the 1930s. Polemicizing against Lambert's antecedents, Molinier/Frank, he wrote:

> "...Quite often revolutionary impatience (which becomes transformed easily into opportunist impatience) leads to this conclusion: The masses do not come to us because our ideas are too complicated and our slogans too advanced. It is therefore necessary to simplify our program, water down our slogans—in short, to throw out some ballast. Basically, this means: Our slogans must correspond not to the objective situation, not to the relation of classes, analyzed by the Marxist method, but to subjective assessments (extremely superficial and inadequate ones) of what the 'masses' can or cannot accept. But what masses? The mass is not homogeneous. It develops. It feels the pressure of events. It will accept tomorrow what it will not accept today. Our cadres will blaze the trail with increasing success for our ideas and slogans, which will be shown to be correct, because they are confirmed by the march of events and not by subjective and personal assessments.... "What the masses can demand of a newspaper is a *clear program and a correct orientation*. But precisely on this question the appeal [for the paper *La Commune*] is utterly silent. Why? Because it wants more to conceal its ideas than to express them. It accepts the SAPist (centrist) recipe: in seeking the line of least resistance *do not say what is*. And the masses? What are the masses? They can rest content with a quarter, or even a tenth, of the program. This mentality we call elitism, of both an opportunist and, at the same time, an adventurist type. It is a very dangerous attitude, comrades. It is not the attitude of a Marxist." [original emphasis]
>
> —"What is a Mass Paper?" (1935)

Sectarianism and Sales

Hopefully having established the principle that a Leninist paper must be

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Newspaper of the Ligue Trotskyste de France goes monthly.

Solidarity House Bans Toyotas, VWs

To Hell With Fraser's Parking Lot Patriotism!

United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser has come up with his answer to mass layoffs, plant closings and wages ravaged by inflation: blame everything on foreign cars. (After all, if you, blamed management someone might point a finger at him as a member of the Chrysler board!) The UAW leadership is bragging that it spent $200,000 in dues money for disgusting "Buy American" ads like the one titled "Paying for Imports with Our Jobs is a Price We Can't Afford." (Just how the average American worker is supposed to afford a U.S.-built car, with sticker prices now running over $9,000, Fraser doesn't say.)

The UAW tops have gotten so bad you have to hold your nose. Once heading one of the most liberal American unions, spouting social-democratic rhetoric, in recent months they have become *the* worst dealers in "Love the bosses, Hate Japanese workers" protectionist filth. But even Fraser & Co. hit a new low last month when they banned "foreign cars" in UAW parking lots. A sign posted at the union's International headquarters lot sternly warns: "UAW PARKING RESERVED FOR U.S. AND CANADIAN VEHICLES ONLY. PLEASE PARK IMPORTS ELSEWHERE." Local bureaucrats at River Rouge followed suit by asking management to ban foreign cars from Ford's Dearborn complex.

Curious just how low these sellouts would sink in trying to whip up anti-foreign chauvinism, *Workers Vanguard* called up Solidarity House and spoke to Carl Mantilla in PR.

Q. Which cars are affected?
A. Large market foreign imports.
Q. What about the Ford Fiesta, some of them built in Spain?
A. "Captive imports" are not part of the ban.
Q. What about Volkswagen Rabbits, some of them made in the U.S.?
A. It would apply to VWs not built in this country.
Q. How can you tell?
A. The foreign ones have square headlights, the others have round headlights.

At this point we expected to hear that some of them had slanted headlights, but how some of Mantilla's best friends owned imports! We asked how the ban is being enforced, and got silence. Then the $64,000 question: How does this help auto workers, or any workers?

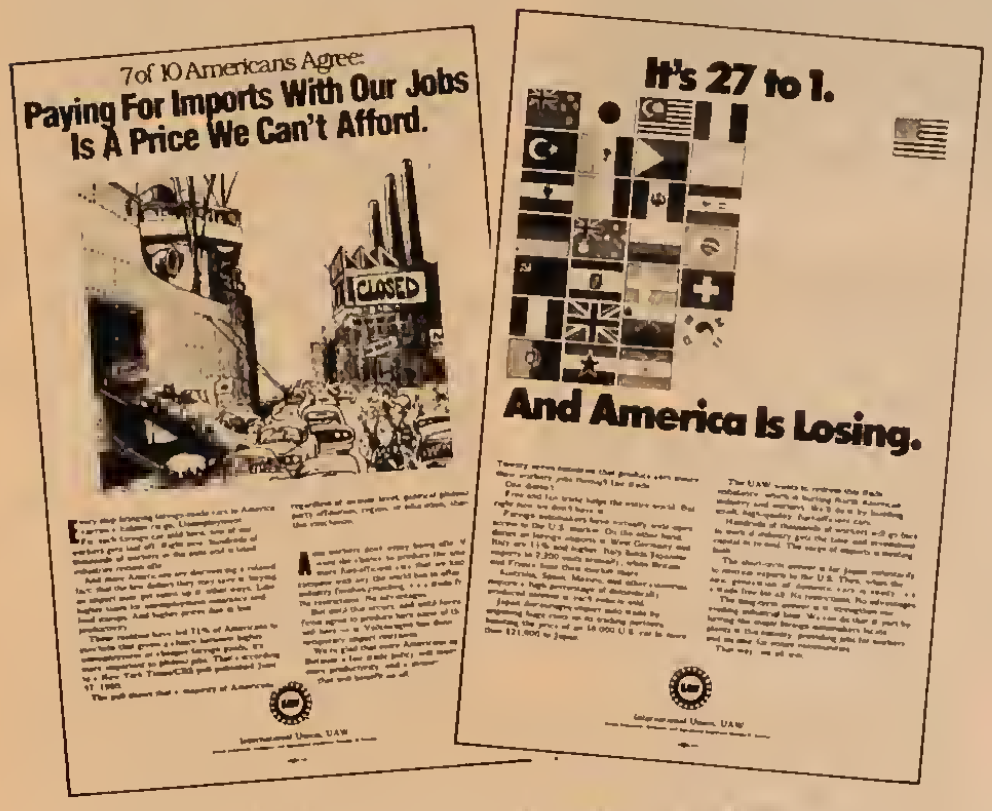
The UAW spokesman began reeling off a set speech about how imports hurt the U.S. auto industry. They do, of course, lower profits for the Big Three, and the bosses are happy to see the union try to eliminate foreign competition—so they can jack up prices again. Millions of American workers buy imports to save a few bucks in the showroom and at the gas pump. But what do Fraser & Co. care? They are worried about Chrysler's profits, and woe to the UAW member who didn't check to see if his Rabbit has square headlights.

What will the labor fakers think of next? If American workers should buy cars from only "their" country, then logically union members should exclusively patronize "their" company... or "their" plant, for that matter. But the real program here is national chauvinism. Pretty soon it will be no more Heineken beer, or banning Sony color TVs and video recorders. This poisonous social-patriotic propaganda is aiming at trade war. And from there it points to imperialist shooting wars, sending the Marines to "protect" Exxon's Near East oil and make the Soviet Union safe for Coca Cola... using guns made of Japanese steel.

At least one group of workers has already protested this outrageous ban. Local 494 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union, representing 500 workers employed by Solidarity House, filed a grievance against the UAW. They charged violation of their contract, which stipulates that the employer (the auto union) will provide parking (*Detroit News*, 19 December). We say, right on for Local 494! And UAW members shouldn't let anyone tell them what to drive either. ■

WV Photo

UAW HQ: Whatever happened to Solidarity?



UAW dues used to finance chauvinist media campaign.

For Sitdowns to Save Michigan Casting!

Chrysler Takeaways Threaten UAW

DETROIT—On Wednesday, United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser sat down with Chryler officials at corporate headquarters in Highland Park to discuss contract giveaways by the union for the third time in 16 months. Two days later the federal government, not satisfied with the whopping $673 million in concessions demanded by Chrysler, announced on January 9 that the UAW must not only give up their cost-of-living adjustments and accept a wage freeze, but promise to accept sub-standard industry wages past the contract expiration in 1982! It is clear that the companies are using the Chrysler "bail-out" to launch a frontal assault on the powerful UAW.

The negotiations, which Fraser describes as having a tone of "deep concern on both sides," have an unreal character as the UAW president lays out his gimmicks to make management's takeaway demands somehow palatable to the membership. Even more absurd is Fraser's profit-sharing scheme for workers at the sinking auto company. Newsmen at Wednesday's press conference almost burst into laughter when a reporter pointed out that there is no profit to share at Chrysler. Fraser, undaunted, replied, "That's the easiest time to get the corporation to agree to the concept." But the near-bankrupt corporation can't even get other companies to take its shares, much less plunk down cold cash for mythical profits! With Chrysler president Iacocca predicting a whopping $1.7 billion loss in 1980, auto analysts predict that this month Chrysler's net worth should fall somewhere below zero (*Automotive News*, 29 December 1980). And Fraser admits he would advise the workers to take their share in cash!

WV Photo

Detroit, January 8: Militant Ford workers protest closing of Michigan casting plant, 5,000 Ford workers to be thrown on the streets.

What Iacocca and the U.S. government want from the UAW is a total of more than $1.1 billion in blackmail money that would destroy in one blow many of the most bitterly fought gains of the UAW, including the uniform industrywide wage. A decade ago the union waged a 70-day strike at General Motors to win unlimited COLA to protect the membership against the ravages of inflation. Now Fraser is ready to sacrifice the achievements of those battles in the face of blackmail by a car company in its death throes. The lesson has not been lost on Ford, GM and the many parts suppliers which are clamoring for "equal treatment."

Auto workers must reject Iacocca's extortion demands, which are only the first wave of a government/auto industry attack on the UAW. Equal pay for equal work, a fundamental trade-union principle, must be restored. Chrysler workers must fight to regain parity with Ford and GM. Unlike Ford, which is in no immediate danger of going under, Chrysler could go down the tubes because of years of shortsighted mismanagement. If Chrysler should plead bankruptcy the bosses will sell the assets to other capitalists and pocket the money—unless the union *acts*! Workers must utilize the sit-down strike which was instrumental in UAW battles in the '30s to seize the plants. If the plants have to be sold, the money should not go to the auto magnates and their bankers but to the workers.

Fraser and his Solidarity House gang

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A Review:

"Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW"

Mass unionization of black workers into the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) some four decades ago was decisive in forging a powerful labor movement in this country. It was also key for racial minorities in winning a base for common struggle together with white workers against the racist bosses. Until then, ever since the collapse of the Knights of Labor in the late 1800s and aside from exceptions like the Mine Workers, blacks had been effectively excluded from the union movement. It was only with the rise of industrial unions in the late 1930s that thousands of blacks were organized. Even then it was not enough just to espouse a "color blind" trade unionism. Their toehold in northern industry due mainly to the capitalists' desire for "strike insurance," and made wary by decades of Jim Crow discrimination by the American Federation of Labor (AFL), blacks had to be convinced of the new unions' commitment to racial equality.

The 1941 Ford strike was the turning point. Taking on the "great white father of Dearborn" and besieging his giant River Rouge plant, which at the time

Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW
by August Meier and Elliot Rudwick
Oxford University Press,
New York, 1979

employed 100,000 workers, the United Auto Workers (UAW-CIO) won a bitter and bloody battle to wrest union recognition from the last of the Big Three auto companies. This victorious strike did more than any other single event to integrate minorities into the ranks of organized labor, bringing 10,000 black members into the UAW. No longer did the entire Detroit black community bow down to the King of the Open Shop. The Rouge, once known as "Massa Ford's plantation," was now home of UAW Local 600, the largest local union in the U.S. and to this day a center of black trade unionism in the U.S. The mobilization of support from black Detroit behind the UAW and the subsequent efforts of black workers to force the union leadership to fight for black equality are the subject of the book *Black Detroit and the Rise of the UAW* by two noted liberal scholars, August Meier and Elliot Rudwick. An informative academic treatment of the Ford organizing drive and the role of the UAW during the racially tense war years, the book provides valuable information and useful insights for those fighting for the inseparable goals of black emancipation and workers revolution. As the dramatic events of Detroit during 1941-43 make clear, the strength of industrial trade unions (as well as the success of a revolutionary party) in this country depends on breaking down racial barriers by fighting for equality of the specially oppressed as an essential part of the working-class struggle.

Henry Ford's "Community Control"

Black workers were initially very hesitant to join the growing CIO movement in the 1930s. During the militant wave of sit-down strikes that unionized General Motors and Chrysler in 1936-37, black workers with some notable exceptions remained decidedly

UAW

1941: Black-white unity finally broke paternalistic auto boss, Henry Ford.

neutral, many simply leaving the plants to sit out the battles at home. (The bulk of black auto workers were employed at the still unorganized Ford plants in Detroit.) Whereas the AFL craft unions organized limited and specialized sections of the workforce, often pitting skilled against unskilled and white against black, the nature of industrial unions like the UAW made it necessary to fight for the special interests of and win the support of black workers.

Unlike GM or Chrysler, Ford hired a relatively large number of black workers, representing 10 percent of the workforce at the Rouge complex, the heart of the Ford empire. Henry Ford literally bought off the small black middle class by pouring huge sums of money into influential black churches and by financing the all-black shantytown of Inkster. In return, his loyal black ministers screened minority applicants to the company for their docility and anti-unionism, a system which Ford skillfully utilized to assure himself of a loyal workforce for two decades. Ford's racial philanthropy flowed from nakedly reactionary white supremacy: his paper the Dearborn *Independent* saw blacks benefiting from "white man's civilization" and warned against attempts by Jews to "Bolshevize the Negro." And Ford's largesse paid off: for instance, the Detroit Urban League leader J.C. Dancy was openly anti-union and had a history of organizing strikebreakers.

Girding to do battle with Ford in 1937, the UAW hired several black organizers and put them on the International staff. Like many other union organizers, most of these black unionists, such as Paul Kirk and Walter Hardin, gained their early trade-union experience through the Communist Party (CP) and the CP-dominated dual union (the Auto Workers Union) and in the CP-influenced National Negro Congress (NNC). They and other rank-and-file leaders from the CP periphery, like Christopher Alston at Packard and Shelton Tappes at Rouge, formed the hard core of black trade unionists who had worked for years to bring down the racial barriers and win blacks to the union. Special editions of UAW Local 600 *Ford Facts* were addressed to black workers, reiterating that the UAW tolerated no discrimination within its ranks. More than anything, it was the UAW's Negro Sub-Organizing Department that turned around black workers at the Rouge, neutralizing most and convincing many that they would defend their jobs not by begging Ford but through militant union action.

As the organizing drive began, Ford countered by hiring blacks to serve with Harry Bennett's notorious "Service Department" thugs, who intimidated and brutally beat up union organizers in the plant. At the famous "battle of the overpass" in May 1937, a part of the goon squad that beat up organizers Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen was black. When the UAW attempted to hold a public meeting in the Detroit ghetto, Ford threatened to "fire every Negro in the neighborhood," and the UAW was turned down at all the black churches. As the showdown approached, write Meier and Rudwick, the company:

> "...recruited perhaps as many as two thousand unemployed Negroes, including some boxers and street-fighters, for use as strikebreakers. Thus by the end of March [1941] Ford had the largest black work force in its history, numbering some 14,000—about one-sixth of the Rouge plant's employees—and the foundry became so overcrowded that many workers did little more than loll about."

It was clear to both Ford and the UAW that the blacks would be key to the winning of the organizing drive at the Ford plant.

Class War vs. Race War

The big strike began on April 1, when Ford fired eight UAW committeemen and in response the whole Rouge plant walked out. Nearly all the black workers left the plant with the white workers and refused to cross the picket lines the next day. Some blacks did remain in the foundry and hundreds of others slipped past the cordoned off area early the next morning. Most of these, however, were the recently hired workers well-aware that they were employed to scab.

Somewhere between 1,500 and 2,500 blacks were rumored to be inside the plant along with 300 Ford "servicemen." At 6 a.m. the next day Bennett sent several hundred of the scabs out of the factory throwing iron bolts and nuts and attacking the picketers with steel bars and knives out of Gate Number 4, injuring 36 unionists. At 9 a.m. another assault took place at the factory but this time the picketers were prepared with baseball bats, fists and sticks. The battle was brief, bloody and decisive as the lines held and the union showed that no one else would enter the plant. Yet the small numbers of blacks on the picket line and the black scabs inside set the situation up to be interpreted as a racial conflict that could erupt into a race riot in Detroit.

Simultaneously, Homer Martin, a discredited ex-president of the UAW now working for the AFL, appeared in a Detroit ghetto and addressed an assembled crowd of 3,000 blacks, attempting to organize a back-to-work movement in the Detroit ghetto. To defuse the explosive situation the UAW appealed directly to the black strikebreakers to leave the plant and mounted a propaganda campaign to Ford workers and their families urging blacks not to let themselves be used as scabs and pointing to the greater privileges, pay, job security and promotions from the seniority system that would be gained through unionization. The union reiterated over and over that the UAW "permits no racial discrimination within its ranks." And the message was effectively carried to the black community by some labor-oriented leaders in the NAACP, the NNC and some New Deal-connected politicians.

In addition, the UAW took advantage of a change in police shifts to beckon a thousand blacks out of the plants. Later the head of the NAACP youth group and a Ford foundry

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UAW

Black UAW organizers were instrumental in beating Ford's strategy of black scabbing.

"Black Detroit"...

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worker, Horace Sheffield, ignoring the neutrality of the adult branch of the local NAACP, took a UAW-CIO sound truck and appealed in the name of the NAACP for the strikebreakers to leave the plant. The campaign in the black community led by the NAACP youth group and dissident ministers defused the back-to-work movement. But in winning over the leaders of the black community, the key point was there was a choice between race war fomented by Ford and his thugs, and the class battles to win recognition for the UAW. It was clear to all who would lose in the case of the race war—the blacks of Detroit and the UAW.

His efforts to induce a Jim Crow back-to-work movement stymied, on April 11 Henry Ford agreed to an NLRB union election if the men went back to work. In May, the UAW-CIO won a sweeping victory of 70 percent, although many still distrustful blacks had voted for the AFL, which was backed by the company. But black hostility to the UAW dissipated rapidly after the elections as they received the same wage increase as the rest and saw Shelton Tappes prominent in the bargaining committee for the first contract (he was later elected recording secretary to the local). The visible participation of blacks in the organizing drive and union affairs not only secured the allegiance of blacks to the union, but served to bring acceptance of black workers by the whites as well.

WWII: Patriotism and Race-Hate Riots

The Ford strike was an important victory for the UAW and for blacks in Detroit, but for the latter the victory was partial. Blacks were still segregated into the worst jobs, and auto companies successfully played on the racist fears of white workers to keep the union divided and ineffective. Henry Ford tried to take revenge by cutting off money to Inkster and instituting a rigid anti-black hiring policy at war plants like Willow Run. Additionally, the upper layers of the UAW bureaucracy led by its president R.J. Thomas, expounded social-democratic rhetoric but refused to take on the question of upgrading of blacks or combatting the racism which heavily permeated the lower levels of his own bureaucracy. Black gains became more difficult when the UAW-CIO made a no-strike pledge in the name of imperialist war.

With the outbreak of the war in 1941 came a new mass migration of southern blacks and whites to labor-hungry Detroit. The influx of southern white workers brought into the union thousands of men who had not gone through the strike experiences together with blacks and were hostile to the black/white solidarity slowly developed through union struggles in the plants. An acute housing shortage amongst the whole population and opposition of the southern poor whites and upwardly mobile second generation Poles to even the slightest elements of equality for blacks combined to make Detroit a tinderbox which exploded in the bloody white racist riots of 1943.

The prelude to the '43 riots occurred in 1942 around the Sojourner Truth Housing Project, built to cope with the influx of thousands of defense workers and located in a predominantly white area just north of the Polish community of Hamtramck. In a scene reminiscent of recent racist attacks, the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross at the project the night before and assembled a racist mob which attacked small groups of tenants which had started moving in. A UAW presence with sound trucks and black members of Local 600 helped prevent a riot. Two hundred blacks were arrested and only a handful of the white racist attackers. The local CIO and the UAW International issued strong statements defending the blacks but failed to follow this up with union action to defend the housing project against future assaults. Three months later the black families did move in with support of local and federal housing officials.

More serious were a series of "hate" strikes which erupted throughout the racially tense city of Detroit between the years of 1941 and 1943 at Packard, Dodge Main and Hudson plants. At the Packard plant the KKK had organized for years, and three years of anti-black walkouts culminated in May 1943, when 25,000 white workers walked out of the plant after three blacks were upgraded to the assembly line. The Packard plant manager, a virulent labor-hating racist bigot, actively agitated for workers to join a company union. Facing a threat to the union's existence, UAW president Thomas took a hard line, with the backing of the federal government, announcing that all workers who struck against blacks would be expelled from the union and fired. Thirty of the white ringleaders were dismissed and Thomas, at an NAACP meeting occurring simultaneously, declared with belated bluster, "if the KKK and the rest of the nightshirt boys want to fight the union on this issue, we are ready and willing to take them on."

But two weeks after the Packard strike ended the bloody Detroit riot began and when it was over, 25 blacks lay dead—three-fourths of them killed by the police. While not lifting a finger to stop the lynch mobs during the riots, UAW leaders proudly announced that none of the bloodshed had entered the plants! But the then-revolutionary Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) called for the unions to stop the white supremacist mobs by organizing defense of blacks:

> "The labor leaders must do more than deplore these attacks upon the Negro people. They must do more than order their members to stay off the streets and appeal for grand jury investigations. They must summon their membership to take determined and organized action against the instigators and organizers of these lynch mobs. The unions of Detroit could have repulsed this threat to their very existence as they repulsed General Motors in 1937 and 1941. Detroit would be far different today and the native fascists would be cowering in their holes, demoralized instead of triumphant, had the union leaders called out the veteran flying squadrons to defend the Negro people."
> —*Militant*, 3 July 1943

Today it is inconceivable that the long-since reformist SWP would issue such a bold call to action. Instead they join the Stalinists and sellout union leaders in appealing to the racist-capitalist state, opposing the Spartacist League and class-struggle unionists who call for labor/black defense against racist terror.

In 1943, in the midst of the patriotic war fervor, the SWP pointed out that "Because of their no-strike pledge and slavish subservience to Roosevelt's labor policies, the CIO and AFL leadership has completely failed to provide the workers with any program of resistance to the encroachments of the capitalists.... That is the reason why fascist demagogues and preachers of race hate and violence are able to receive a hearing from some workers." Both R.J. Thomas and the rising anti-communist Walter Reuther (aided by the pro-war CP) were responsible for deflating the growing movement against the no-strike pledge at the 1944 UAW convention. At the same time they gave only token support to black demands. Black workers often found the federal government bureaucracy, which was interested in getting labor for the war, more effective than the UAW bureaucrats in pressuring the auto companies to end their racist practices. No doubt such experiences fed future defeats—such as the 1960s civil rights movement's reliance on the federal government, or the fad of "reforming" the unions through court suits. It required a class-struggle leadership in the unions to fight for a class-struggle program which could undercut the racists' appeal among poor whites and point the way forward to black liberation through revolutionary integrationism.

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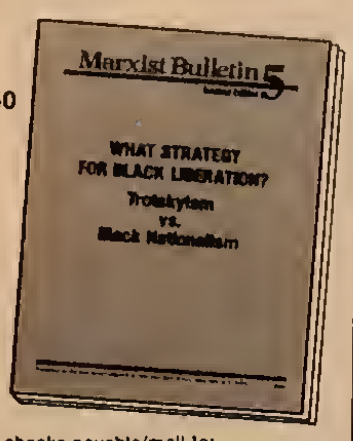

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Which Way to Black Liberation?

The Reuther bureaucracy purged leftists from the union after the war (Ford Rouge Local 600, where blacks and the CP were concentrated, was the last holdout). The red purge erased much of the base in the union for a fight for black rights. By the 1960s most black workers wrote off the union as "white man's land." Out of this setting, currents like the League of Revolutionary Black Workers emerged in the late 1960s. Generally speaking, these eclectic black groups recognized the power of black workers organized at the point of production, but saw no hope of turning the existing industrial unions toward the struggle for black rights. Disgusted by the union bureaucracy and despairing of winning white workers to follow their leadership, these radical nationalists turned their backs on the potential social power of organized labor. Instead of becoming the vanguard of a class-struggle challenge to the fat-cat union tops and their racist, pro-capitalist policies, these currents did not survive the decline of radical black nationalism.

A labor-led fight against racial oppression becomes even more urgent now with the rise of Klan/Nazi race-terrorism. A review of this book in the black weekly *Michigan Chronicle* (27 October 1979) noted that in the Rouge plant, "black workers were harassed just recently by white foremen donning white hooded KuKluxKlan garb." The campaign against this racist provocation at Rouge was initiated by black and white unionists who went on to form the Rouge Militant Caucus.

The solution is not simply "black and white, unite and fight," but a fusion of the struggle against special oppression into a proletarian revolutionary struggle. As the Spartacist League notes in our *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5-R, "What Strategy for Black Liberation?":

> "...wage slavery has placed in the hands of the black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. But this revolt will be successful only if it takes as its target the system of class exploitation, the common enemy of black and white workers. The struggle to win black activists to a proletarian perspective is intimately linked to the fight for a new, multiracial class-struggle leadership of organized labor which can transform the trade unions into a key weapon in the battle against racial oppression. Such a leadership must break the grip of the Democratic Party upon both organized labor and the black masses through the fight for working-class political independence. As black workers, the most combative element within the U.S. working class, are won to the cause and party of proletarian revolution, they will be in the front ranks of this class-struggle leadership. And it will be these black proletarian fighters who will write the finest pages of 'black history'—the struggle to smash racist, imperialist America and open the road to real freedom for all mankind."■

Chrysler Takeaways...

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will never put up such a fight, and in fact are ready to capitulate to similar demands from the rest of the troubled auto industry. On January 7, UAW Local 600 called a pitiful demonstration in front of Ford World Headquarters (the Glass House) to protest the planned closing of the Michigan Casting Center in Flat Rock. The company had announced a two-year phase-out of the MCC, which employs 5,200 workers, most of them black and Arab. But the UAW unit president at Michigan Casting, Howard Lipscomb, had nothing to offer the members in his *Ford Facts* (5 January) but cynical advice to lump it: "try to live for who you are and where you are going"! Well, where is Lipscomb going? The slogan of the Local 600 executive board/general council for the January 7 demonstration was equally empty: "Shame on the Ford Motor Company."

Outside Ford headquarters 100 MCC workers and Local 600 bureaucrats carried UAW signs saying "Save Our Livelihood! Don't Export Our Jobs!" Local president Mike Rinaldi explained to *WV* that the jobs were being "exported to UAW members in Ohio and Canada"! And that is exactly the logic of protectionism—to divide the workforce into fighting amongst themselves for existing jobs. What is needed is a fight for jobs for all, for the old UAW demand for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. Such a class-struggle program was put forward at the rally by supporters of the Rouge Militant Caucus in Local 600, who carried signs like: "Down with Racist 'Buy American' Schemes—For Sit-Down Strikes to Save Michigan Casting."

Meanwhile the reformist left tails closely behind Fraser, calling for government action to somehow stop Chrysler bankruptcy and plant closings. The Communist Party's *Daily World* and the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* both call for "nationalization" and the Workers World-supported Committee to Save Mack Avenue calls for unlimited federal loans to Chrysler. These schemes show a touching faith in Ronald Reagan's government to save the jobs of American auto workers. But Chrysler workers have seen where the bail-out plans and reliance on the capitalist government put them: on the chopping block. Auto workers will have to rely on the strength of their union and its time-tested weapons like the sit-down strike to beat back the government/auto industry offensive. This struggle will also be a fight against the entrenched pro-company labor bureaucracy, which prefers board of directors seats to the picket lines, and for its replacement by a fighting class-struggle leadership. ■

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Reagan Racism...

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dropouts. And now the Justice Department has been told to stay out while Reagan promises to put the last nail in the coffin of integration with an anti-busing amendment.

In a parting shot of his administration, one of Carter's "blue ribbon" commissions came out with the Democrats' "National Agenda for the 80s." The commission sagely pronounced, "No city is permanent.... The decline of the cities in the 'old industrial heartland' was part of an inexorable process, the emergence of post-industrial urban America." This amounts to letting the largely black cities rot and paying whites to relocate in the open-shop Sun Belt. While Reagan threatens to abolish rent control, it was Democrats who presided over the massive layoffs, skyrocketing inflation and slashing of social services which has turned America's inner cities into unbearable hellholes. And busing was defeated long ago, when the liberal *Democratic* Congress bowed to the racists on the streets of Boston and Louisville.

As the Republicans consolidate their administration, the liberals led by Teddy Kennedy will be trying to patch together the old popular-front coalition in opposition. Blacks will once again be told to lie down with Dixiecrats, workers with their capitalist bosses, to counter the spectre of the Reagan right. On the liberals' left flank there will be reformists like the CP and SWP, black misleaders of the SCLC, etc., all under the slogan of "fight the right." For them demanding Martin Luther King Day be a national holiday is simply an attempt to cover with the mantle of a slain black leader their liberal program that has been proven bankrupt many times over. What is needed is not alliances with the racist Democratic Party politicians of "benign neglect," but united militant working-class action against the whole racist capitalist system.

Buffalo in the Shadow of Greensboro

Buffalo. In this dying, dilapidated city where a series of savage killings of black people has taken place, the Nazis say they're going to goose-step over the grave of the assassinated King on January 15. In a city where blacks cannot safely stand at a bus stop on Main Street, the Nazis say they will take over Niagara Square.

Press accounts indicate Buffalo may be heading for a showdown. The Nazis are openly organizing for their provocation, distributing racist literature downtown which hails as the "Great White Warrior" whoever is responsible for the wave of grotesque murder. Later, a left group, the "Martin Luther King Coalition," initiated by the Workers World Party, said it would seek to block the Nazis. Buffalo Mayor James Griffin thereupon banned the Nazi rally, giving him a pretext to forbid the leftists' protest as well. Treating the fascists and their intended victims alike, he declared that anyone rallying on Niagara Square would be arrested.

Buffalo city officials were still worried that large numbers of people might respond to the MLK Coalition's call. In response, the mayor has unleashed a vicious red-baiting campaign. Denouncing the "bunch of nuts and socialists" in the Coalition, he lined up "responsible" leaders of the Black Leadership Forum to come out against the planned action and urge people to attend a King "memorial celebration" two hours later. Hispanic and black groups have pulled out of the coalition as officials have gone on TV telling people to stay away.

Meanwhile, the Nazis say the left is "looking for another Greensboro." The "moderates" echo this theme, with local NAACP leaders bemoaning "the kind of confrontation that happened in Greensboro." A lawyer for the Black Leadership Forum denounced the anti-fascist protesters as "just as big a problem as the Nazis." Of course, just as in Greensboro, it's all done in the name of "even-handed" equation of the fascist killers and their intended victims. The ACLU civil libertarians and reformists of the SWP back them up with their arguments to give the Nazi scum a platform from which to organize race terror.

With this anti-communist scare, these ominous intimidation tactics, the stage is being set for a confrontation. The cops have already said there will be mass arrests of the left if it shows up, and the mayor has declared anyone else who comes in from out of town for the rally "dupes." Any blood of the anti-Nazi demonstrators spilled in Buffalo will be on the hands of these "respectable" capitalist politicians who are threatening a Greenshoro massacre in Niagara Square by isolating and setting up the demonstrators for attack.

For the American capitalist ruling class, both liberal and conservative, Greensboro epitomized their domestic policy in this new Cold War period: stepped-up repression against the left and a license to kill for the racist right. Every group on the left claims it wants to fight fascism. But how? The larger reformist outfits like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party follow the liberals. The CP marches to pressure the government to "ban the Klan" while the SWP tails civil libertarians arguing for "free speech for fascists," even providing a platform for the Klan candidate Tom Metzger in California. And they both join to build the left flank of a popular front with the black Democrats, staging marches to win "nothing less than a holiday" to immortalize King's defeatist program which crippled the struggle for black equality for so many years.

The CP's answer to KKK attacks is to "outlaw racist terrorist organizations." Who is supposed to do this? In their recent central committee resolution (*Daily World*, 18 December), these reformists call on Ronald Reagan to "confront the reality of racist oppression." But this absurd line means demanding that the KKK's "favorite son" candidate for president outlaw the right! Beyond reforming the Republicans, the CP sees "important forces in Congress who will not go along with the conservative policies of the Reagan administration"—i.e., the liberal Democrats. On the other hand, various smaller left groups—many of them cults with little rooting in social reality, like the Communist Workers Party massacred in Greensboro—push a strategy of despair in which bands of leftists confront the Nazis/KKK who are backed up by the cops. The CP, SWP and the liberals have of course exploited the obvious adventurism of such groups to argue for reliance on the government and to generally acquiesce in the face of fascist terror.

With the increasing boldness of the fascists, egged on by the liberal campaign to set up leftist demonstrators as "equally violent," any group that actually takes to the streets against Nazi/Klan terror can become the target of Greensboro gunfire. But that does not mean that the left must be sitting ducks for the fascists. The problem with the Greensboro anti-Klan demonstration was not that by opposing the KKK/Nazis they "wanted martyrs"—i.e., that they "brought it on themselves," as the bourgeois press obscenely claims. Rather, having challenged the fascist murderers to a showdown, they did not take the necessary preparations to defend themselves. The real crime and tragedy of Greensboro was that the Klan/Nazi killers walked away unscathed while unarmed anti-racist demonstrators lay dying in pools of blood. For leftists, blacks and the labor movement, it is a matter of life and death to prepare, politically and in concrete measures of self-defense.

The enormous power of the labor movement must be unleashed against the fascist bands to crush them before they can grow. Not only to defend blacks and minorities who are targets today, but to defend the union movement which is the intended victim of the fascists when capitalism goes into deep social crisis. In this the Spartacist League, though much smaller than the CP and SWP admirers of Martin Luther King liberalism/pacifism, has taken the lead. In Detroit, November 1979 and San Francisco in April 1980, SL-built and initiated demonstrations drew hundreds of black and white unionists and endorsements of numerous labor officials and organizations for united-front action to stop the KKK/Nazis from marching.

MLK Day a "holiday"? When workers, minorities and other opponents of KKK/Nazi terror join in powerful mass actions to sweep the fascists off the streets, then there really will be something to celebrate. ■

Detroit Labor Protest Cancels TV Platform for Klan Terrorist

DETROIT, January 13—The Klan won't be organizing for genocide on Detroit TV, thanks to a protest campaign initiated by the Spartacist League here. A heavy call-in protest to WXYZ-TV, as well as a telegram (printed below), signed by over 30 prominent Detroit labor, black, Jewish, socialist and civil rights organizations and individuals, forced the station to back down. This afternoon WXYZ-TV officials announced that KKK "imperial wizard" Bill Wilkinson's appearance, scheduled for tomorrow, had been cancelled. "This is a victory for all those who defend democratic rights and who oppose giving the fascists a platform from which to organize their racist terror and murder," said an SL spokesman. The Klan won't ride in the Motor City!

Jean Finlator, General Manager
WXYZ-TV, American Broadcasting Company
Channel 7
20777 W. 10 Mile Road
Southfield, Michigan

We vigorously oppose WXYZ-TV 7 giving the KKK "imperial wizard" Bill Wilkinson airtime on the Kelley & Co. show Wednesday morning. The KKK and Nazis are fascist action groups committed to the mass murder of Jews, blacks, unionists and leftists as demonstrated from Greensboro, North Carolina to Fontana, California. Nazis and Klansmen came from throughout North America to "celebrate" Hitler's birthday on April 19th at a "Hitlerfest" in North Carolina. On that same day Klansmen burned crosses and gunned down four black women in Chattanooga, Tennessee. Nazis were prevented from a similar "Hitlerfest" in San Francisco only by a mass demonstration of 1,200 unionists, Jews, blacks, gays, Chicanos and other enemies of fascist terror. Fascists use the media only to mobilize for genocide and their appearance on Detroit TV can only fuel their ominous growth and boldness. No platform for Bill Wilkinson!

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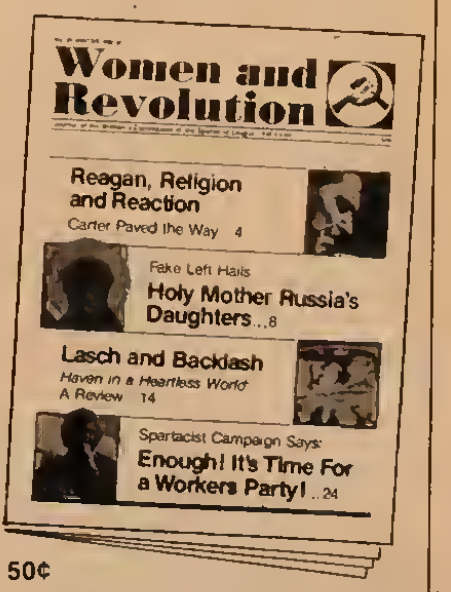

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Wilmington Ten...

(continued from page 4)

New York Times editorial, "At Last, Justice for the Wilmington Ten." Some justice! Ten innocent people viciously imprisoned for periods of up to four years, not to speak of the mental anguish, the thousands of dollars, the countless hours tied up in pursuing their legal defense. Ben Chavis and his nine co-defendants should be thankful, the *Times* hints, that they weren't sent up for life or shot down in the streets as has happened to so many other black and white civil rights protesters!

More typical, perhaps, is the case of Geronimo Pratt, the Los Angeles Black Panther Party leader who has been imprisoned for the past decade on frame-up murder charges. Last month a California Court of Appeals turned down Pratt's request for a new trial and stated that his charge that the FBI framed him in the 1968 killing was "based on rank speculation and sheer conjecture." Conjecture?! As we have recounted earlier, Pratt's imprisonment grew out of the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO program of savage state terror against the Black Panther Party (see "Black Panther Framed by FBI, Free Geronimo Pratt!" *WV* No. 258, 13 June 1980). The full extent of FBI involvement in the ten-year murderous campaign against Pratt has still not come to light.

So this is "justice" in racist America. In Greensboro where labor and left organizers are shot dead in cold blood and their KKK killers are set free to walk the streets. In California where Geronimo Pratt has spent nearly ten years in jail, eight of those years in solitary confinement. Meanwhile the "Justice" Department announced December 15 it had cleared FBI informer Gary Rowe of murder charges in the 1965 slaying of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo outside Selma, Alabama despite the fact that two other occupants of the murder car testify it was Rowe who pulled the trigger. This is capitalist "justice," where Weatherman radicals are the years-long victims of police dragnets and manhunts, but FBI officials who ordered their telephones illegally bugged and homes broken into are slapped on the wrist with light fines or get off scot-free. It will take proletarian revolution to achieve justice for the poor and exploited masses of America. ■

South Africa...

(continued from page 4)

situation very few white workers, privileged as they are, will participate in the unregistered (and therefore illegal) labor organizations with blacks. But even in South Africa class solidarity can at times overcome the deep racial division. As against the nationalists, revolutionary socialists must have this as their perspective.

In contrast to developments in Poland, the struggles of South Africa's black workers to unionize in the face of police-state terror have gotten scant attention in the Western capitalist media. Also the allegiance of the American labor bureaucracy to U.S. imperialism is graphically demonstrated by its different attitudes toward Poland and South Africa. In the Polish deformed workers state the AFL-CIO tops are contributing very large sums (already $160,000 plus) to the anti-communist, clerical-nationalist union leadership around Lech Walesa. In racist-capitalist South Africa, an important ally of Washington and a major field of operations for U.S. multinationals like GM and Ford, the Kirklands, Abels and Frasers have not lifted a finger to aid the black unions under attack.

Yet South Africa's black workers urgently need the support of the powerful trade unions in the U.S. and West Europe. Class-struggle unionists supported by the Spartacist League have shown the way. Militant caucuses in the United Auto Workers and in the West Coast longshoremen's union were able to win their locals to a protest boycott of South African cargo at the time of the 1976 Soweto massacre and to demanding that U.S. multinationals in South Africa recognize black unions.

Such proletarian internationalism points to the need for a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party in South Africa. In the absence of such a party the combativity of the black proletariat can easily be channeled by the petty-bourgeois nationalists, the aspiring Kenyattas, Machels and Mugabes of South Africa. A Trotskyist party would lead the proletariat in smashing apartheid and white-supremacist rule, establishing a black-centered workers and peasants government, ultimately leading to the liberation of the oppressed masses throughout the African continent. ■

Contra Costa...

(continued from page 2)

and other families under attack..., that ILWU Local 10 calls on Locals 2, 6, and 34 and the rest of the Bay Area labor movement to organize similar squads and cooperate with ILWU Local 10 to put a stop to these outrageous assaults."

This proposal that the Union defend itself and its members was called "premature" and "provocative," and with the exception of several Board members, was *voted down*. Adding insult to injury the officers then proposed hiring a 24-hour rent-a-cop to guard the home of Brother Presley! (Will it be one of the "security agencies" that herded scabs through picket lines during the last Local 6 strike?)

Let's be very clear what is at stake here. There has been an alarming growth of the KKK and Nazis in the last several years, encouraged by the racist, anti-labor policies of Carter. The Reagan victory signals an even sharper turn to the right, which will mean a bigger growth of these fascist terror groups. They have grown mainly in areas where they have not had to confront the organized labor movement.

The attacks by the KKK on the black residents in the Richmond area are a direct challenge to the Bay Area labor movement. If we do not respond to this challenge, the unions will be next, and we will soon see Klan organized strike-breaking. The Klan needs to be confronted by an organized show of force by the integrated labor movement to drive them back into their holes. Union defense squads consisting of 50 large guys with cargo hooks and baseball bats guarding these homes will scare the shit out of the Klan and stop these attacks.

The union leadership is acting like a bunch of liberal social workers. Instead of teaching the Klan to fear the labor movement, their do-nothing proposals will make the Unions look weak and impotent. Furthermore, the pacifist "house watchers," who have publicly declared their non-violence, are a provocation for further attacks.

Relying on the police and pacifists means denying these terrorized black families the protection of the labor movement *and* simultaneously emboldening the racists to further attacks. This will be what the Klan wants—isolated black families fighting alone against organized white racists. Will it take black people being killed before the labor unions act decisively? The Klan's intentions are very clear: further acts of racist terror.

The ILWU leadership has made its position clear: do nothing except rely on the police, rent-a-cops, and pacifists.

We think it's time for the ILWU membership to be heard loud and clear: for union defense squads to stop racist terror! ■

French Press Policy...

(continued from page 5)

forthrightly the collective organizer of the organized revolutionary vanguard, we can grant that the Lambertists' "non-party" press policy was not entirely gratuitous opportunism. There is in France a prevalent attitude that buying the newspaper of an organization implies some explicit agreement. An LCR militant told us recently: "I can't buy your paper; that would be as if a Stalinist bought *Rouge*." Although not unique to the French workers movement, this attitude is most pronounced here, where the traditions of Stalinism—which represent the perversion of the most elementary precepts of the international workers movement—weigh very heavily. Trotsky noted in a discussion with American Trotskyists in the 1930s:

> "Stalinism has introduced police tactics and bureaucratic centralism into the whole international radical movement. Even the fights between the Bolsheviks and the anarchists and Narodniks were on an entirely different plane from this. Even in the vacuum of emigré politics—in the Bolshevik past—there has never been such corruption as Stalinism has brought to the workers' struggles."

The prevailing conception among working-class militants is that workers democracy is not a question of principle, but of tactics—above all, a question of the relationship of forces. That members rely on their organization's paper to give them their political marching orders is certainly unexceptionable. Organizational discipline does determine the relationship of a serious militant to his party's press. But we differ with the prevailing sectarianism on the relationship of a militant to other organizations' press. When we argue with a UEC [CP youth group] student at Tolbiac, a CP member in Renault-Cléon or an LCR militant in front of the Mutualité that they should buy *Le Bolchévik*, we are not doing so in the name of the liberal-bourgeois "pluralism" so dear to the Eurocommunists. We assert that a democratic debate between counterposed programs is indispensable to the process of building a communist vanguard.

The first issue of the *Militant*, the paper of the American Trotskyists who in 1928 had just been expelled from the CP, quoted Lenin. Although he was here referring to internal party debate, Lenin's broader injunction was that the first duty of a militant is to learn to think:

> "It is necessary that every member of the Party should study calmly and with the greatest objectivity, first the substance of the differences of opinion, and then the development of the struggles within the Party. Neither the one nor the other can be done unless the documents of both sides are published. He who takes somebody's word for it is a hopeless idiot, who can be disposed of with a single gesture of the hand."

To be a professional revolutionist is in large measure to fight polemically to politically rout the counterposed programs which vie for the allegiance of the working class. A Marxist does not consider that a wrong program is simply the result of evil intentions (it is precisely such an idealist and conspiratorial vision of history which is behind the LCR and OCI explaining that Marchais single-handedly changed the course of French politics in 1978, out of pique and a peculiar personal proclivity for the form of bourgeois rule represented by the Fifth Republic). Rather, a wrong program reflects the pressure of alien class forces on the proletariat. *Le Bolchévik* aims to lay bare such implications in the programs of our opponents.

That *Le Bolchévik* is a polemical paper is therefore not a matter of style. The main roadblocks to communist consciousness in the proletariat are the reformist bureaucrats and their multitude of "far left" hangers on. Those who disdain or reject programmatic struggle represent anti-Marxist programs which do not base their perspectives on the struggle for communist consciousness in the working class. The Stalinists can't do without the Gulag. The LCR has no program other than the "dynamic" which blows in the wind; with the wind of anti-Sovietism blowing strong, it has little resistance. The OCI's program is pimping for the social-democracy. Clarity, honesty and programmatic struggle are antithetical to the aims and methods of these organizations.

Our insistence on the principle of workers democracy and the necessity of political debate is not incidental to our program. Unlike the liquidators who play games with their mastheads and water down their politics, our program and intentions are clear on every page of our paper.

Why should a militant read *Le Bolchévik*? To confront the political issues which must be confronted in the fight for a communist future. ■

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El Salvador...

(continued from page 12)

in the capital.

On the eve of Reagan's presidency the Salvadoran rebels clearly aim to present the Republican hardliner with the accomplished fact of a "government in arms" on national territory. The guerrillas speak of the "countryside surrounding the city" à la Mao Tse-tung, but in tiny, crowded El Salvador (the most densely populated country of Latin America) conditions are not favorable for prolonged guerrilla struggle. Instead the rebels can only count on a mass uprising and/or recognition of the FDR's "Revolutiunary Democratic Government" as a "belligerent party" by such favorably inclined Latin American states as Mexico, the Dominican Republic and Panama. But such international "recognition" would only be a prelude to attempts at "mediation," under the aegis of the United Nations or the Organization of American States (OAS), aimed at controlling a revolution viewed as inevitable.

However, the entrenched Salvadoran capitalist/landowning ruling class and its mercenary military have made it clear that they are not going to retire peacefully to Miami because of international disapproval. If they go down, they will go down fighting. In 1932 the Salvadoran oligarchs and their officers drowned a Communist-led peasant uprising in the blood of 30,000 victims. Today they talk of such an outcome

NACLA

Anti-junta colonel Majano

costing 200,000 lives. Moreover, in Washington Jimmy Carter was not, and Ronald Reagan will certainly not be, willing to tolerate any settlement which would open the door to "another Nicaragua" in Central America. Only the overthrow of the murderous dictatorship by an insurrection requiring the utmost in heroism and self-sacrifice can save the Salvadoran masses from an historic and tragic defeat.

The labor movement internationally, and especially in the imperialist U.S., must demonstrate active solidarity with the Salvadoran workers and peasants by boycotting all military goods destined for El Salvador. It must also demand: U.S.—OAS—Latin American bourgeoisies—all hands off El Salvador! Any attempt at imperialist intervention, whether directly by U.S. Marines, by mercenaries or neighboring dictatorships as U.S. proxies, must be met with militant mass protest.

Washington Targets Central America

As the guerrillas announced their offensive, Napolcón Duarte, the Christian Democrat figurehead of El Salvador's military junta appealed to "President Reagan" for military aid against the left. Reagan, of course, will not take office for another week, but Duarte didn't get his dates mixed up. He was just snubbing "Human Rights" Carter and cashing in on the Republican candidate's campaign promises. Reagan had rhetorically asked on the campaign trail:

> "Must we let Nicaragua, El Salvador all become additional 'Cubas', new outposts for Soviet combat brigades? Will the next push of the Moscow-Havana axis be northward to Guatemala and thence to Mexico, and south to Costa Rica and Panama?"

Now looking for an opportunity to flaunt U.S. military strength, Reagan's advisers view El Salvador as the perfect place to show some muscle without risking immediate confrontation with the Soviet Union. And, as leading Nicaraguan capitalist opposition leader Alfonso Robelo observed, "When you have been through a long campaign saying you are going to be tough with Communist influence in the Western world and you win by a landslide, you might have to follow up on that" (*Wall Street Journal*, 23 December 1980).

Reagan's "transition team" has lambasted "social reformers" in the diplomatic corps and Robert White, Carter's man in San Salvador, was singled out for removal. The recipient of numerous ultra-rightist death threats, Ambassador White is now chiefly concerned that with Republican encouragement he might be removed from his post feet first. The fate of other U.S. imperialist "social reformers" in recent days is not encouraging (see "El Salvador: Reform by Death" in this issue). Reagan's newly appointed UN ambassador, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, won the president-elect's favor by favoring aid to "moderate autocrats friendly to American interests" (like tyrant Somoza!) and recently told a TV audience that "I would like to see us increase assistance to El Salvador. We have never given El Salvador very effective military assistance" (*New York Times*, 12 January).

These threats of American intervention caused Mexican president José López Portillo to warn Reagan in a telegram immediately after the November 4 elections: "Keep out. Don't intervene." López Portillo followed this up last week in a personal meeting with the U.S. president-elect in Ciudad Juárez. The newly assertive Mexican bourgeoisie considers Central America its "natural area of action." But for more than a century it has been U.S. imperialism's "natural area of action" as well. Reagan, despite any opposition from south of the border, will take whatever measures he feels necessary to enforce imperialist stability on a region made more important by the burgeoning Mexican oil output.

Just how Washington plans to draw the line against the "red menace" in El Salvador is not yet clear. Sending in the Marines Santo Domingo-style may be very *macho*, but even for Reagan it is hardly the first option. The use of an "inter-American" OAS "peace-keeping" force including Venezuelan, Costa Rican and other elements as a cover for imperialist intervention is possible. Then there are the mercenary brigades in Honduras and Guatemala formed from ex-Somoza troops, killers without a country who have been staging terrorist incursions into Nicaragua for months. Finally, there is the possibility of intervention by the Guatemalan and Honduran military regimes themselves. But whatever it decides, the Republican administration will find that all the options have been well-prepared by the Carter administration.

No to the Popular Front!

It is not only the openly reactionary U.S. imperialists and their client regimes who pose a mortal threat to the Salvadoran revolution. "Progressive" capitalist politicians within the Revolutionary Democratic Front, their allies in the Mexican and Panamanian governments and European social democrats backing the FDR financially and diplomatically stand ready to stab the insurgent worker and peasant masses in the back and cheat them of victory. A key element of this cabal is the reformist, social-democratic Second International, which at a conference in Madrid last year formed an "International Committee for Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution." Later this group, which includes Willy Brandt of West Germany, François Mitterrand of France, Olof Palme of Sweden and Bruno Kreisky of Austria, occupied itself with support, financial and otherwise, to the FDR. The Salvadoran popular front, in turn, is now headed by Guillermo Ungo of the Revolutionary National Movement, a liberal bourgeois formation affiliated with the Second International.

James Margulies

The European social democrats, for the most part present and former managers of imperialist states, are guided by different national interests than Ronald Reagan and Jimmy Carter. Reagan bitterly opposes the "outside interference" of Brandt & Co., and their diplomatic maneuvers on behalf of the Salvadoran leftists. But even if an FDR government is set up in a "liberated zone" of El Salvador and the social democrats hustle to recognize it as legitimate it will not be to insure a revolutionary victory but to prevent the anti-capitalist destabilization of the entire region through international mediation. The beneficiaries of their intervention would not be the working class and peasant masses but the likes of Ungo, who proved his willingness to sell out to the imperialists by taking a seat alongside the military butchers in the first junta which emerged after the military coup of 15 October 1979.

To campaign, as some leftists are doing, for international recognition to an FDR government is a betrayal of the struggle for workers revolution in Central America. Today, as even the *New York Times* (12 January) realizes, "the civil war in El Salvador has divided the country along class lines, with most guerrillas being drawn from among peasants and workers." The FDR, with its leading staff of bourgeois politicians, is an attempt to paper over this sharp class division for the benefit of otherwise impotent Salvadoran liberal capitalists.

A revolutionary victory can be won in El Salvador—but not by the strategy of reliance on "progressive" Latin American regimes, "socialist" imperialist politicians, "patriotic" colonels and Catholic bishops. What is needed is relentless *class* struggle, not only within the borders of tiny El Salvador, but throughout the Central American isthmus. Break with class collaboration—forward to workers and peasants governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America! For a Trotskyist party! Military victory to the leftist insurgents! U.S./OAS/Latin American bourgeoisics—all hands off El Salvador! ■

"Reform by Death"...

(continued from page 12)

generously compensates landlords and mainly benefits those peasants who already work small plots and collaborate with the military against the agricultural workers' organizations. The vast majority of the rural population, including all landless laborers, were never intended to be involved in the program at all—except as targets for army rifles. No land titles have been issued, and those who receive parcels are expected to pay off the government for decades.

The killing, however, began immediately. Within a week of the announcement of the land program Amnesty International issued a news release (17 March 1980) reporting it had "received reports of 80 people, including at least 28 children, killed in Cuscatlán Department alone. In Chalatenango Department, a circle of fire was lit around a village to prevent local people escaping: troops then entered the village, killing some 40 people and abducting many others.... The authorities said troops were ordered to occupy plantations to be expropriated under the agrarian reform. Under these orders, Amnesty International said, they attacked villages supporting opposition peasant unions, the Christian Federation of Salvadorean Peasants, and the Union of Rural Workers. Land seized has been handed over to members of ORDEN," a paramilitary spy network for the government.

The land reform fraud and mass killings in the countryside caused even a large part of the government's own AIFLD-founded peasant group, the Unión Comunal Salvadoreña (UCS) to denounce the program which was supposedly to benefit them. In June eight UCS departmental organizations declared that "we feel that we cannot continue supporting the Agrarian Reform.... they are eliminating the very campesino who has finally taken hold of the land." And a Salvadoran technician who witnessed the arrival of "land reform" at one hacienda gave a blood-curdling account:

> "The troops came and told the workers that the land was theirs now. They could elect their own leaders and run it themselves. The peasants couldn't believe their ears, but they held elections that very night. The next morning the troops came back and I watched as they shot every one of the elected leaders."
>
> —quoted in *NACLA Report*, July-August 1980

No wonder this "agrarian reform"—built by a CIA front, authorized by a military junta and carried out by savage mercenaries—is known locally as "reform by death." ■

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Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents!

Civil War in El Salvador

JANUARY 13—On Friday El Salvador's leftist guerrillas launched their long-expected "general offensive" against the Central American country's blood-soaked military dictatorship. Labor, the left, minorities and all opponents of junta terror must greet the insurrection against one of the most barbarous U.S. puppet regimes in the Americas. Whatever the odds, hesitation now will only invite a massacre far surpassing the bloodhath which followed the 1973 Pinochet coup in Chile. Military victory to the left-wing insurgents! Break the dangerous popular front with "democratic" hourgeois politicians and military officers! For workers revolution in El Salvador!

Taking over three radio stations in the capital city of San Salvador on January 10, the Salvadoran guerrilla cualition, the Farabundo Marti Front for National Liberation (FMLN), announced: "This is the moment. Free humeland or death! People of El Salvador, we have now started the national liberation." Simultaneously, 80 Salvadoran soldiers led by a lieutenant-colonel shot their commanding officer and burned down army harracks in Santa Ana, the country's second largest city. In Morazán department another ranking officer, also a follower of uusted junta "moderate" Colonel Adolfu Majano, called on officers and soldiers to follow the example of Santa Ana and join the insurgent forces. And detachments of hundreds of guerrillas marched into a number of provincial towns.

As we gu to press it is not clear which side cuntrols Santa Ana. In addition, heavily armed rebels have cut off and attacked two cities southeast of the capital and Chalatenango to the nurth. Sume 500 persons have so far been reported killed in the fighting, which has taken the form of a large-scale uprising throughout the country. To coincide with the military offensive, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the popular-front opposition hloc which includes the FMLN guerrillas, their worker-peasant-student organizations and reformist hourgeois forces, called a general strike beginning January 12, supported by at least 20,000 government workers

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El Salvador: "Reform by Death"

On January 3, two American advisers to El Salvador's land "reform" program and the head of the government's own agrarian agency were assassinated in the San Salvador Sheraton Hotel coffce shop. Right-wing papers in the U.S. reacted with headlines screaming, "Two More Yanks Die in El Salvador"; the liberal press wrung its hands over the fate of "moderate social reformers." Official Salvadoran spokesmen tried to pin the blame on leftist guerrillas, but even the military junta's civilian front man President José Napoleón Duarte indicated that "it was almost certainly an action by the extreme right" (*New York Times*, 5 January).

The bourgeois media eulogized the two Americans, Michael Hammer and Mark Pearlman. Hammer, in fact, was given "spccial dispensation" and a "hero's burial" in Arlington National Cemetery—making it clear who he really worked for. But that also makes Salvadoran rightists the killers of CIA agents, after already murdering an archbishop and three American nuns. Evidently the military's death squads figure they have little to lose with Reagan coming in. And undoubtedly they're right, for the imperialist press once again equally blamed left and right "extremists" for the reactionary bloodbath which claimed 12,000 lives in El Salvador last year.

Editorialists called for the supposedly "centrist" junta to continue the land program, which the *Times* termed "the only remaining hope for achieving a stable democratic society." Echoing CIA handouts, it even made the farcical claim that this is "proportionally the most extensive land redistribution program in Latin America." If you leave out Mexico, Bolivia, Haiti or anywhere else that had a peasant upheaval. And Cuba, of course. But the next day two Oxfam land reform experts demolished this myth with a low-key assessment of the program:

> "...the poorest of the poor—the majority of peasants...are totally excluded from reform benefits. Only permanent hacienda workers and peasants who rent or sharecrop small holdings are potential beneficiaries of the law. Most peasants have no access to land and live between harvests in cardboard barrios along roads.
>
> "The rich, too, can be considered beneficiaries—at least those who long sought in vain for buyers of their estates and who now can live in peace and security in Miami."
>
> —*New York Times*, 6 January

NACLA

"Reform" Junta's National Guard "takes prisoners" after the storming of the occupied Christian Democratic headquarters in El Salvador.

Actually, this fraud is no land reform at all. Despite lingering opposition to it from the "14 Families" oligarchy and fascistic elements in the military, it is a Vietnam-style counterinsurgency program. This refurbished "strategic hamlet" project is an integral part of the massacre of leftists, workers and peasants orchestrated by the Salvadoran government and its paramilitary hit men. Its purpose: to create a layer of landowning small farmers loyal to the government and hostile to the left. Its method: instead of being kept in line by the latifundistas' private armies, they are now patrolled by the National Guard.

A clue to the nature of the program is the heavy involvement of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). Both Hammer and Pearlman were employed hy this AFL-CIO front for Central Intelligence Agency dirty work in Latin America. (For documentation see "Get the CIA Out of Our Unions!" *WV* No. 258, 13 June 1980.) AIFLD activities in El Salvador are guided by one Ray Prosterman, a University of Washington professor whose main qualification for the job was his experience with a similar "agrarian transformation" program in Vietnam. This included the infamous "Phoenix Project" in which 30,000 "Vietcong suspects" were murdered.

Another tip-off: the day the land program was decreed, martial law was imposed on the country. In fact, the "reform" was rushed into effect in early March immediately following a U.S.-aborted rightist coup. It was designed to head off the ultra-right with a more sophisticated anti-guerrilla campaign. An American AID official commented: "There is no one more conservative than a small farmer. We're going to be breeding capitalists like rabbits" (quoted in Philip Wheaton, "Agrarian Reform in El Salvador: A Program of Rural Pacification" [November 1980]). And anyone who persisted in peasant union activities would be shot down, "like rahbits"!

The first (and probably only) stage of this program affects only 5 percent of the best agricultural land and few of the all-important coffee plantations. It allows even the largest landowners to hold onto much of their estates.

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

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U.S./OAS Hands Off!
Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador

Reagan Targets Central America

Hawkins/Sygma

JANUARY 27—Now that the embassy hostages have returned from Teheran, the Reagan administration has its hands free to deal with the central concern of U.S. imperialist foreign policy: the intensified Cold War onslaught against America's own "Great Satan," the Soviet Union. And the first place that Reagan plans to get down to business is Central America, where Salvadoran guerrillas have launched a "general offensive" against a U.S.-backed military junta. In Reagan's anti-Soviet demonology, the U.S. is "the last domino" and El Salvador the front line in the battle against Communist "expansionism." "Must we let Nicaragua, El Salvador all become additional 'Cubas,' new outposts for Soviet combat brigades?" he asked during the campaign. "Will the next push of the Moscow-Havana axis be northward to Guatemala and thence to Mexico, and south to Costa Rica and Panama?" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 11 January). And it's no joke—the new U.S. commander-in-chief actually believes this "north to Texas" hogwash.

So Ronald Reagan is going to play Cold War dominoes. If China's Deng intended to teach the Soviets a "bloody lesson" by attacking Vietnam in collusion with the U.S., Reagan wants to hand-deliver a "bloody warning" to Moscow in Central America. In the El Salvador crisis he sees the hand of the "Marxist" regime in Nicaragua; behind it stands the "red menace" in Havana. And with all his talk of blockading Cuba, the real target is clearly Castro's "big brother" Brezhnev. In Senate confirmation hearings, Reagan's secretary of state telegraphed his message to

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Hostage Mania, Cold War Fever

The clock finally stopped at day 444. After frantic last minute haggling between Iranian mullahs and American banks, the 52 hostages were spirited away to Wiesbaden, West Germany to be "deeompressed." Not wishing any repeat of the embarrassing statements sympathetie to Iran which occurred when Khomeini earlier released some women and hlack hostages. U.S. officials made sure that newsmen and hostage moms got no closer to the 52 than what they could see through a telephoto lens. Meanwhile, the lights on the White House Christmas tree were lit, floodlights on the Statue of Liberty turned on and the Empire State Building glowed in red, white and blue.

After 14 months of highly orchestrated media hype, prayer vigils, letters from school children and yellow ribbons, the long simmering frustration and humiliation felt by a large part of the American population are now being egged on by lurid accounts of supposed "torture" (see box). Too bad "Saturday Night Live" doesn't have the guts to interview 52 people coming out of Attica about "human rights" violations. The pious outcry over the plight of the hostages was never a eoneern for human lives: eight Marines died in Carter's hotched raid (the *only* Americans killed in Iran), and it turns out (what a surprise!) that the hostages unanimously opposed this crazed adventure.

Americans were made to feel that the national honor had been tarnished, and something should be done, like "nuke Qom." While the sentiment is now largely anti-Iranian, the bourgeois propaganda mills seek to galvanize this into popular support for the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union, for which the technological implements (e.g., neutron weapons, cruise and MX missiles) are already being assembled. While Khomeini sought to bolster his regime hy whipping up anti-Americanism, we pointed out that the fierce anti-communism of the reactionary Islamic clerics could make possible an anti-Soviet hostage deal. Amid all the recent talk about ransom and retrihution, the *Wall Street Journal* (21 January) described and advocated the fundamental interests of U.S. imperialism in "the Swap":

> "That swap could eventually open the way for a more effective American policy to check Soviet influence in Iran, long a buffer between the Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf oil states."

The burst of chauvinist fever which greeted the embassy takeover not only temporarily revived Jimmy Carter's sagging political fortunes but quickly was tied into his larger anti-Soviet ambitions, particularly after the Red Army went into Afghanistan. Reagan hlustered from the sidelines, using Carter's seeming impotence to help propel him into the White House. And with the release, the bankers got the hucks—of the $8 billion supposedly given haek as "ransom," the Iranians got only $2.9 billion, the rest going directly to American hanks or being held in escrow to cover outstanding Iranian debts. When you add the shah's stash at Chase, the bankers' loot eomes to a cool $13 billion. Not content with this plunder, the *Wall Street Journal* urged

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Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!
Break with the Bourgeoisie! For Workers Revolution!

Anti-Communist Exclusion Fails at El Salvador Demos

In several El Salvador demonstrations around the U.S. last week there were sharp political confrontations between Stalinist reformists and the Spartacist League (SL).

• In L.A.'s MacArthur Park on January 21, demo organizers threatened exclusion of the SL contingent, muttering about "communists" and "Trotskyite counterrevolutionaries." Spartacist placards in the march called, in both English and Spanish, for "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador," "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents" and "Popular Frontism Disarms Workers Before White Terror." Despite the threats no incidents occurred.

• Also on January 21 in Chicago, at a protest against a State Department pro-junta speaker, demo organizers sought to prevent the SL from marching with its signs. This time they not only tried to suppress our communist propaganda against popular-frontism, but even tried to drown out SL chants for military victory to the Salvadoran left-wing rebels. Again they were unsuccessful.

• The next day in New York, at a rally sponsored by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), a speaker for the Revolutionary Democratic Front threatened from the platform to exclude the SL from future marches. Goons tried to force SLers to take down their signs, particularly the placard reading, "FDR Popular Front Roadblock to Revolution: For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!" But the signs stayed.

The Spartacist League will not be intimidated by such attempts at Stalinist censorship. The reformists who seek to tie the workers to the "democratic" capitalist politicians and generals cannot escape communist opposition to this treacherous strategy. Break with the bourgeoisie—For workers and peasants governments in Central America! The Trotskyist program of permanent revolution will be heard! ■

WV Photo

El Salvador demonstration, L.A. January 21.

Hostages...

(continued from page 1)

Reagan to renounce the remainder of the deal if it doesn't "benefit American interests."

So the mullahs didn't get the moolah and they didn't get the shah. But they did achieve their main purpose: to focus domestic unrest on empty anti-Americanism. The rest of the left hailed the embassy takeover as proof of the mullahs' "revolutionary" fiber. While they slavishly ignored their savage persecution of women and homosexuals and the murderous repression of the national minorities in Iran, we wrote:

> "The mullahs have not been waging a struggle against imperialism at all—on the contrary, Khomeini's government has most recently been negotiating with Washington for resumption of billions of dollars in military aid to be used against Kurdish rebels, Arab oil workers, Iranian leftists and the Soviet Union. The Teheran embassy seizure and hostage-taking was a *diversion*. It was fundamentally an attempt to refurbish Khomeini's anti-shah credentials in a period of growing disillusionment, and opposition to, his clerical-reactionary rule."
>
> —"Iran Embassy Crisis," *WV* No. 244, 23 November 1979

A deal might have been struck earlier—recall Carter's Afghanistan speech proposing an Islamic/imperialist united front against "atheistic communism"—but the hostage diversion was still too valuable to the mullahs in their efforts to gain domestic political supremacy. This they have largely done—witness the savage attacks and expulsion of the left from the universities—and the Iran-Iraq war has since replaced the hostage crisis as a rallying point for national unity. With oil income cut off by the war, the mullahs needed cash to buy weapons and parts, so they settled for what they could get.

As for the claim that the action was to retaliate against CIA crimes in Iran, this is sheer nonsense. The embassy was most certainly a "nest of spies," but no CIA flunky was ever treated to the Islamic "justice" reserved for Kurds, "adulterers" or Iranian leftists. Least of all do the mullahs wish to expose the real CIA crimes against Iranian workers and peasants, since opening that Pandora's box could reveal *their* active participation in the 1953 CIA-sponsored coup, which reinstated the shah.

Washington's intentions toward post-shah Iran are by no means hostile in the long run. Even now, the more far-sighted American business leaders are openly talking about limited resumption of trade, especially since the mullahs paid all their debts to the big banks. Khomeini himself may not want to strike a deal with the "Great Satan," but that's a temporary obstacle—either Allah will recall him, or he can be replaced by more "moderate" mullahs like Shariatmadari with the aid of "pragmatic" generals.

The current ballyhoo about national honor and Reagan's "national renewal" are an integral part of the U.S. imperialists' desire to whip the population into a patriotic frenzy against "foreign threats," first and foremost against the Soviet degenerated workers state. In the face of the chauvinist fervor and anti-Soviet Cold War drive, Leninists stand for unconditional military defense of the USSR. Just as the Iranian workers, under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, must topple the ayatollahs, the American proletariat must "begin the world over again" by revolutionary expropriation of the decaying capitalist class before they blow up the earth. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Militants Break Gag Rule

Hostage Flag-Waving Flops in NMU

At the January 26 New York port meeting of the National Maritime Union (NMU), hamhanded local bureaucrats got a much-needed lesson in workers democracy.

Ever since the takeover of the U.S. embassy in Teheran, the traditional moment of silence for sailors of all nations who have been lost at sea—the normal opening of NMU meetings in New York—has been replaced by a prayer for the CIA agents, career diplomats and Marine lifers who were held hostage in Iran. The class-struggle Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC) in the union has refused to stand at attention for such disgusting displays of patriotism. For this the caucus members have been showered with abuse by the ayatollahs who run the union.

At times this took the form of barely veiled threats of violence. In recent months Port Agent and perennial meeting chairman Andy Rich made it clear that he would not recognize any M-SC members during meetings because they refused to stand and pray for the hostages. Needless to say, this ban did not extend to supporters of the *Daily World*, who each and every month dutifully rose out of concern for the CIA trainers of SAVAK torturers.

But this time around, it was a little different. With the patriotic hoopla accompanying the hostage release, the NMU bureaucrats really laid it on thick. But they were visibly shaken when ten or more seamen joined with the caucus in refusing to stand in thanks that "our prayers" had been answered. In fact, as Rich began his monthly attempt to smuggle religion and Cold War foreign policy into the union meeting, one seaman yelled out, "Is this a union hall or a church?"

When discussion was called after the Port Agent's report, Rich could not keep caucus spokesman Gene Herson from taking the floor. God knows, he tried. When Rich refused to call on Herson, cries of "Let him speak" went up through the hall. Next, the chairman (violating union procedure) demanded a vote on whether Herson could speak. But this backfired, too, as almost no one but the bureaucrats' flunkies opposed this basic right. So naturally Rich called for a revote!

No such luck—Herson was already at the mike. The M-SC spokesman received applause as he denounced the NMU bureaucrats for using the hostage issue as part of their policy of kowtowing to Carter and now Reagan, and to silence the membership in the upcoming June contract fight with the ship-owners and oil companies. Members were angry, he said, about the continued loss of jobs and the recent 5 percent dues rakeoff out of the seamen's vacation checks.

The pro-company union leaders, backers of KKK-endorsed Reagan in this predominantly black and Puerto Rican union, resorted to the worst kind of flag-waving censorship to silence class-struggle opposition. But it didn't work. The Militant-Solidarity Caucus' 15-year struggle in the NMU has won the respect of the union members. Even on such an emotional issue, with the bureaucrats trying to whip up the members into a jingoist frenzy against radicals—and anybody else who wants to fight for the working class—the caucus was able to force its right to speak.

And in this climate of racist reaction and anti-unionism, it is good to see there are some stout-hearted sailors who'll tell Andy Rich what he can do with his yellow ribbons!

Spartacist Demos Protest Orange Terror

Bernadette Devlin Shot–Outrage!

"Devlin shot--outrage!" chanted protesters outside the British Consulate in New York City on January 19. Three days earlier, Irish Republican militant Bernadette Devlin and her husband, Michael McAliskey, were critically wounded in an assassination attempt by right-wing Loyalist thugs. Devlin was shot seven times and her husband three times in their cottage near Coalisland, west of Belfast, Northern Ireland. In broad daylight three masked gunmen cut the telephone lines to the cottage, then bashed in the door with a sledgehammer and blasted away at the McAliskeys as they were getting their children ready for school. Although the British authorities have released only the most scant information about the McAliskeys, it has been reported that Devlin went into a coma following surgery and her husband's condition was listed as serious.

To protest this outrageous murder attack the Spartacist tendency called protest demonstrations internationally. At the January 19 New York demonstration called by the Spartacist

Colman Doyle

Bernadette Devlin

League/U.S. (SL) about 50 people, including a spirited group from the Irish Northern Aid (INA—U.S. supporters of the Provisional Irish Republican Army), chanted slogans like "British Troops Out of Northern Ireland!" and "A United Workers Movement Must Avenge Bernadette Devlin!" Two days earlier the INA held a rally there protesting the threatened extradition of Dessie Mackin, a Belfast-born Republican who fled to this country after he was charged with shooting two British soldiers two years ago. On the eve of his departure for the Irish Republic, Mackin was arrested in New York and jailed at the Metropolitan Correctional Center pending extradition hearings. The SL-initiated demonstration also raised the slogan, "Free Dessie Mackin—No Extradition!"

Although the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was informed well in advance about the demonstration, it refused to attend or even to call its own protest. Yet the SWP's *Militant* of January 30 hypocritically calls for "a campaign of protests directed against the British government..."! Meanwhile, the Spartacist League/Britain held a demonstration at the Northeast London Polytechnic College January 23, and the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand held a protest the next day in Sydney.

Devlin has long been on the hit list of Orange terrorists who hate her because she has become a symbol of the struggle of the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland. Devlin became prominent in the Catholic civil-rights movement during the late 1960s as a leader of the social-democratic People's Democracy and later was a founding member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. Recently Devlin received death threats as a result of her activity with the campaign in support of Irish Republican hunger strikers jailed in the infamous H-Blocks of Long Kesh's Maze prison. Last year four other leaders of the H-Block solidarity committee were assassinated in similar terrorist attacks.

The gunmen who tried to kill the McAliskeys reportedly are members of the Red Hand Commandos, a Protestant terrorist group formed in 1972, outlawed the following year and since then associated with the Orange paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force. Shortly after the shooting, the gunmen were arrested by a British army patrol, which military officials insist just happened to be in the area by "sheer luck" (*New York Times*, 17 January). However, the McAliskeys' residence has supposedly been under military surveillance at least since Devlin became politically active with the H-Block solidarity campaign.

WV Photo

NYC, January 19: Outside the British Consulate.

The British government has officially frowned upon the shooting of the McAliskeys, fearing of course that it will become social dynamite in Northern Ireland. Devlin often has been cursed by the British establishment—for example, after she punched the Home Secretary Reginald Maudling in the House of Commons during a heated exchange over the "Bloody Sunday" massacre in 1972. But in oh-so-proper Britannia, you're not supposed to blow away somebody who's served in Her Majesty's hallowed Parliament. However, in Northern Ireland the IRA Provos retaliated for the McAliskey shooting by assassinating two prominent Unionist politicians, Sir Norman Stronge and his son, on January 21.

While the IRA's acts of sectarian terror that victimize innocent Protestants (such as the pub bombings) must be categorically condemned, Marxists have no tears for the Stronges, who were symbols of the hated Unionism of the Orange Order. But the Provos' Green nationalism makes the Protestant working people of Northern Ireland look upon the Stronges as *their* martyrs, rather than representatives of the class enemy. What is needed in Northern Ireland is not these acts of despairing terrorism but the perspective of united working-class struggle.

At the January 19 protest in New York City SL speaker Dave Eastman stressed that Devlin was shot because "she was a symbol of the resistance to the British occupation of Northern Ireland." He explained that a Trotskyist party was urgently needed to provide the working people, both Catholic and Protestant, with an alternative to the Orange and Green nationalism that can only keep the sectarian divisions hardened. The only solution to the nationalist conflict in Northern Ireland, Eastman concluded, is "an Irish workers republic in the context of a socialist federation of the British Isles." The rally ended with a vigorous chant, "Orange thugs will not escape the wrath of an Irish workers state!" ■

CIA Atrocities, Hostage Hypocrisy

The Real Torture, Inc.

You couldn't pass a newsstand without seeing the 96-point type: "ANIMALS!" Jimmy Carter screamed about "atrocities"; Reagan called the Iranians "barbarians." Who the hell are they kidding? The hypocrisy and arrogance of U.S. imperialism is truly staggering—it is *they* who have a worldwide Torture, Inc., complete with schools to train sadistic operatives in the use of electronic implements the likes of which even the Gestapo never dreamed. For the atom bombers of Hiroshima, terror bombers of Southeast Asia and anti-Soviet nuclear first-strikers to yell "Torture!" is outrageous.

Despite the medical verdict that the hostages were all in good health, they're now claiming "atrocities." The bourgeois press is filled with rumors of solitary confinement, death threats and beatings after escape attempts...and horror of horrors, the "barbarians" even took the wristwatch of one of the hostages! Poor food? They had the embassy cook until Carter's "rescue mission"—and at worst they ate better than most Iranians. Mock executions? The shah's infamous SAVAK filled mass graves with the real thing.

SAVAK learned its ABCs from its CIA teachers. Survivors of the dungeons have recounted the horrors: children mutilated while their parents were forced to watch, burning with candles and red hot irons, electrocutions, fingernails pulled out. Some SAVAK sadists got their just desserts after the shah fell, but this has hardly meant the end to torture in Iran. In July 1980 four people accused of "sexual crimes" were buried up to their chests and stoned to death. Not so the CIA's "nest of spies"—the mullahs seemed quite careful not to harm the "Great Satan's" brood.

The U.S. imperialists' CIA built SAVAK after the 1953 mullah-supported coup which reinstalled the shah. Later they spawned the assassins and torturers of the Chilean DINA. The "Phoenix" program in Vietnam systematically tortured and liquidated at least 20,000 people. They were dragged behind trucks and thrown from helicopters. This was the "rural pacification" which led to My Lai. Today it produces the grim harvest of corpses in El Salvador under the guise of "land reform."

The Iranian mullahs do employ torture to combat the enemies of their Islamic "revolution"—rebellious Kurds, unveiled "adulterers" and "Satanic communists." But their primitive methods pale before the technological savagery of U.S. imperialism: swords and stones versus napalm and nuclear weapons. No doubt the mullahs will seek to bridge this "torture technology gap" and when an anti-Soviet deal is sealed, the U.S. will be quick to provide. Unless the Iranian proletariat overthrows Islamic reaction, the CIA mouthpieces who today yell "torture" will tomorrow bring their electrodes back to Iran.

ISA

Victim of SAVAK

Central America...

(continued from page 1)

Moscow—as the *Chicago Sun-Times* headline put it, "Haig Warns Soviets: Won't Shun A-War." Meanwhile, the new Republican head of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, North Carolina senator Jesse Helms, thinks Salt II is a commie plot and raves about how "We've got to draw the line" against creeping Castroism. We've got news for Reagan & Co. Russia ain't no domino.

But the Republicans figure they can get away with mass murder in Central America because it is part of a U.S. "sphere of influence." Within hours of assuming his committee chairmanship, Helms convened a secret hearing to lift the ban on U.S. aid to the Salvadoran junta imposed by Carter after the rape/murder of three American nuns in November. Unwilling to take second place in anti-Communist hysteria, in its last week the Democratic administration authorized $10 million in "lethal" military aid to the junta (including helicopters and "advisers") and promised $65 million in "economic" assistance. The State Department blustered about supporting the "struggle against Marxist terrorism, supported covertly with arms, ammunition, training and political and military advice by Cuba and other Communist nations" (*New York Times*, 19 January). And two days after Reagan took office it was announced that all U.S. aid had been cut off to Sandinista Nicaragua, accused of supplying the Salvadoran leftists' offensive.

To dramatize the United States' unconditional support to the junta, which last year massacred 12,000 workers, peasants and slum dwellers, the leading Salvadoran newspaper ran a full-page blow-up of a letter from Carter to junta president José Napoleón Duarte, in which the lame-duck president assured the Christian Democratic front man, "I am certain that you will bring El Salvador into a new age of democracy, order, and justice" (*Prensa Gráfica*, 19 January). Carter's man in San Salvador, ambassador Robert White, who had previously opposed new American aid, changed his tune and assured the army killers running the country that the U.S. "will not permit the establishment of a Marxist government in El Salvador" (*La Prensa* [Managua], 17 January). But this did not save White, labeled an "extreme leftist" by Republican Helms, from being recalled to Washington by the Reagan team.

Meanwhile, the forces of "democracy, order, and justice" were dropping incendiary bombs on the slum dwellers around at least three Salvadoran cities, barbaric actions recalling the desperate, murderous last days of Nicaragua's Somoza. A virtual news blackout in this country and the persecution of journalists in El Salvador has made it difficult to obtain hard information on the guerrilla offensive. It appears that after initial successes (including several army officers going over with their troops to the rebels), forces of the guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), gradually withdrew from departmental capitals and towns in eastern El Salvador. A general strike in the capital met with mixed results. Then, after a brief lull, fighting resumed January 22 as government forces (armed with helicopter gunships and bombs rushed to San Salvador by the Pentagon) pounded guerrilla columns in the west.

The junta quickly claimed victory, but the guerrilla offensive appeared to aim at demonstrating the Front's

30,000-strong Salvadoran solidarity demonstration in Mexico City.

military capacity and presence in the country. Thus rather than being an all-out insurrection it was subordinated to the opposition's "diplomatic offensive" and intended as the beginning of a longer civil war. FMLN spokesman Fermán Cienfuegos announced that the next stage would be "the new revolutionary government that will be established soon in some part of El Salvador" (*Le Monde*, 17 January). The Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the popular-front coalition including the FMLN as well as mass-based worker-peasant-student blocs and bourgeois politicians, has appealed to the U.S. for a negotiated settlement. "We want to deal with the circus owner, not the acrobats," said Guillermo Ungo, the former junta member and "social-democratic" liberal leader of the FDR. The popular front is looking to such allies as Mexico, Panama and the West German-dominated Socialist International and exposure in the UN to ease its way to power.

Even if successful this exercise in domestic/international class collaboration would threaten the Salvadoran working masses, whose blood would be shed only to install a new capitalist regime, one which sooner or later would clamp down on left-wing unions and peasant organizations in order to "stabilize" bourgeois rule. But whatever prospects such policies may have had under Carter, with his "human rights" demagogy, there is little chance that Reagan's Washington would permit the installation of any kind of left-leaning government (even of the impotent "constitutionalist" Allende type) in El Salvador short of outright military victory by the insurgents. Already American plans are far advanced for some kind of imperialist "peacekeeping" intervention to strangle the revolutionary upsurge on the isthmus.

It is urgent that the U.S. left and labor movement vigorously oppose such a Santo Domingo-style imperialist adventure! A Washington-aided rightist victory in El Salvador would soon extend the bloodbath to Nicaragua. And the bloody implications of U.S. intervention would go far beyond Central America: this could be the opening shot of anti-Soviet war escalation. Reagan and his advisers are looking at El Salvador as the "Angola" of their administration. Ford was stymied, but if they get away with it here, the Yankee imperialists will attempt military threats elsewhere, from the Near East to Europe. Class-conscious militants must demand: U.S./OAS Hands Off El Salvador, Nicaragua! No U.S. Aid! Labor: Boycott Military Goods to Central American Rightist Dictators! Defend Cuba and the Soviet Union!

Yankee Imperialists Go Home!

Shortly after Reagan's election a group of self-described "current and former analysts and officials" of the CIA, Department of State and other agencies leaked a "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America" to the press. This widely circulated document, confirmed by authoritative sources, exposes the extensive plans for American intervention in El Salvador and argues for a U.S.-mediated "Zimbabwe option." Their policy is a pipedream, but the evidence the Carter administration dissenters marshal certainly supports their description of "an allocation of bureaucratic and financial resources exceeding those made to any other hemispheric crisis since 1965." As they noted, "Should President Reagan choose to use military force in El Salvador, historians will be able to show that the setting for such actions had been prepared in the last year of the Carter Administration." They confirm at the concrete diplomatic/military level our insistence that Carter's anti-Soviet offensive paved the way for Reagan reaction. This is important to remember as liberal Democrats begin to posture as an alternative to the incumbent Cold Warriors.

Listing the steps already taken by Washington, the "Dissent Paper" points to U.S. military men in El Salvador, recent training of several hundred Salvadoran officers in American counterinsurgency schools in the "former" Panama Canal Zone, operational plans for deploying Guatemalan and Honduran armies in El Salvador, plans for disrupting the guerrilla supply lines and improved communications among military and paramilitary organizations (the ultra-rightist death squads) throughout the region. It also revealed that "A paramilitary strike force made up of former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, anti-Castro Cubans, Guatemalan military personnel and mercenaries has been formed in the past year." Already at the turn of the year it was confirmed that 500 ex-Somoza troops crossed from Guatemala into El Salvador where they reportedly clashed with FMLN columns last week. Also, the well-informed British business publication *Latin American Weekly Report* (16 January) quoted a Honduran officer who asserted, "There are 3,000 of us Hondurans and 2,000 Guatemalans from the third division, second battalion; we'll go in and kill those communists."

These not-so-secret plottings in Washington and San Salvador recall the days before the botched Bay of Pigs raid or the CIA-led military operation mounted from Honduras in 1954 to overthrow the "reform" Arbenz government in Guatemala. It's been some years since then, and the United States suffered a humiliating defeat in Vietnam. But it's still the same imperialist tiger, the same stripes, and no UN resolutions or appeals from the Maryknoll Sisters to respect "human rights" are going to stop this bloodthirsty predator. Nor will it confine its rampaging to the borders of tiny El Salvador. The American-supplied ex-Somoza Guardsmen are itching to attempt a counterrevolutionary return to Nicaragua. Over the past year they have repeatedly staged murderous raids across the border from their camps in Honduras.

The petty-bourgeois bonapartist Sandinista (FSLN) leadership in Managua has sought to precariously balance between the competing pressures of imperialism and domestic capitalism on the one hand and their worker-peasant supporters on the other. And while the FSLN denies, apparently truthfully, sending sizable aid to the Salvadoran rebels, many thousands of Sandinista fighters remember that only a year and a half ago leftists from El Salvador were their comrades-in-arms in the fight against the Nicaraguan tyrant. Pressures are rising sharply, and continued efforts by the FSLN *comandantes* to placate imperialism (a policy endorsed by Castro) by preserving the private sector, curbing working-class militancy and refusing to militarily aid the Salvadoran guerrillas could endanger their own existence.

Under the prodding of their imperialist masters the mini-bourgeoisies of the Central American mini-states have drawn together to "roll back Communism." For them there are no distinctions between the amorphous petty-bourgeois Sandinistas, who include bourgeois liberals among their supporters, and the worker/peasant-based leftists in the more class-polarized Salvadoran situation. What is needed to answer this reactionary alliance is not more attempts at conciliation or reliance on imperialist or Latin American bourgeois pressure, but a far-reaching workers revolution which must quickly spread throughout Central America or face bloody defeat. The fighting has commenced and a maximum effort is needed to mobilize the toiling masses in insurrectionary action for clear class goals. This is what reformist programs of class collaboration prevent, why the demand that Salvadoran workers break with the "democratic" bourgeois politicians and "progressive" colonels of the FDR is a matter of life and death for thousands. Break with the bourgeoisie—For workers revolution in El Salvador—For workers and peasants governments throughout Central America!

Meanwhile, American intervention has already begun. Beginning with El Salvador they have their own version not of a "domino theory" but a domino tactic. From El Salvador to Nicaragua, to Cuba, to Poland, to the Soviet Union. It is not just the plight of martyred people, suffering thousands of hideous deaths at the hands of Pentagon-trained killers, which is at stake, but the danger of imperialist war. The defense of the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador! ■

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Spartacist League Forum:

"Facing the Reagan Years"

We reprint below excerpts from a speech by comrade George Foster of the Spartacist League Central Committee at an SL forum at the University of California at Berkeley on January 17.

I want to discuss the question of Reagan and Reagan's administration as a revolutionary Marxist, as a Trotskyist. To approach the question from the point of view that our task is the abolition of capitalism, our aim is socialism and our method is proletarian, that is, working-class revolution. And to accomplish this task requires the construction of Leninist parties which base themselves on the experience of the 1917 October Russian Revolution, the first four congresses of the Communist International and the struggle led by Trotsky against the Stalinist bureaucracy and for the Fourth International.

There's a lot of history compacted into those phrases—people should try to assimilate it. It's necessary to do it, to understand and change the world. October 1917 in Russia is the touchstone for understanding all subsequent political events of the 20th century.

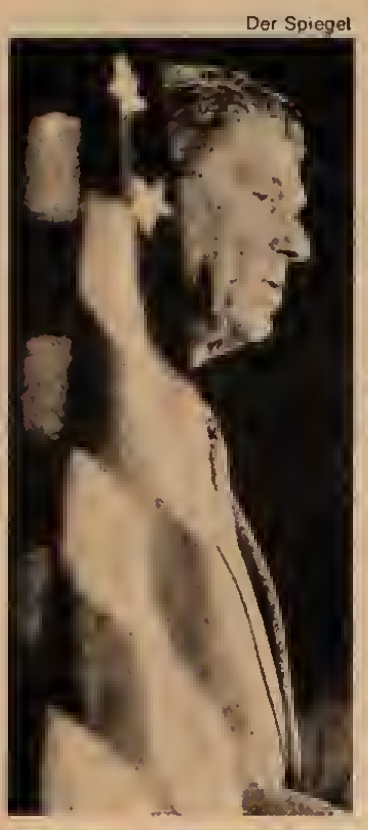
Now, we're going to talk about the Reagan years. Before doing that I'd like to read a quote from a lecture on the 1905 Revolution:

> "We of the older generation may not live to see the decisive battles of this coming revolution. But I can, I believe, express the confident hope that the youth which is working so splendidly in the socialist movement of Switzerland and of the whole world will be fortunate enough not only to fight but also to win in the coming proletarian revolution."

Those words were penned in Switzerland on 22 January 1917 by V.I. Lenin. So it's a problem to be a prophet and have foresight—sometimes events overtake you. It's interesting that Lenin would write that scarcely a month before the February Revolution which destroyed tsarism in Russia.

Okay, "Facing the Reagan Years." It may be an optimistic title. We hear that Reagan is unlikely to launch a witchhunt, for example, against the California Peace and Freedom Party. But on the other hand, he and his advisers could get us into World War III without believing it. And don't assume, as liberals do, that with power comes a sense of responsibility. You recall when the Soviets invaded Afghanistan, Reagan's response was: Well, we ought to blockade Cuba. "We"—the American bourgeoisie. If the USSR goes into Poland, which is a distinct possibility, and he tries to blockade Cuba, people should reflect on what response the Soviets could make to that. There's a joke that's been circulating that must have reached Khomeini. What's flat and sandy and glows in the dark? The answer is, Teheran five minutes after Reagan takes office. Unfortunately, this reflects a certain reality. So the Iranians are scrambling pretty fast to seal this hostage deal.

Reagan's election means a sharp turn to the right on all social and political questions. The right-wing yahoos are feeling their oats. They want to abolish rent control, slash all these "entitlements," which just happen to be things like welfare, food stamps, Medicaid, pensions, unemployment compensation. Barry Goldwater, Jr. wants to help the post office out by allowing it to sell advertisements on the postage stamps. The oil companies have sent their people into the administration to deregulate oil. Boeing has sent their people in to regulate aeronautics. If Reagan's new administration is not solidly Orange County kooks, the rest of it's pretty solid Wall Street: right-wing, without much of a façade.



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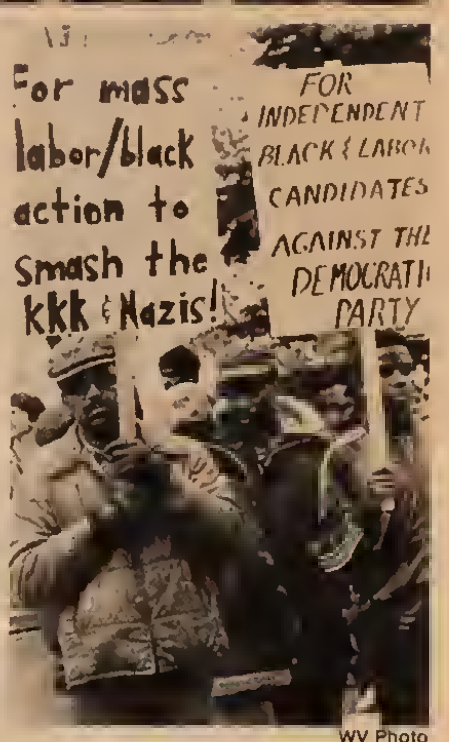

WV Photo

Reagan's America: Closed plants, KKK, support for junta terror.

The main manifestation of this rightward turn is anti-Sovietism. It began with Carter's "human rights" crusade which now has to be seen as a transient manifestation of bourgeois hypocrisy. It was designed to refurbish U.S. imperialism's image which was pretty tarnished coming out of the Vietnam War, and then Watergate came on the heels of that. Carter's "human rights" crusade was mainly aimed at the Soviet Union, and his anti-Soviet war drive paved the way for Reagan. It also encouraged the Klan and the Nazis—biggest resurgence since the 1920s. These people are basically the far-right cheering section of the anti-Soviet war drive. They've been pretty much confined to the backwaters in the past, but now they're trying to raise their heads in the urban centers. And our policy has been to try to interdict them in these centers, to mobilize labor and minorities to crush them in the egg.

Poland and Afghanistan

So the question of the Klan is connected with this drive against the Soviet Union. It goes pretty deep, too, and we exist in capitalist society. The Spartacist League docs, the rest of the left groups, the self-proclaimed socialists and revolutionaries. And it puts pressure on us as an organization and on them. One can see it very clearly on questions like Afghanistan, one of Carter's "human rights" *causes célèbres*, where human rights apparently means backing people who are opposed to women being able to read and write, who are for bride price—essentially to be able to buy and sell women like so much cattle.

You get people like the Socialist Workers Party, who used to be a Trotskyist organization, but now they're through and through social-democratic. Originally they had a position of soft support to the Soviets against the reactionaries. Actually it wasn't the Soviets—what they supported was the so-called Afghani Revolution. They didn't want to support the USSR militarily; they didn't want to deal with that question. So they cooked up this Afghanistan Revolution that nobody ever heard of. They recently changed their line and decided it was wrong for the Soviets to go in. Why? Well, the most outrageous argument was: This will give the American bourgeoisie and imperialists an excuse to start new Vietnams in Latin America, in Nicaragua and Cuba. At least Fidel Castro has a little more guts than they do on that question.

Poland. We were the only tendency of people who call themselves Trotskyist in the world who did not deny or underplay the reactionary role of the Catholic church in the current events in Poland. All the other groups just wish that away as some minor event. Why do they do that? It flies in the face of reality. The reason is, because it poses the possibility of a confrontation between the bureaucracy and at least a section of the Polish population led by clerical reactionaries and social democrats like the KOR who proclaim that they want to turn Poland into a Finland, i.e., a capitalist country. They don't want to take a side in that.... Again it reflects this anti-Soviet pressure.

We're Trotskyists. We don't prettify the Soviet bureaucracy. The Soviet workers state to us is a degenerated workers state, deformed through a political counterrevolution by Stalin and the bureaucracy he led. And we call for workers political revolution to overthrow that bureaucracy. But it's still a workers state. A lot of the historic gains of the October Revolution remain, particularly the economic ones, the nationalized property forms, the planned economy. And just as we defend the Teamsters in strikes against the employers, even though it's a corrupt union run by a bunch of gangsters, in the same way we side with the Soviet Union or the other deformed workers states in military conflicts with imperialism.

Now the main thing in Poland is that this is a condemnation of Stalinism as a system. Because that's what brought on the events in Poland. Here we have 30 years of so-called socialism, and all it's succeeded in doing is driving the Polish working class into the arms of the

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"Experts do not usually take sufficient account of the strength of the human will. If human beings are really determined to do something, they will do it, even if all calculation shows it to be impossible." *Tito, April 1943*

Eupra

Ex-Maoists On the Road to Moscow

Where Is the "Trend" Going?

There's trouble in "the Trend" these days. The former New Leftics who several years ago baptized themselves the "anti-revisionist, anti-dogmatist trend"—because they don't like either Russia ("revisionist") or China ("dogmatist")—are finding out that double-negative politics lead nowhere. As the Peking Stalinists developed their anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism during the late '70s, the "Trend" picked up disillusioned Maoists who felt uncomfortable walking hand-in-hand with the bloody butchers of Indochina. But as the Carter/Reagan Cold War drive heats up, they have found fence-sitting an increasingly impossible position. Today the trend of the Trend is clearly slouching toward Moscow. And No. 1 trend-setter is Irwin Silber, former associate editor of the *Guardian* and long-time RCA Victor mascot of Moscow Stalinism.

Two years ago Silber split from the *Guardian* to form his "National Network of Marxist-Leninist Clubs" (NNMLC). The clubs have since been replaced by the looser form of discussion groups, study projects and forum series sponsored by his *Line of March* journal. While Silber calls for "rectification" of the disoriented "Marxist-Leninist" milieu, the Trend's other main pole around the Philadelphia Workers Organizing Committee (PWOC) calls for "fusion" with the everyday struggles of the working class. This was embodied in the so-called Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center (OCIC), formed by assorted Maoist local collectives in 1978. But lately the OCIC has undergone a process of self-mutilation in the form of Stalinist "white chauvinism" trials which boomeranged and sparked mass resignations. Many of the departees are now leaning toward Silber's *Line of March* (*LOM*).

Particularly with Silber's present political line, someone unfamiliar with the American left might think the "Trend" and the Spartacist League (SL) today occupy positions relatively close together on the political spectrum. Silber's support to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, for instance, led Euro-communist Dorothy Healey to bait him for "Trotskyism." However, such a view is an optical illusion. The Trend set is moving from soft right-wing Maoism to fellow traveling with the Kremlin. For Silber this marks a return to his political stance of the 1950s. A *Guardian* (8 October 1979) "On the Left" column was not being demagogic when it commented:

> "However, in reacting against China's reactionary foreign policy, LOM has increasingly dropped the struggle against revisionism and tends more and more to view the Soviet Union as a major force in the struggle against imperialism."

Of the Trend one can truly say, "left in form, right in essence."

There is another crucial difference as well. Although the politics of the hard Maoist and ex-Maoist Stalinist organizations—Mike Klonsky's Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML), Jerry Tung's Communist Workers Party (CWP), Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), Nelson Peery's Communist Labor Party (CLP), Milt Rosen's Progressive Labor Party (PLP)—are profoundly counter-revolutionary, their cadre are far more serious-minded than the trendy Trenders. What separates the "Trend" from the Spartacist League is not just or even primarily our Trotskyist world analysis (which we suspect they crib for use against Maoist opponents). Rather it is our willingness to swim hard against the stream of prevailing radical/liberal public opinion. This Bolshevik hardness they see as "sectarianism." Thus the main components of the Trend are centrally defined by Menshevik-type anti-vanguardism.

The "Trend" dates its origins from Peking's support to the CIA-engineered South African invasion of Angola in 1975-76. Angola was the first fruit of Maoist China's alliance with Washington against the Soviet Union, and the first time Chinese foreign policy utterly repelled broad radical sentiment. In particular, black radicals and even liberals instinctively solidarized with the Angolan nationalists and Cubans fighting the armed forces of apartheid imperialism. Whatever sympathy American black militants had for Maoism was killed along with white-supremacist South Africa's commandos on the Angolan battlefield. And the *Guardian*'s turn to critical Maoism was marked by the departure of its long-time Peking loyalist, Carl Davidson. Henceforth, the "independent radical newsweekly" took a posture of "comradely criticism" toward China, but had no independent policy of its own.

When Peking attacked Vietnam in early 1979 in collusion with the United States, *Guardian* editor Jack Smith could only throw up his hands in despair. Commenting "evenhandedly" on the Chinese invasion of Soviet-aligned Vietnam and Hanoi's invasion of Pol Pot's Cambodian land of death, a front-page headline lamented, "End Wars in Indochina" (*Guardian*, 7 March 1979). Rebelling against this middle-of-the-road policy, Irwin Silber resigned from the editorial board. In a pamphlet, "The War in Indochina," he proclaimed, "Today, China's international line and actions represent a greater concession to U.S. imperialism than the Soviet Union ever dared propose." His call for complete political solidarity with the "genuine Marxist-Leninist" Vietnamese leadership was Silber's bridge back to the Moscow camp.

Afghanistan soon made it clear that this was the real content of Silber's call for a "rectification of the general line of the the US communist movement." Mao clinking glasses with Nixon while B-52s carpet bombed Hanoi may have made New Left Maoists queasy; with Angola and the China-Vietnam war many of them passed from critical Maoism to becoming Stalinoid lost souls wandering in the no man's land between Russia and China. And here was the USSR supporting a leftist regime under attack by a gang of Islamic clerical reactionaries backed by U.S. imperialism and the Peking bureaucracy. Silber commented:

> "Therefore, the Soviet leadership frequently *does* support revolutionary struggle as a way to weaken its major foe—always carefully weighing the possible consequences if it should go too far in confronting the U.S."
>
> "In many of the crucial confrontations with imperialism (i.e., Vietnam, Angola, Zimbabwe, Palestine, etc.), the Soviet Union winds up on the correct side of the barricades."
>
> —Irwin Silber, "Afghanistan—The Battle Line Is Drawn"

Silber made his mark by seizing on the Cold War uproar over Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as the moment for the soft/critical/ex-Maoists' crossing of the Ussuri on the road back to Moscow.

Irwin Silber and the Guardian Tendency

As indicated by its wishful self-designation, "the Trend" likes to present itself as a new, broad, dynamic current in the American left. This is a completely false picture. When one speaks of the Trend, one is basically talking about Silber's *Line of March*, not simply because it is the largest and most dynamic group. In the midst of the disillusioned, disoriented "M-L" milieu, Silber is a man who knows where he wants to go. He knows, because he's been there. For over three decades the *Guardian* has represented a relatively defined radical/liberal audience. It has sought to be the voice of the fellow traveler, the petty-bourgeois wing of a (non-existent) popular front. And Silber is now calling the tune because he first and most clearly recognized that rad/lib stomachs were too weak for Peking's increasingly *un*popular front with U.S. imperialism.

It is anything but a historic accident that the *Guardian* originated as the organ of the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace. In 1948 there was a bourgeois popular-front breakaway movement, for which the Communist Party (CP) provided the organization and troops, around FDR's naive and quixotic former Democratic vice president. Volume I, Number 1 of the *National Guardian* was dated 18 October 1948, in the heat of Wallace's presidential campaign. Its editorial statement stressed the paper's continuity with the liberal politics of the Roosevelt period:

> "This editorial point of view will be a continuation and development of the progressive tradition set in our time by Franklin D. Roosevelt, and overwhelmingly supported by the American people in the last four elections."

By 1950 Wallace had renounced the Progressive Party, supported "our boys" in the Korean War and made copious *mea culpas* for having been a "Commie dupe." After a disastrous showing by Progressive candidate Vincent Hallinan against Adlai Stevenson in 1952, the CP returned to its old policy of boring from within the Democratic Party.

A number of CP fellow travelers

1948:

First issue of the National Guardian, a mouthpiece for the Progressive Party campaign for Henry Wallace.

Marzani & Munsell

associated with the Progressive Party and the American Labor Party (ALP) in New York—Hallinan, *National Guardian* co-editor James Aronson, Paul Sweezy—dissented from this policy. This did not represent a more leftist impulse compared to the Communist Party, simply a more freelancing style. William Z. Foster's demoralized CP labeled McCarthy fascist and prepared to take a dive. But how can a milieu of fellow travelers operate in semi-clandestinity? This would require a discipline and commitment utterly alien to them. Without CP backing the moribund Progressive Party and ALP folded entirely, but the Hallinan/Aronson group maintained the paper and the politics. The *Guardian* came to see itself as the candle of nostalgia for the popular front in the dark night of McCarthyism.

This amorphous popular-front literary politics of the *National Guardian* ("the Progressive Newsweekly" as it then called itself) on a journalistic level was reflected by Sweezy's *Monthly Review* on an academic level. Both catered to the largish CP periphery and saw themselves as somewhere within the world Stalinist movement. The paper served as the "collective organizer" not of a communist vanguard, but of what editors Cedric Belfrage and Aronson referred to in a chapter heading of their book as "The Extended *Guardian* Family":

> "As radical America became more and more an undefined ghetto, our advertising columns were modestly swollen by inmates who depended on taking in each other's washing."
>
> —*Something to Guard: The Stormy Life of the National Guardian, 1948-1967*

Soon they were "peddling coffee tables, Guatemalan skirts, 'Kantwet' baby beds"; later came the *Guardian* picnics, tours, etc. Insofar as they had a political perspective at all, they were waiting for (or at any rate hoping for) a new and more successful version of the Progressive Party.

In the early/mid-'60s, the *Guardian* began to favor the "Third World" Stalinist regimes—Castro's Cuba, Mao's China, Ho's Vietnam—as against Moscow. (Here again the parallelism with the *Monthly Review* holds.) Wilfred Burchett, the *Guardian*'s former Moscow correspondent, turned up in Hanoi, and the paper gradually took on many characteristics of the New Left: Third Worldism, black nationalism, sectoralist politics in the U.S. This gave it an entrée to the new radical generation, in more than a few cases the sons and daughters of old Stalinists and fellow travelers, who were looking for a militant alternative to the stodgy Khrushchev/Brezhnev bureaucracy.

In February 1968 there was a palace coup in the *Guardian* offices, and the insurgents declared their solidarity with the Vietnamese guerrilla fighters. In order to abolish hierarchy the "new *Guardian* collective" demolished former editor Aronson's office with an axe. But real control was in the hands of mod-rad journalist Jack Smith who brought in writers from SDS and the "underground press." Irwin Silber signed on a few months later as "cultural editor" (he had earlier published the folk music magazine *Sing Out*) and eventually became the paper's political guru. The "new *Guardian*" declared itself to be part of the "Marxist-Leninist" movement. This was, of course, *de rigueur* in New Left radical circles at the time, as even English professors were waving Mao's Little Red Book. In the absence of a genuine popular front and lacking an established Stalinist party in the U.S. to identify with, the distinction between vanguard party and "progressive" fellow traveler was unclear. In actuality, the basic nature of the *Guardian* tendency did not change, as subsequent developments showed.

In the wake of the 1969 split in SDS, the various Maoist tendencies and collectives regrouped themselves into competing "M-L" vanguards: Klonsky's October League, Avakian's Revolutionary Union, Peery's Communist League. (Indeed, many of the *Guardian*'s new staff members soon departed on their way to joining various left parties, including the Spartacist League.) But the *Guardian*'s role in all this was to maintain that such "party-building" formations were "premature." The more serious Maoists in the early 1970s were not especially concerned with Silber & Co.'s positions on the nature of the Soviet Union, the power struggles in China, the black question, etc.—positions which were ill-defined, tentative and changeable. What Silber was known for, what he was really "hard" about, was opposition to the formation of *any* Leninist vanguard party.

This was not simply a matter of dilettantism or personal softness. From its inception as the voice of the Progressive Party, the *Guardian* has been the expression of American popular frontism *par excellence*. Silber himself left the Communist Party together with the right-wing opposition led by *Daily Worker* editor John Gates. The Gatesites concluded on the basis of Khrushchev's "secret report" to the CPSU 20th Congress and the 1956 Hungarian Revolution not only that Stalinism was bankrupt, but the future lay in Democratic Party liberalism. Silber's *Guardian* looked forward to the creation not of a communist vanguard party, but rather of a broad "radical" party embracing even left-wing bourgeois politicians (analogues of Henry Wallace) and trade-union bureaucrats, as well as self-styled "Leninists."

So what are Irwin Silber's credentials for leading a "Marxist-Leninist" organization? Far and away the most important thing about him is that for years he has passed himself off as a "Marxist-Leninist," but for the past quarter century has made a science out of fellow traveling—first with "Uncle Joe," Nikita, Fidel, then Mao and now once again back to Brezhnev.

"Rectification" versus "Fusion"

The *Guardian*'s popular-frontist opposition to a would-be Leninist vanguard party created a natural bloc between it and various localized New Left Maoist collectives—such as the PWOC, the Tucson Marxist-Leninist Collective, the Potomac Socialist Organization—which for their own particular reasons had stood outside the "party-building" process of the early/mid-1970s. This anti-"vanguardism" is the real origin of the Trend, whatever positions were developed later on. As we noted in our article "The Maoists United Will Never Be Repeated":

> "In general those New Left collectives which did not adhere to serious party formations by the end of the Maoist regroupment period of the early 1970s degenerated into hardened circle-spirit Menshevik groups. Cliquism, local ultra-parochialism, extreme hostility to Marxist theory and program and sub-reformist activism became the norm. The very existence of these collectives represented a contradiction. As self-proclaimed 'Marxist-Leninists,' they were formally committed to building a centralized party; in practice they rejected such a formation."
>
> —*WV* No. 183, 25 November 1977

It is enough to list the political backwaters where the collectives subsist—Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Tucson, Eugene, Oregon, etc.—to understand that they are New Left holdovers preserved in a time capsule by their isolation.

But even for these left-wing mugwumpers, some form of national ties is useful if only as a pretense to politics. So in February 1978 some 30 "M-L" collectives got together under PWOC leadership to form the Organizing Committee for an Ideological Center. The OCIC was based on 18 points of mush-mouthed generalities—for socialism, against capitalism, for the working class, against the CP, fight racism/sexism/opportunism—plus the obligatory "Trotskyism equals bourgeoisie," the "main enemy is US imperialism" (against Pekinese running dogs yapping about the "polar bear"), and the real political core: "fusing of the communist movement with the class struggle." In platitudes inherited from their strange encounter with Maotsetungthought, this is the PWOC/OCIC "fusion" line—that all questions can be resolved through immersion in the daily struggles of the proletariat.

Over the next two years there was a running crossfire in the pages of the *Guardian* between Silber's "rectificationists" and the "fusionists" led by PWOC's Clay Newlin. The mutual charges were usually correct, though understated. Newlin would repeat over and over "practice is primary," and issue such polemical gems as:

> "For the simple reason that as soon as one understands the full meaning of essence as organizing principle—particularly its indication of the role of essence as the pivot of connection between the basic features of a process—one can easily expose the idealism inherent in the rectificationist formulation of the essence of party-building. Whereas 'essence means particularity' tends to obscure that idealism."
>
> —*Organizer*, August 1980

Apparently Newlin is seeking to invent a new Kantian category, the jabberwock imperative! But the PWOC honcho gets some good digs in against Silber, whose perpetual "pre-party period" (PPP) excludes actual "party-building" as "premature." According to Silber:

> "The particularity of organization in the pre-party period (ignored by the leading organizations of the new communist movement) means that all organizations must be conscious of their limitations....
>
> "The all-sided form in a period without a material basis fostered the tendency toward organizational competition, the drive for organizational hegemonism, and the sectarian characteristics of the period."
>
> —NNMLC, "Developing the Subjective Factor" (May 1979)

No material basis—in 1979, 62 years after the Russian Revolution?! But then the kind of party a "serious" Silber would build could have nothing in common with the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. Rather than a communist vanguard it would be another Klonsky-type "party" which can only be an obstacle to proletarian revolution.

Initially, many Trenders saw the

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Der Spiegel

1978:

Guardian sits on the fence when China invades Vietnam. Silber resigns and looks to Moscow.

1968:

First issue of the "new" "independent" Guardian marks the shift to Maoist/New Left radical milieu. Without a popular front the Guardian traveled with the popular.

"Trend"...

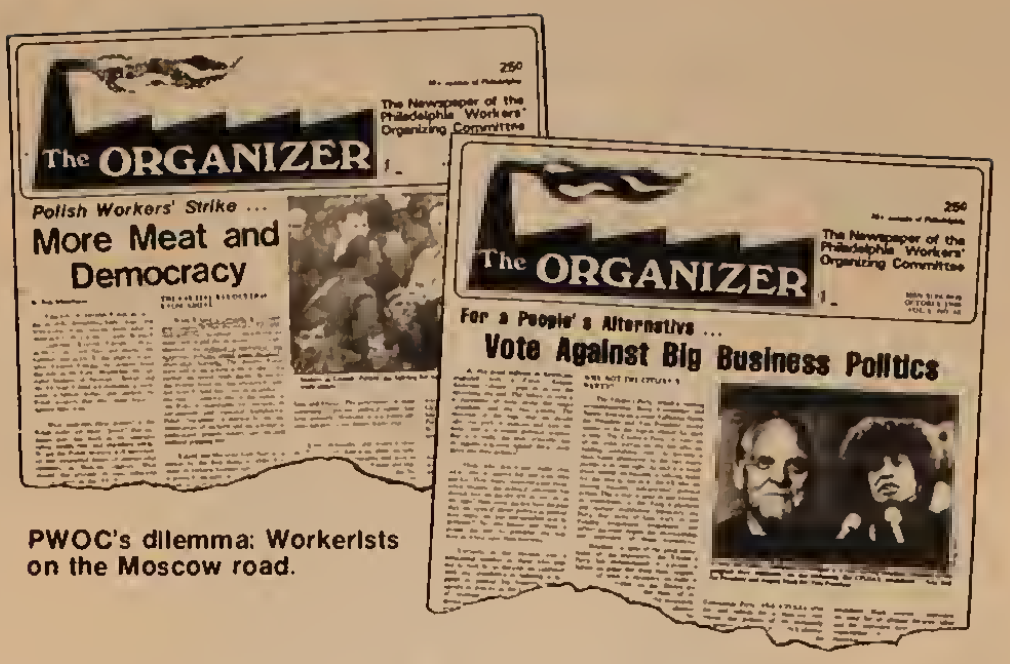
(continued from page 7)

PWOC/OCIC as the more serious pole. They went into the unions, actually tried to make something out of the hodge-podge collectives. But in the last six months OCIC has experienced massive internal hemorrhaging as a result of a seemingly bizarre "anti-white chauvinism campaign." Was this a throwback to late-'60s New Left guilt-tripping about "white skin privilege"? But then why such an exodus? The resignation/expulsion list reportedly includes the entire Tucson, Minneapolis and Eugene, Oregon collectives, fragmentation of the Potomac Socialist Organization, as well as half of the Bay Area Workers Committee and 40 percent all told of OCIC's western region. Newlin recently admitted that "approximately 100" people had "voluntarily quit" the PWOC/OCIC.

An "Open Letter to the Party Building Movement" signed by 50-plus dissidents denounced Newlin's campaign as a cynical maneuver: "It is employing opportunist methods to whip the cadre into line and eliminate all opposing views rather than face political struggle on the fundamental questions before our movement head-on." Surprise! "White chauvinism" witchhunts have a hoary tradition in the American Stalinist movement, being used to harden up the membership as far back as 1931. This time around it was no doubt intended to divert attention from—or scapegoat the ranks for—the OCIC collectives' failure to go anywhere with their low-level economist organizing. It always worked fine before, but when PWOC tried it the result was a giant fiasco. Newlin asks:

> "What kind of *communist* movement is it that when challenged to combat white and petty-bourgeois chauvinism in its ranks suffers not only extensive opposition, but even a mass of resignations."
> —*Organizer*, December 1980

No kind, of course. Behind this so-called "white flight" from the OCIC is the fact that the collectives are not made up of Stalinist cadre but of soft New Leftovers. When bureaucratic strong-arm tactics are used on these fellow travelers (from the Russian term *sputnik*), instead of abjectly confessing many just spin out of orbit. So the attempt to hammer this Menshevik mush into a vanguard party predictably failed (this sure looks like the death knell for the OCIC). In any case, a low level of class struggle is hardly favorable to workerist groups, and the force of world events is making itself felt even on these committed parochialists. Four years ago they could perhaps bury themselves in the latest Philadelphia garbage strike and dismiss such questions as Angola as having no relevance on the shop floor. But with the post-Afghanistan Cold War drive and Reagan in the White House, it is impossible to ignore international issues in the plants, particularly the all-important Russian question.



PWOC's dilemma: Workerists on the Moscow road.

Afghanistan, Poland and the Soviet Union

The PWOC/OCIC Stalinoid workerists have been forced out of their ostrich holes and are now stumbling empirically from position to position, trying to orient themselves by keeping an eye on the "main enemy." Reluctantly they came out for Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. A few months later they enthusiastically backed the Communist Party's Hall/Davis election campaign, praising in particular the fact that the CP platform doesn't call for socialism. On the other hand, they hailed the Polish strikes in August for "More Meat and Democracy." However, in September the PWOC declares, "The political thrust of the movement is predominantly progressive," while the next month a more contradictory verdict is returned:

> "The demands won by the workers, while registering important democratic gains for the working class, also create political space for forces that are basically hostile to socialism or at the very least oppose those policies necessary to move Poland forward. This includes the powerful Catholic Church, much of the dissident community and elements of the peasantry."
> —*Organizer*, October 1980

But just what is to be done to "move Poland forward"? Where does the PWOC stand vis-à-vis the ruling Stalinist bureaucracy?

That, of course, is the heart of the question, the one they can't escape. "Poland is certainly not a capitalist country," writes the PWOC. What is it then? They don't say. This confusion is expressed even more elaborately in a lengthy double-talking treatise by the academic-Eurocommunist Tucson Marxist-Leninist Collective:

> "We do not believe that there are *no significant restraints* on the growth and reproduction of capitalism in Poland, nor do we find that a new bourgeoisie

Anti-Klan Network Doesn't Fight Fascism

"New strategies" trumpets the conference call of the "National Anti-Klan Network" (NAKN) for the meeting in Washington, D.C. at the end of January. But what is the strategy of NAKN "to counter the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and racist violence"? It is a very old strategy in fact, a very treacherous strategy, and one which even in the short period of the Anti-Klan Network's existence has proved it can only stand in the way of efforts to actually stop the race terrorists, who are acting with increasing boldness and frequency from coast to coast.

The Anti-Klan Network's grand strategy, like the strategy of the Communist Party (CP), is captured in the slogan, "Ban the Klan." Simply stated, it is a strategy for reliance on the capitalist state to stop fascism and racism, an open appeal to legalistic liberalism, passivity and sometimes outright cowardice. Even as the cops and courts protect the KKK/Nazis while victimizing the left and anti-Klan demonstrators, these "Klan banners" continue to call on the armed bodies of the capitalist state to reform themselves into anti-fascist fighters. Even if these reformists are successful in getting some "banning" laws passed (which is highly unlikely at present), history as well as the ABCs of Marxism show that these laws will be used against the left, not the fascists. Quite a "strategy": if it loses, it loses; if it wins, it loses; and in the meantime its propaganda disorients, demoralizes and debilitates forces which may be trying to find a road to struggle.

But the NAKN strategy is not just an ineffective way to fight fascist terror. It is not just that it doesn't work. It is not intended to fight fascism at all. Those who attend the Washington conference will hear again the tired old call for "the broadest possible unity" to "ban the Klan." But these are code words for the strategy to get behind the "progressive" bourgeoisie. The real strategy behind the "fight the right" rhetoric is to help the Democratic Party shore up its tattered image as the party of "the people" now in loyal opposition. It is appropriate that the Washington conference builds toward the address by black liberal Democrat John Conyers.

Don't just take our word for it. As Mao used to say, "No investigation, no right to speak." So let's look at the record to see what the "new strategy" is in practice. There is practically no Anti-Klan Network practice on the East Coast. But on the West Coast, particularly the Southern California Anti-Klan Network run by Irwin Silber's front group, National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee (NAROC), we can find the strategy in full bloom. What did the Southern California AKN do when Klansman Tom Metzger campaigned for race terror on the Democratic ticket in San Diego? They picketed the Democratic Party headquarters in Los Angeles, chanting "Democratic Party take a side against the right-wing tide." That the Democratic Party was and is instrumental in creating the "right-wing tide" and the climate for Metzger is unthinkable for these reformists.

The *Southern California Anti-Klan Newsletter* spells out the strategy:

> "To stop Metzger, the government, the Democratic Party, and the media must join in a united effort with anti-Klan forces. People in the public eye must take a stand against open and institutionalized racism. The Democratic Party should close its ranks to racism and fight it forcefully."

To attempt to fight the Klan through or with the Democratic Party is criminally insane and a betrayal of the blacks, Latins, Jews, unionists and others targeted by the fascist killers. The party of the Dixiecrats, "ethnic purity" Carter and racist NYC mayor Koch is the key ruling party of racist, capitalist America!

But there is another strategy, one that can work—the strategy of class struggle. Not little bands of leftists in adventurist substitutions, nor calls upon the state to "ban the Klan." The enormous power of labor and blacks must be mobilized to smash the KKK/Nazis. But when faced with such mobilizations to actually stop the Klan, the Anti-Klan Network actively tried to sabotage them. In San Francisco the Nazis said they would "celebrate Hitler's birthday" last April 19 with a rally at the Civic Center. The Spartacist League then initiated a united-front demonstration called for the same time and same place for all who were willing to come out and stop the Hitler-loving scum in their tracks. The Anti-Klan Network said no. *They* along with the Communist Workers Party formed the "Anti-Klan/Nazi Coalition," went begging to SF mayor Dianne Feinstein to "ban the Klan" and *forswore* any attempt to confront the Nazis.

What happened? Some 1,200 trade unionists, socialists and community people came out to the SL-initiated April 19 Committee Against Nazis (ANCAN) demonstration which was endorsed by 35 Bay Area union leaders and nine local unions. ANCAN made sure there were no Nazis marching in SF that day. The "Coalition" held their own little "educational" rally blocks away, where they could be sure of staying safe and sound. Later the Coalition was forced by internal pressure to make a damning "self-criticism" at a public meeting in Oakland last July 12:

> "We thought the only people who would come to that [the SL-initiated demonstration] were basically the people who may be in this room and a few others.... Now, we may have been wrong...we did not bring a lot of mass elements to our rally....
> "We did have some struggle inside [the Coalition] where the rightist line of *a fear of any confrontation with the Nazis* convinced people to stay far enough away. That was a rightist line that we all fell to, and that's got to be an honest self-criticism." [our emphasis]
> —"Maoists Admit: 'Fear of Confrontation with Nazis'," *WV* No. 261, 25 July 1980

So on April 19 there were two sharply counterposed strategies—take your pick.

The Anti-Klan Network's bright "new" strategy? At a January 8 forum in the Bay Area, a speaker for Irwin Silber's *Line of March* "essentialized the correct response" to rising fascist terror as "the legacy of George Dimitrov and the analysis of the Seventh World Congress" (of the Stalinized Third International). It was this 1935 Congress which blessed the popular-front alliance of class collaboration with the "democratic" bourgeoisie under Dimitrov's misnamed "United Front Against Fascism." But it was Trotsky who called for genuine united-front action based on the powerful organizations of the working class to smash the fascist terrorists. The leadership of the Stalinists and the social-democratic parties had already paralyzed the struggle of the working class. And it was when Hitler came to power without having to fire a single shot, despite the presence of a mass, influential Stalinist party, that the Third International became unredeemable in the eyes of the most class-conscious workers. It is against that historic betrayal that Trotsky began to build the Fourth International.

Now, as then, there are only two fundamental strategies on the left to fight fascism: the dead end of reformism and the hard road of revolution. Reformists of every stripe have at their hard core a strategy of class collaboration to reform the capitalist state. The Stalinist tradition of the popular front adopts the slogan: "Ban the Klan." The reformists of the Socialist Workers Party tail the civil-libertarian bourgeoisie calling for "free speech for fascists." While the Silberites begged the Democratic Party to cleanse itself of Tom Metzger, the SWP debated the KKK Democrat. Both reformist strategies despair of working-class/black action. Turning to the bourgeoisie they turn away from the most urgent task: to mobilize the power of labor and blacks to smash the KKK/Nazis as part of the struggle for socialist revolution. This is the strategy to finally banish the threat of fascism from the face of the earth—that is the uncompromising Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League. ■

has been created which holds state power as a class.... Poland may not be capitalist, but that in no way minimizes the very serious problems with which it is faced."

—*Theoretical Review*, November-December 1980

In contrast, a *Line of March* spokesman simply condemned the Polish strikes and supported the bureaucracy: "The government's policy of opposition to independent trade unions was correct. The line of the Soviet Union which saw the settlement as a retreat was correct. The tendency toward capitalist restoration will be exacerbated" (*Guardian*, 17 September). So for all Silber's talk of Moscow still being "revisionist headquarters," he has nothing to say to the Polish working class except that they should once again obey their Stalinist masters!

As Trotskyists we emphatically defended Soviet intervention against imperialist-aided Islamic reaction in Afghanistan ("Hail Red Army!" was our famous headline), and we have loudly warned against the capitalist-restorationist danger in Poland, calling for solidarity of Polish workers with the Russian proletariat. If and when it comes to military defense of the revolutionary gains of the deformed workers states, we shall be at our posts. But in the contradictory situation created by the Baltic strikes, we do not write off the Polish working class, consigning them to the camp of clerical nationalism. The key task for a revolutionary (Trotskyist) vanguard in Poland would be to *split* the new union movement, winning over the mass of workers from the Catholic church-led forces. The PWOC workerists have no program for such an independent struggle for communist leadership, and to a dyed-in-the-wool fellow traveler like Silber it is literally inconceivable.

Silber does admit, however, that at issue in polemics over Afghanistan (and Poland) is really the role of the Soviet Union, and he makes the obvious point: "In order to assess the actions of the USSR, one needs first to determine what kind of society it is and what general policy or line guides its development." He contends that "despite serious shortcomings and deformations in the theory and practice of Soviet socialism, a capitalist counter-revolution has not been affected in the USSR" ("Afghanistan—The Battle Line is Drawn"). Silber has seized on American radicals' strong emotional attachment to Vietnam and capitalized on Afghanistan, where Moscow (for once) is supporting a clearly progressive cause. But barely critical support to "Soviet socialism" isn't going to be an easy pill for his ex-Maoist audience to swallow, as he realizes:

"In addition, this trend was deeply infected by the anti-communist prejudices of U.S. society in general and the New Left in particular, so that there existed in the anti-revisionist movement a ready audience for the wildest slanders which could be concocted about the Soviet Union."

—Bruce Occeña and Irwin Silber, "Capitalism in the USSR? An Opportunist Theory in Disarray," *Line of March*, October-November 1980

Hence the need for a "rectification movement" to overcome the anti-Soviet views in the "M-L" milieu, to bring the popular front back into kilter... with the Moscow camp.

So part of the polymorphous Trend is a Soviet Union Study Project, whose first publication is a new pamphlet, *The Myth of Capitalism Reborn: A Marxist Critique of Theories of Capitalist Restoration in the USSR*, by Michael Goldfield and Melvin Rothenberg. *Line of March* praises this "break-through theoretical work" whose political significance "can hardly be overstated," since it refutes "the two main theories advanced on behalf of the restoration thesis," those of Martin Nicolaus and Charles Bettelheim. This is sheer political dishonesty. You wouldn't know it from *LOM*, but Nicolaus' attempt to prove Russia capitalist was first trumpeted from the pages of the *Guardian*, which ran it as a 28-part series from February to October 1975. And the associate editor and chief "theoretician" of the then-Maoist *Guardian* was today's great rectifier, Irwin Silber (who privately claimed to be "unconvinced" by Nicolaus). Moreover, the first, central refutation of Nicolaus' and Bettelheim's "restoration theses" was published by *Workers Vanguard* in the fall of 1976, later reprinted as the Spartacist pamphlet, *Why the USSR Is Not Capitalist*, many of whose arguments are repeated in the Trend pamphlet.

Goldfield and Rothenberg do not, however, answer the most basic questions facing revolutionaries. If there is "an enormous growth in bureaucracy" in the USSR, how do you get from there to the communist goal of the withering away of the state? The authors admit that their "break-through" pamphlet leaves out "the international role of the Soviet Union" and that it doesn't "represent a fully developed line on the Soviet Union." Concluding that Russia is not capitalist, something the bourgeoisie has known ever since 1917, they fail to say what Russia *is*. In contrast, Trotsky's analytical conclusion—that the Soviet Union is a bureaucratically degenerated workers state—and the programmatic consequence, his call for proletarian political revolution to oust the parasitic caste, are a Marxist guide to action. This is, in fact, the only coherent basis for intransigent defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism and for communist opposition to both Moscow and Peking Stalinism.

Trotskyism: The Only Answer

While generally preferring to disappear contemporary Trotskyism, the Silberites are nonetheless forced to concede: "The great-power chauvinism of the Soviet Union (and subsequently China) lent new credence to Trotsky's long discredited opposition to building socialism in one country" (*Line of March*, May-June 1980). Long discredited opposition? The credibility (scientific validity) of a theory is the result of its predictive power. So where did this great-power chauvinism come from? As early as 1929, Trotsky predicted that the doctrine of "socialism in one country" would lead to national chauvinism not only within the Russian leadership but throughout the world Communist movement:

"If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country, then one can believe in that theory not only *after* but also *before* the conquest of power.... It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism." [emphasis in original]

—*The Third International After Lenin*

Unlike the Maoists' truly discredited "theory" of the restoration of capitalism in Russia, Trotsky's analysis and program have stood the test of time, explaining as well the Stalin-Tito split, the Sino-Soviet dispute, the China-Vietnam war and the rise of Eurocommunism.

And what about China's reactionary alliance with U.S. imperialism, which certainly no one in the "Trend" anticipated. Eleven years ago, when Silber & Co. couldn't praise Mao's China enough, we wrote:

"At the present time, the Vietnam war and the extreme diplomatic and internal difficulties of the Chinese state have forced the Maoists to maintain greater hostility to imperialism and verbally disclaim the USSR's avowed policy of 'peaceful coexistence' while themselves peacefully coexisting with Japan. However, we must warn against the growing objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*. Should the imperialists adjust their policies in terms of their long run interests (which would take time, as such factors as U.S. public opinion would have to be readjusted), the Chinese would be as willing as the Russians are at present to build 'Socialism in One Country' through deals with imperialism at the expense of internationalism."

—"Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League" (30 August 1969), *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part II, 30 August 1969

Only when empirical reality simply overwhelms him does Silber recognize the great-power chauvinism of the Chinese as well as the Russian regimes. Shortsightedness (always a hallmark of Stalinism) is hardly a qualification for revolutionary leadership.

But Silber has focused on a real contradiction: a whole generation educated in the New Left which is hostile to the Soviet Union, partly out of anti-Communism, as we have pointed out before, but also out of revulsion for the sellout Kremlin bureaucrats who starved the Vietnamese revolution of sophisticated weapons to face the U.S. terror bombers; who stood for "peaceful coexistence" while Mao and Castro called for "picking up the gun." Silber tries to lay claim to Vietnam and Cuba, the popular causes and symbols of struggle of yesteryear. But to bring the ex-'60s radicals to Brezhnev is a big hurdle to cross—this is the job of the "rectification movement" for a new "General Line." If Silber & Co. are gaining over the *Guardian* crowd it is because they have a clear line of march down the Moscow road. As for the collectives around the PWOC, they will douhtless remain mired in sub-reformist activism and parochial irrelevance.

It is truly unconscious irony that *Line of March* takes as its watchword the classic Marxist dictum that "its purpose is not just to understand the world, but to change it." For the Silberites have nothing to do with changing the world, even in terms of paper program. Their concept of program never goes beyond the vague hope that some element in the Russian or Chinese bureaucracy might "rectify" itself. Sort of a reverse Khrushchev—back to the "good old days" of Stalin and Beria, minus the "errors," of course. They don't fight for a communist party to carry out socialist revolution in the capitalist West; they aren't for a communist party to carry out an anti-bureaucratic political revolution in the Stalinist East. The Silberites, like the *Guardian*, simply put out a publication, hold forum series, start a few study projects: just a base to pressure the rad/lib milieu. They can "study" forever and it will lead to nothing. They cannot study the history of the Third International without examining the Stalin-Trotsky conflict. And this they seek above all to *avoid*. A party flows from program, and it is the revolutionary program of Trotskyism they refuse to confront.

Irwin Silber has come full circle, from Bulganin to Brezhnev. It would, however, be too bad if many of those radicals who broke with Chinese Stalinism over its connivance with American imperialism end up tailing the Kremlin betrayers they once rightly despised. The difference between the "Trend" and Trotskyism is the gulf between the communist perspective of a vanguard party leading a conscious working class to power and the non-perspective of finding the most "progressive" of the powers that be. As we stated in the introduction to our pamphlet *China's Alliance with U.S. Imperialism* (1976):

"It is not enough to dissent from the outright counterrevolutionary acts of Chinese foreign policy. It is not enough to support whatever forces appear to be battling imperialism or domestic reaction at any given moment. The counter-revolutionary policies emanating from Peking and Moscow must be destroyed at their root. And that root is the privileged bureaucracy which 'defends' collectivized (proletarian) property relations by intriguing with imperialism—in a word, Stalinism. It is the historic task of Trotskyism, and no other tendency, to lead the working class to the overthrow of the parasitic Stalinist bureaucracies and place the enormous resources of the Sino-Soviet states totally in the service of world revolution."■

Reagan Years...

(continued from page 5)

Catholic church. It reflects the fact that the present Polish state did not come about through an indigenous revolution, even a deformed one, but came with the baggage trains of the Red Army. It was imposed from the top down. There's the difference between the USSR and Poland, because the memory of the revolution in the USSR still exists. These dissidents who occasionally show up in Red Square really don't need the KGB to repress them. A lot of them are seen for what they are—the pro-imperialist ones—simply traitors, very unpopular.

Targeting the Communists

There are other pressures. Things are getting hot in the U.S.—people are getting shot. Greensboro—the acquittal of these Nazi murderers gives them the green light. Detroit [November 10] and [San Francisco] April 19—we were very serious about those demonstrations; we intended to march. We were quite prepared to take 400 or 500 arrests in Detroit and we were quite prepared to have a confrontation—not an adventure, but a confrontation with the Nazis should they show up. Because we didn't want them marching in San Francisco on April 19.

So things are getting more serious than they have been in the past. A sign of the times, of the rightward shift: so you can say anything about communists now, right? All across the country we're hearing it. In Detroit there was a fire at Wayne State in a room that the SYL—the Spartacus Youth League, our youth section—was going to have a forum in the next day. It was written on the blackboard, "Sparticus Revolution Begins" [sic]. It was a pretty bad fire, and a picture of Carter or somebody like that, some bourgeois notable, was purposely left half-burned on the floor. The student newspaper simply printed a story giving an account of this stuff that was a patent attempt to frame us up for arson.

Then in L.A., the *Daily Bruin*: there was a letter to the editor of the *Daily Bruin* that was written by some anti-Iranian rightist that ranted and raved about PL, the RCP, the Spartacus Youth League and these groups and what the California attorney general has to say about them. We thought, well, you know, it's possible we're in this report, but we didn't believe it. We got a copy and sure enough, there we were in it. Now this is a report on "Organized Crime in California, 1979," by the California attorney general George Deukmejian. And presumably it's supposed to deal with organized crime. But a lot of it is devoted to terrorism. This is "Part II, Terrorism: Summary, Political Terrorism, Prison Gangs in California, Outlaw Motorcycle Gangs...." This is the company we're in: the Mansons, the SLA, Hell's Angels, Mexican Mafia, the Aryan Brotherhood.

Presumably this is the sort of stuff that the lieutenants in the LAPD read before they brief their guys about dealing with the demonstration we called. And it's not even a "subversives" list. There are some people missing from here: SWP, CP.... It's essentially an

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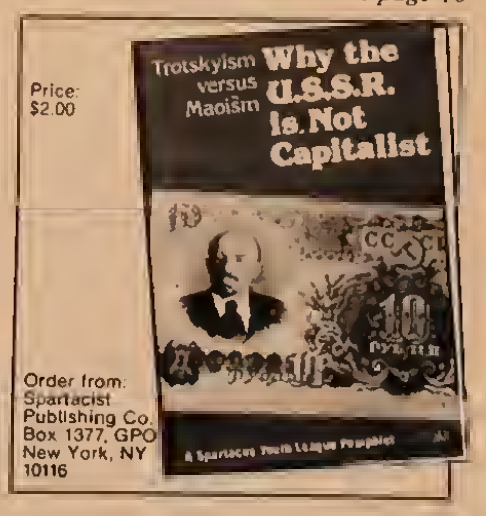

Reagan Years...

(continued from page 9)

attempt to label us in particular as terrorists, as people whom you deal with militarily, "mad dogs—shoot 'em down." Very simple.

Well, it happens we're not terrorists. We're revolutionary Marxists. We oppose terrorism as a political strategy, because it's substitutionalist—it substitutes heroic individual acts for mobilizing the masses. And secondly, it doesn't work. And we oppose indiscriminate mass terror where, in the name of fighting oppression, innocent people are destroyed. Ulster is a good example: you set off a bomb in a pub, you set off a bomb in a working-class pub in Britain....

But they want to try to push us; they want to try to make it stick. And we're getting this stuff all around the country, that you can say anything about us, therefore you can do anything to us. So we intend to take legal steps to fight this thing. Because while the other groupings on there, the left groups, might be flattered by this, they don't understand what it means, and the danger behind it. And we're going to give the State of California a big pain in the ass over this thing. We want a retraction.

A Few Good Communists

Okay, so it's not so easy to be a communist any more. We're expecting a rotten time with Reagan and the social climate in the country. So you're going to see political dives. I've mentioned a couple on the part of the so-called left. We're going to see other stuff too, mainly a loss of nerve and a loss of will. Which is going to find a program: run and hide, drop out. Suddenly Michael Harrington and DSOC seem to be the wave of the future—right?—we'll work in the Democratic Party. This stuff is going to find a program. You can see it in the past. In the '50s, during the witchhunt, the Communist Party got a lot of heat, COINTELPRO stuff though they didn't call it that then. People being fingered, victimized through their jobs, hounded, and so on. But what really corroded the CP then was it took a dive. It was fear—they didn't believe in their program any more. They sent some of their members underground; they didn't fight. It was corrupting.

Now, they were already an organization that had been reformist for a long time. But you have to fight this stuff. The contradictions of U.S. capitalism are not going to go away. Castro landed in Cuba with 12 men. We have our political disagreements with Castro, but his landing party got wiped out, yet he didn't stop—he kept going. A few years later, they led a successful revolution. There's another quote I'd like to read, this one from Tito, in April '43:

> "Experts do not usually take sufficient account of the strength of the human will. If human beings are really determined to do something, they will do it, even if all calculations show this to be impossible."

So we don't particularly welcome the coming political period. But we're going to use it to temper our cadre, and to find out who the nervous nellies are. There's something else. It's not all bleak. We're entering a strategically defensive period. But there are going to be opportunities. Every section of the oppressed is going to get it. We want to be cautious, but we don't want to have a policy of caution. The unions are going to get it from Reagan. Already he's given a green light to go after the unions. The cost-of-living allowances are the first things they are going to go after. And black people in this country—with Strom Thurmond as chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. NAACP solutions are not going to seem very realistic with Reagan in office. But where can black people hide? They can't. They can't take a dive like a lot of petty-bourgeois students who give the best four or five years of their lives to the revolutionary movement and move off to smoke dope, and whatever, sit in their hot tubs. It's not an option for the minorities in this country.

And Reagan is going after the working class. The problem is, it's very likely there's going to be a lot of illusions.... Carter's going to look pretty good in two years to a lot of people, compared to Reagan. There's going to be a lot of illusions again in liberalism, the Democrats, and getting a "veto-proof" Democratic Party Congress. So we have to combat those. The labor skates already are doing two things. One, they're essentially laying down and dying. Well, Reagan's in power—it's going to be a rough time, we've got to take a dive. So Doug Fraser recently negotiated a new wage cut for the Chrysler workers so that there could be a new bailout. At the same time they're starting to talk militant. But a lot of it is talking Democratic Party. Just like the Labour Party in Britain when it's in power screws the workers, and when it gets out suddenly it becomes militant again.

So we have a defensive period. There's going to be a lot of turmoil as people get squeezed. A lot of tactical openings for us then, and possibilities for recruitment. Not a lot of people, though, I don't think—but maybe ones made of a bit sterner stuff than the people we picked up in the '70s, which was an easy period.

I read that quote from Lenin in the beginning. Now this can all change overnight, all these projections. One big labor upsurge, some explosion that takes off, that you can't predict, could change the climate overnight. France in '68 was the example. Ten years prior to that De Gaulle administered a country that was very passive socially. The French New Left were writing that the French working class had been bought off, that they had cars, they had television, and we saw the largest general strike in the history of France. We can't guarantee people that a revolutionary situation will occur in your lifetime in the country you happen to live in. But the contradictions are there. In the imperialist epoch revolutionary situations are pretty rare, but they develop very quickly and they can be missed if you don't have a party that's prepared. And it may be a generation before you have a chance at another.

Now as proletarian revolutionists, we're after state power. We're not for diddling with the state, the bourgeois state, or trying to reform it. History has shown that's impossible. We want our own state. The problem is right now we're about 500 people on the planet. And that's hardly big enough to step on, or worth stepping on. With 5,000 people in the country we can be a factor in the working class. 50,000 rooted mainly in the industrial proletariat and with a revolutionary situation arising and knowing what to do, you can take power. Sometimes I feel like the Marine Corps. You see that slogan, "The Marine Corps Is Looking For a Few Good Men"? Well, we're looking for a few communists in the coming period who will be in for the duration.

Reaganomics: It's Better to Fight

Reagan wants to tinker with the economy a lot. He's got his economic game plans. But U.S. capitalism is in hot water. Reagan can cut welfare, he can cut unemployment, he can cut Medicare, but it's not going to make the Japanese or West German automobile and steel industries go away. Or be less productive. The U.S. has fallen quite a bit: in 1979 the United States ranked only 10th among the members of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development in per capita income, outranked by Switzerland, Denmark, West Germany, Sweden, Luxembourg, Norway, Belgium, Iceland and France. So the country is heading in the direction of Britain. The bourgeoisie is running it into the ground. Chrysler's an example, a looted industry: they took the profits out of it, kept outmoded, outdated capital, and so on.

So the U.S. was top dog in a period from the end of World War II until the early '70s when Nixon devalued the dollar, which was the sign of the fall from pre-eminence of U.S. capitalism. But the reason it was top dog in that period is it won World War II. It came out of World War II with its economic plant intact, basically barely scratched, compared to its imperialist rivals who lost their colonies and many of whom were on the verge of civil war. Germany was shattered, divided. So they were able to put the capitalist world on the dollar ration. But over this period the Vietnam War intervened—the U.S. tried to be the world's policeman, and Vietnam proved they couldn't do it. Also a big economic factor was the fact that the Japanese and the Germans had all their industry bombed out and built new and modern plants that were more efficient.

So we have Reagan and he's going to tinker a little with the budget. But the stuff is absurd, because the cuts he's talking about are in any case minuscule, and at the same time he wants to up the military spending—the so-called 7 percent solution, right, 7 percent a year. In various magazines you can look at a graph of what defense spending will be like at the end of his administration. It'll be over $300 billion. And how is he going to pay for it? Guess how. Print money—so the inflation is not going to go away.

And we can expect trade wars. Not only are the labor bureaucrats pushing them, but we're going to see the bourgeoisie increasingly pushing them. You see, a lot of Reagan's advisers argue that what America needs is a good dose of capitalism—"free enterprise," the term Adolf Hitler coined. But free trade? In steel? The trouble is that the U.S. bourgeoisie, a significant chunk of it, is tied to the steel and auto industries, and they're not going to let their industries be driven out of business by Japanese and German imports. And so, if they can't economically compete, by speeding up their working classes and squeezing people so they have more money for capital, they're going to compete through trade wars. And if that doesn't work, there's another way you compete: it's called a shooting war.

He's going to balance the budget. That's another laugh. I read in the paper that New York City has balanced its budget. I go to New York often, and every time you go there something else is falling apart. It's like balancing the budget by not paying the electric bill, getting the phone ripped out; windows are broken, you let them remain broken. The place is falling apart. That's a possibility they could try, too, if they are really inept. Education in this country is an abomination. Almost every graduate of the Soviet secondary schools has one or two years of calculus. Maybe 50,000 to 100,000 in the U.S. who get out of high school have a year of calculus.

That doesn't bode well for having a competitive labor force. Then they run off to the Sun Belt because wages are low there, but a lot of those people have never worked in industry. It'll take a generation at least to get a layer of skilled industrial workers. In the meantime they get people who can't weld, shipyards that build ships that sink. Literally, Litton Industries built a shipyard in Mississippi; sure, they pay low wages, and a lot of the workers hadn't even heard of unions. But the ships, almost all of them, were rejected, and they had to go back time after time. So things don't look good for the American bourgeoisie. The contradictions are not going to go away.

And so we have our opportunities. And we'd better be prepared to take them. It's always better to fight. In Chile, the workers didn't fight, mainly because they had illusions in the democratic nature of the army. In Spain 1936 Franco rose up in a right-wing coup, but the Spanish working class didn't have illusions in that army because they didn't have a long period of bourgeois democracy. They fought a civil war that opened up the possibility of a revolutionary situation. It couldn't be taken advantage of—the Trotskyist forces were too weak. But there was that historic possibility. It's always better to fight.

As I said, we don't welcome this period, but we will use it to temper our cadre. Revolutionary situations are very rare and one thing is crystal clear: the United States badly needs a socialist revolution, not only for itself, but for the rest of the world. Because we've got a bunch of maniacs running the country who could very well destroy the world. In order to get that socialist revolution, you need a revolutionary party, tested, rooted in the working class, when a revolutionary situation occurs in this country. Engels said, "Freedom is the recognition of necessity." And the proletarian revolution is going to be critical to the survival of the human species. And we don't have the time to botch it a couple times. Time is short, and it's necessary to prepare. ■

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Destruction of Chrysler's Dodge Main Plant, January 1981—It was here that the original organizing strike of 24,000 Chrysler workers in 1939 succeeded in forcing the company to sign up with the UAW. The plant was one of the centers of black militancy in Detroit in the late 1960s—in 1968 the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM) led a wildcat strike protesting company firings and discrimination. Chrysler ran the plant into the ground; by 1975 the plant workforce had dropped to 10,000, by 1979 it was 5,000, and now there are none. The real crime is not that the dilapidated plant is being wrecked (GM is building a new plant, tax free), but that Solidarity House allowed this repository of union militancy and thousands of jobs of black, white and Arab workers to be destroyed without a fight. The Spartacist League and class-struggle auto workers showed the way to win: "Sit Down to Save Dodge Main!"

WV Photo

Chrysler...

(continued from page 12)

workers, also picked up the chant. "No Concessions! Sit Down!" Brian Mendis from Warren Truck Local 140 and Frank Hicks from the Rouge Militant Caucus of Ford Local 600 were invited up front to speak to the rally. Mendis drew large applause when he laid out a class-struggle fight against Chrysler blackmail:

> "We are the people who work in these plants, we are the people who built those plants. We are the ones who should get whatever it's worth, not the bankers and stockholders who have been milking us dry for the last 75 years."

However, supporters of the Revolutionary Socialist League tried to help out the local bureaucrats by using their bullhorn to drown out the chant for sit-down strikes.

Coupled with opposition to the contract is a widespread sentiment among tank plant workers that they should bail out of the losing auto division of the UAW. The main strategy put forward by Local 1200 president Lou Caponcehia was to force the UAW to switch them over to the aerospace division. Especially with Reagan entering the presidency, tank plant workers know that they will keep their jobs producing the XM-1 tanks for a long time to come. But clearly a breakaway would only isolate the tank workers and undermine the UAW. Instead of splitting the ranks of Chrysler production workers, strikes at the few remaining profitable Chrysler plants, especially vital "defense" plants, could serve as a powerful weapon to bring both Chrysler and the government to their knees.

Reformism Bankrupt

It is testimony to Fraser's program of defeats that widespread demoralization has swept over the union at a time when it may be fighting for its life. As one Jefferson Assembly worker told *WV*, "What difference does it make which way I vote? I'll lose my job either way." But it is also telling that of the phony "oppositions" supported by a myriad of fake-socialist groups throughout the '70s, not one is around today. The reformist United National Caucus, backed by the International Socialists, fizzled out through its own capitulatory momentum when its "in" bureaucrats went out. The Maoist-supported Auto Workers United to Fight disappeared as one by one its stupidly adventurist antics set up its members for firing by the company. And a lash-up like the Communist Party-supported Auto Workers for a Better Contract could never last beyond a contract period.

All of the tiny fake-left oppositions left in Chrysler have two things in common: they have all embraced a warmed-over version of the Chrysler bailout under the name of nationalization, and not one of them has even the vaguest strategy for combatting the Chrysler/government union-busting attack on the UAW. Supporters of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the tweedledee and tweedledum of American reformism and two of the main proponents of nationalization, have been remarkably silent since the negotiations began in December. At the Local 140 meeting to discuss the contract today, Joe Allor, who just last week gave an SWP Militant Forum on the Chrysler bailout (which excluded both the Spartacist League and laid-off Chrysler workers who support its program), just sat on his hands without a peep of opposition. But that shouldn't be surprising, since the *Militant* hasn't had a word to say on Chrysler since the negotiations began! Meanwhile, the 30 January *Militant* printed a complimentary picture of Fraser with an announcement of his support for the SWP's lawsuit against the government. Is there a connection?

At the Local 51 (Lynch Road) meeting on January 26, well-known International Socialist supporter Bill Parker passed out a leaflet moaning about the transfer of American auto plants to Mexico. Parker thus joined Fraser in blaming "foreign" workers for the loss of UAW jobs.

A variation of the nationalization theme is presented by a phantom Workers for a Fighting Union in Warren Stamping Local 869. This caucus of one is supported by the newly announced Revolutionary Workers League (formerly the RWG, a/k/a BLT, BLG, etc.) of the Ann Arbor-based Peter Sollenberger cult. At two successive tiny demonstrations outside the Chrysler bargaining council, the only demand raised on its placards relating to Chrysler was to "Open Chrysler's Books!"—which hardly answers the question of what to do if indeed Chrysler proves bankrupt. In a cringing "Open Letter" which would make most UAW militants vomit, these "fighters" appeal to "Brother Fraser" to appeal to the government to establish a "nationalized Chrysler under workers control." But since "Brother Fraser" won't "fight" for their scheme, and Reagan doesn't seem too interested, the Sollenbergerites have run out of proposals for action to defend Chrysler workers—they do not even *mention* sit-down strikes!

In contrast to the reformists and centrists, who can only exhort Fraser to make the government run all of Chrysler, two militants from Local 140, Carl Weekly and Bill Lauster, presented a motion at their union meeting January 25 which shows what is necessary to beat back the blackmail: sitdowns and plant occupations. The large meeting of 300 unionists was harangued by local officials like Willie Stovall, who threatened the ranks with the line, "You are voting on your job!" The two militants managed to present their class-struggle program despite cops and goons outside and the goons inside. When Weekly got the floor he began, "We've given up enough. We have to discuss what we are going to take." But when he got to "We ought to take over the plants..." he was suddenly cut off and no motions were allowed.

The tempo of class struggle can change rapidly. The outlook for auto workers during the '30s Depression years looked pretty bleak too, but the will to fight and the sit-down strike in Flint in 1937 changed all that, soon making the UAW into one of the nation's most powerful unions and the backbone of the CIO. Likewise, a sitdown at Lynch Road or an occupation of Jefferson Assembly could be the spark to touch off a massive wave of strikes. What is needed is an organized class-struggle leadership with the program and the will to win.

No concessions to Chrysler—Restore parity with GM and Ford! Prepare for strike sit-down action! No layoffs, no plant closings! Jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! Workers to get all money from any Chrysler liquidation! For guaranteed unlimited SUB/unemployment pay and welfare benefits! Oust the bureaucrats—For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Inland Steel...

(continued from page 12)

Company guards had herded applicants into a narrow space between the office door and a steel chain link fence—the fence eventually went down under the massive weight. At one point a gas line broke, spewing dangerously into the crowd. Escaping people were tossed over the fence to the outside—some hit the barbed wire at the top and ripped up their limbs. There were numerous stories of weapons being brandished as people fought for places in line, or tried to claw their way out of the crowd.

WV interviewed one laid-off auto worker who was there:

> "I got there at 3:30 a.m., and there were 500 people in front of us. People were wrapped up in blankets, everything they could to keep warm. They had their vans out in front, parked over the roadway, trying to keep warm in their cars.
>
> "About 6 a.m. a security guard came around and said no one would be let through the front gate of the personnel department where we were lined up. So we had to run back around to the side gate and try to stay in front of the line. People started jumping the gate. Everyone just took off and ran, shoving and pushing. Imagine being up at the front with 5,000 people behind you pushing into the gate!
>
> "We were lined up between the wall of the personnel department and a fence. It was so close, you couldn't even lift up your arms if they were caught at your sides. A lot of people wanted to leave, but they couldn't. They climbed up on the window sills of the personnel department and walked along the window sills to get out of the crowd.
>
> "This one guy, they were passing him over and somehow someone knocked him and flipped him before he got to the fence. And the whole middle of his body hit the barbed wire, and he just hung over on it until someone pulled him over on the other side....
>
> "Fifty yards of the fence just went down, seven feet of fence just like that. The company finally walked out with a few handfuls of applications and tossed them in the air, like someone feeding chickens. Thousands of people went diving for the applications. I got an application, then got knocked to the ground and about ten people around me were trying to take my application.... You saw people coming out of the back entrance, after they got in to get their applications, you saw blood, gashes on arms and foreheads and faces, their clothes ripped."

It was Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle* in real life. After a long night's wait in the Chicago winter, the stupid brutality of the steel company which made no attempt to accommodate the hordes of job seekers, then showed its contempt by tossing the few applications into their faces. *Then it was discovered there were no jobs!* The company topped its provocations by announcing on local radio that afternoon that it would not hire at all. They were merely, you see, "updating" their applications list!

The workers at Inland knew what this meant. "The company did this to make a point to us, that there's thousands and thousands of people out there who want your job." "They're going after our cost-of-living and benefits next contract," was the talk inside the plant. Indeed this is the program of the American ruling class—more unemployment, inflation, slashing social services, escalating attacks on hard-won union gains, all designed to squeeze "reindustrialization" out of the hides of working people.

Ironically, this day of desperation at Inland—January 21—was the first day of the Reagan presidency. Steel workers joked that "unemployment is better already—Ronald Reagan just got a job for the first time in six years." But the thousands of desperate workers at Inland clawing after even the faint hope of a decent-paying job, was a graphic view of what the capitalists have in store.

The union movement had better take note, for this represents a mortal danger. Organized labor must lead the unemployed in the struggle for jobs. A shorter workweek with no loss in pay, union hiring halls, full cost-of-living escalator, massive public works programs—these demands must be raised as part of a class-struggle program to fight unemployment. And above all the fight for a workers government, for socialist economic planning, so that to get a decent job you don't have to take your life in your hands. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Auto Workers: Whatever Chrysler's Worth, Take It, It's Yours!

Vote "No" on Chrysler Takeaways!

DETROIT, January 25—After only three hours of discussion last Monday the 250-man United Auto Workers (UAW) Chrysler Bargaining Council caved in to what union president Doug Fraser himself calls "the worst economic agreement we've ever made." Nobody even asked for a hand vote.

This betrayal, probably the worst ever in the history of the UAW, is a threat to the entire union. The policy of capitulation to management ultimatums will not save jobs, and it has already inspired similar takeaway demands from Ford. Chrysler workers must vote down this disgusting sweetheart deal, "negotiated" with a gun at the head, and militants throughout the UAW must demand that the power of more than a million organized auto workers be mobilized to halt the bosses' wage-cutting, job-slashing and ultimately union-busting offensive!

Not satisfied with getting the contract past the lower layer of the union bureaucracy, Fraser is leaving nothing to chance in his effort to ram the extortion scheme down the throats of the rank and file. Ratification votes, scheduled to be held this week, will take place *inside* the plants on company time, making it difficult for the *two-thirds* of the workforce on layoff to vote. Letters sent to "Chrysler workers and families" threaten bankruptcy proceedings in February if the contract is turned down.

At Jefferson Local 3, union officials end conversations with "Vote yes or it's your job!" At a Warren Truck Local 140 union meeting today a scuffle erupted when a goon squad, ironically calling itself the "flying squadron," tried to prevent class-struggle oppositionists from distributing leaflets calling for a "no" vote and sit-down strikes against layoffs and plant closings. When unsuccessful, the goons called in four cop cars to remove members from outside their own union hall. (The police, however, failed to move the union militants.) It is clear that Fraser's bureaucracy will not take no for an answer.

What the Chrysler contract amounts to is the biggest blackmail scheme ever—to the tune of $622 million. For starters, auto workers lose their cost-of-living increases dating back to the beginning of the contract—a $1.15 an hour *wage cut*. Then they will lose their 3 percent annual "improvement factor," pension increases will be deeply slashed and the remaining paid personal holidays (three for American workers and 19 for Canadians) will be eliminated. To get another $2.2 million, Chrysler cut five minutes off paid lunch time. By the end of the contract in 1982, assuming a mild 10 percent inflation, workers will have handed over a boggling *$9,600* each to Chrysler boss Lee Iacocca and will be making *$3.00 an hour less* than their counterparts at GM and Ford. This, for the hollow promise of jobs aboard the sinking ship of Chrysler? Chrysler workers must demand immediate restoration of wage parity with Ford and GM!

Sitdowns to Stop Layoffs and Plant Closings!

Chrysler workers are not fooled for a minute by the trade-offs which Fraser supposedly "wrestled" from the corporation. Fraser claims the UAW secured a major reprieve on plant closings—that is, all those except those factories the company plans to shut down. Chrysler had agreed to keep open four of their dilapidated Detroit plants, including McGraw Glass, Eldon Axle, Detroit Forge and Mack Avenue Stamping, as well as the Windsor Spring plant, for the duration of the contract. But when *WV* asked Fraser at a press conference why the Lynch Road assembly plant wasn't on the list, Fraser let the cat out of the bag. "Because it's closing. That's why it wasn't in the agreements," he replied. This sudden revelation was big news in Detroit as 2,600 Lynch Road workers found out they would be jobless come April.

WV Photo

Detroit auto workers protest Chrysler wage cuts at Warren tank plant, January 15.

But Lynch Road workers don't have to accept the UAW bureaucracy's defeat without a fight. Don't let it *shut* down—*sit* down! By occupying the plant, Lynch Road workers can still hit the auto barons, the banks and the government where it hurts: their sanctified private property. A workers' mutiny at Lynch should say to Iacocca: if you are going to close the plant, we won't let the proceeds from the equipment and the plant go to the bankers and the stockholders. Whatever it's worth will go to the workers. Further, auto workers must demand government-guaranteed SUB benefits and unlimited unemployment compensation. A sit-down strike at Lynch Road could spark action by all Chrysler workers and turn back the Chrysler/government attack on the UAW.

So far much of the opposition to the Chrysler contract comes from some of the more conservative areas of the union. On January 19, 300 Chrysler tank plant workers from Local 1200 gathered in Sterling Heights chanting, "Vote No! No More Concessions!" Many of them, particularly the black

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10,000 Apply for 0 Jobs at Inland Steel

CHICAGO—It was a scene straight out of the Great Depression. And then it got worse. When Inland Steel Company announced it would take applications January 21 for a future limited hiring, 10,000 desperate working people showed up. Inland is located at East Chicago, Indiana in the heart of America's depressed industrial Midwest where unemployment is now running at 12.5 percent. They began to line up the night before, at 10 p.m. on Tuesday, January 20 outside the Inland Employment Office: laid-off steel and auto workers, older workers caught in the rash of plant closures, women with young children, youth seeking escape from the sub-minimum wage. Blacks, whites, Chicanos, men, women, everybody.

By the time the office opened next morning, people fainting in the crush had to be literally lifted above the crowd and tossed back from hand to hand before reaching medical care.

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Gary Post-Tribune

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

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Meyer/Time

Downing/Newsweek

Whitehead/Picture Group

War President

Reagan/Haig Anti-Soviet Frenzy

FEBRUARY 10—With one hand on the bible, Ronald Reagan took the oath of office as new imperialist commander-in-chief. With the other, he began rattling the sabres of his anti-Soviet Cold War drive. Within the week Reagan's four-star secretary of state, Alexander Haig, used his first press conference to accuse the USSR of "training, funding and equipping international terrorism." And the next day the U.S. president himself railed that the Soviet Union seeks "world revolution and a one-world Communist state." With rhetoric going back to the Dulles "rollback" era, he accused Russian leaders of "reserv[ing] the right to commit any crime, to lie, to cheat in order to attain" this goal (*New York Times*, 30 January). What was previously implicit under Jimmy Carter's cloak of "human rights"—a transition phase from American post-Vietnam paralysis ("détente") to Cold War II—is now flashing in red, white and blue. Reagan's hard-line anti-Communism expresses imperialism's implacable hostility to the Soviet degenerated workers state.

To underscore this tough talk with action, veteran Soviet ambassador Dobrynin, the ranking member of Washington's diplomatic community, was curtly told he could no longer use the garage entrance at the State Department to avoid the press and public. Instead he would have to walk through the front entrance. The elimination of this "courtesy," one of the détente fig leaves, is more than just a symbolic gesture. Now every time the representative of the USSR wants to personally deliver a message, he runs the risk of being blown away by some crazed Ustashi terrorist. Already in the anti-Soviet climate whipped up by Carter following the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan, air traffic controllers in New York "boycotted" an Aeroflot jet carrying Dobrynin, nearly causing a crash landing. And, of course, Soviet diplomats in Washington and New York are regularly the targets of gusano Bay of Pigs veterans trained (and often funded and equipped) in their terrorist activities by the CIA.

Despite the best efforts of Brezhnev & Co., détente is dead. Even the trappings of "human rights" are being stripped away. Reagan's first foreign visitor is Jamaican leader Seaga, known at home as "CIAga" because of the considerable U.S. "destabilization" effort which aided his election last October. Next came Korean dictator General Chun, who was spared embarrassment by the postponement of a State Department report on the torture, assassinations and suppression of democratic rights in this blood-drenched outpost of the "Free World." Haig then sacked the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, accused of being a "social reformer" ('80s equivalent of "com-symp") for sponsoring a Vietnam "pacification"-style "land reform." And to top off Week 2, Reagan brought on board an ultra-conservative think-tanker who thinks "human rights" is none of the United States' business. His post: Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights.

Meanwhile, the new administration is issuing rapid-fire threats to Moscow

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Bye-Bye "Human Rights"

Reagan Stands By His Butchers

Now that Reagan is in, so is South Korean dictator Chun Doo Hwan ...and it's bye-bye "Human Rights." As a message to every terror regime from Central America to the Philippines, the White House put on a "state visitor" extravaganza for this strutting tyrant. All were thus apprised that the U.S. will no longer be embarrassed by torture cells and police state terror so long as it is done in the name of "freedom loving" anti-Communism. As the *Wall Street Journal* (3 February) put it: "President Reagan seized the visit of South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan to signal to the world that the U.S. intends to stand by its friends." More accurately, Reagan intends to stand by his butchers.

During the days when the White House needed a "human rights" cover for its anti-Soviet war drive, the likes of Chun were too repulsive for public parade. But with Reagan/Haig aiming straight at the Soviet Union, Chun has become something of a Washington hero, a sort of Far Eastern shah. In his toast to the little dictator, Reagan, with his usual sense of history, pointed out that "in the short time that you've had, Mr. President, you've done much to strengthen the tradition of 5,000 years' commitment to freedom" (*New York Times*, 3 February).

Chun Doo Hwan came up through the Korean military and took over in 1979 after the assassination of ex-dictator Park Chung Hee by the Korean CIA. A clone of Park, Chun declared martial law, banned all dissent and

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Polanski Witchhunter Gets Burned

Bigot Boomerang

"'My dear Candide! You remember Paquette, the maid-servant of our august Baroness; in her arms I enjoyed the delights of Paradise which have produced the tortures of Hell by which you see I am devoured; she was infected and perhaps is dead. Paquette received this present from a most learned monk, who had it from the source; for he received it from an old countess, who had it from a cavalry captain, who owed it to a marchioness, who derived it from a page, who had received it from a Jesuit, who, when a novice, had it in a direct line from one of the companions of Christopher Columbus. For my part, I shall not give it to anyone, for I am dying.'

"'O Pangloss!' exclaimed Candide, 'this is a strange genealogy! Wasn't the devil at the root of it?'"

—*Candide* by Voltaire

LOS ANGELES—It's not the best of all possible worlds for California state senator Alan Robbins. The man who was one of the loudest howlers in the witchhunt against prominent filmmaker Roman Polanski for "illegal intercourse with a minor" now faces prosecution for identical "crimes"! On January 16, the state of California indicted Robbins (Dem.-Van Nuys), a vicious anti-busing demagogue and advocate of tough "anti-rape" legislation, on ten felony counts of "sexual misconduct with teenage girls." However, the charges against him have been alternately dropped and refiled, and as a measure of their confidence his senate colleagues appointed him to a committee chairmanship.

On the other hand, internationally acclaimed director Polanski was [illegible]nded out of Jimmy Carter's "human [illegible]ts" America following a nightmar[illegible] official persecution. Arrested in [illegible]7, Polanski (whose pregnant wife [illegible]ron Tate had been grotesquely [illegible]rdered at the hands of the Manson [illegible]mily") was subjected, among other [illegible]s, to 42 days in Chino State Prison [illegible] degrading "psychiatric observa[illegible]." Under threat of further defama[illegible] imprisonment and deportation, he [illegible]ally fled the country. Polanski could not even film his latest movie, *Tess*, in Britain for fear of extradition to the U.S. Nor could he come to New York to receive the film critics award. All this for the "crime" of having sex with a consenting sexually experienced 13-year-old model—and Robbins goes free!

The charges against Robbins stem from the period March 1978 to March 1979—the same time he was using the Polanski case to rise to power in the state senate. Allegedly, Robbins tried to seduce girls who "came to his office to interview him as part of a high school civics project" on the inner workings of state government (*Los Angeles Times*, 1 November). He even involved one young college student in volunteer intern work on his proposed anti-rape bill. For his sponsorship of this draconian legislation, Robbins won the support of numerous women's groups, at one time even distributing "rape whistles" to dramatize the bill. Meanwhile he was known in the senate as the "No. 1 foe of mandatory busing of school children." He authored the anti-integration Proposition 1 adopted by California voters in 1979.

To boost his "anti-rape" legislation, Robbins went after Polanski with a vengeance. He declared in 1977, "I have nothing against Polanski. If he is innocent, let him prove it. But if he wants to harass this 13-year-old girl, he has me to deal with." One of his laws prevents the defense from exploring the sexual history of rape victims—Robbins then used this law to undercut Polanski's defense that the so-called "innocent victim" in his case had an active prior sex and drug life. Of course, it's a different matter now that Robbins has to defend himself. Reportedly he has hired private investigators to look into the past of at least one teenage girl he's accused of seducing!

Not since Anita Bryant got divorced has there been such a satisfying fall from grace of one of these consummately hypocritical, holier-than-thou bourgeois politicos. The feminists took the orange juice queen to their bosom as soon as she announced she was "off men." (Ms. Bryant subsequently got together with an Alabama businessman.) Conversely, now that Robbins is up on a morals charge, the "feminist socialists" who once supported him are now out for his blood. Meanwhile the California Peace and Freedom Party is circulating a recall petition against Robbins. As they say, "It couldn't happen to a nicer guy." But what about back in 1977 when this sanctimonious anti-busing bigot was the feminists' hero for his "law-and-order" rape law?

While feminists and liberals lined up with the "new right" to preserve the sanctity of home and hearth, the Spartacist League stood alone on the left in defending Polanski. Our article

Fry/L.A. Times

Film director Roman Polanski.

("Stop the Puritan Witchhunt Against Roman Polanski," *WV* No. 192, 2 October 1978) demanded the charges against him be dropped, explaining:

> "The Polanski case has stirred up the poisonous fears and vicious repression which underlies bourgeois morality. As communists we oppose attempts to fit human sexuality into legislated or decreed 'norms.' The guiding principle for sexual relations between people should be that of effective consent—that is, nothing more than mutual agreement and understanding as opposed to coercion. We hold that any and all consensual relations between individuals are purely their own concern, and the state has no business interfering in human sexual activity."

Roman Polanski became an early prominent victim of the mounting puritanical morality which is likely to reach new peaks with Ronald Reagan, the preferred candidate of the Ku Klux Klan. Unlike so-called leftists who periodically make common cause with the "Moral Majority" witchhunters, we know full well that everything from the anti-abortion crusade to the furor over "kiddie porn" to reintroducing prayers in the schools is done in the name of "saving the children" for bourgeois morality. Already there is a California "fink law" on the books requiring doctors to turn in every unmarried female under the age of 18 who they suspect has engaged in sexual activity! In the current sharp political shift to the right, it is doubly urgent for Marxists to demand an end to censorship and that the government get out of the bedroom. For the "new morality" crusade is the leading edge of a broad attack on democratic rights.

This ought to be a matter of first principles for radical democrats, let alone Marxists. Yet the one-time "consistent feminists" of the Socialist Workers Party have come out for "age of consent laws"—particularly used against homosexuals—as part of their "turn" to the labor bureaucracy, trying to make themselves presentable by capitulating to backward social attitudes in the working class. The feminists in turn have joined hands with anti-gay bigot Bryant to boycott *Penthouse* and *Playboy*. Thus "age of consent" socialists and "anti-porn" feminists link up with the Robbins and Bryants in the political equivalent of Voltaire's "syphilitic chain." The latest example of this bloc for book burning in Reagan's America was the court injunction (subsequently lifted on appeal) won by Moral Majority preacher Jerry Falwell stopping distribution of the March issue of *Penthouse*. Socialists must denounce this right-wing moralism which rants about getting government off our backs only to send it prying into the bedrooms.

So one of the witchhunters got burned. Beyond the poetic justice in seeing one of these self-righteous blue noses tripped up by his own laws, we should remember that the bourgeois figures who run afoul of the Moral Majority will be in the minority. The real victims will be homosexuals, women, minorities, the left and democratic rights themselves. That sinister racist Alan Robbins, demagogic champion of pubescent female chastity, has temporarily fallen prey to the "new morality" only testifies to its ominous growth. Drop the charges against Roman Polanski! Abolish all laws against consensual sexual activity! ■

Medical Bulletin on Comrade Murry Weiss

We recently received the following communication from Clara Fraser of the Seattle-based Freedom Socialist Party, which we reprint below for the interest of our readers.

January 30, 1981

On December 29, 1980, Murry Weiss, a veteran of American Trotskyism and current co-chairperson of CRSP, returned to New York City after two weeks in Madrid and Paris (for the World Conference of the Fourth International (International Committee)). He returned in excellent health and spirits, but after less than a week in the vile New York weather, Comrade Weiss fell victim to the city's flu epidemic, coming down with a severe cold.

At the insistence of his comrade, Susan Williams, M.D., Murry reluctantly entered New York's Doctors Hospital on January 2, 1981. His cold swiftly developed into pneumonia and his temperature reached a blistering 104 degrees. For four days, Murry lingered near death. He was delirious and completely disoriented.

By January 6th, Murry's pneumonia and fever had stabilized, but he developed kidney failure and intensive breathing difficulties, and began slipping in and out of a coma.

He was transferred to the 24 hour intensive care unit, a kidney specialist was summoned, and a respirator brought in to aid his breathing. Nurses were stationed at his bedside around the clock. His New York comrades and close friends were with him also, having maintained an around-the-clock vigil, in shifts, from the outset of his hospitalization. Comrade Mary Ann Curtis of Seattle had already been sent to New York on January 5th, to devote full time to coordinating Murry's care, visitations, and business affairs.

The next ten days in intensive care were a period of extremely dangerous touch and go. But by January 16th, Murry's condition had miraculously improved to the point where he was taken off the respirator, although he still had to use an oxygen mask and engage in daily breathing exercises to improve his lung capacity. His kidneys, which had ceased functioning, started to mend.

Internal bleeding had further complicated his recovery during this critical period, but by the morning of January 16th, however, the bleeding had stopped. And from that time on, his condition improved steadily.

On January 22nd—finally!—Murry Weiss made the great leap forward: out of intensive care and into a private room across the hall! After more than two gruelling weeks of being kept alive by machines, he was able to function on his own.

Murry's doctors have testified to their amazement at his power of recovery, drive, and enormous will to live. It will not be long now, hopefully, before Murry is out of the hospital. Already he's impatient to be back in the thick of revolutionary politics, and his conversation bubbles over with accounts of Paris and Madrid and his experiences with the U.S. CRSP delegation there.

To all of you who have known and respected and loved Murry as an intransigent lifelong fighter for revolutionary socialism and socialist feminism, we ask that you write him cards or notes of greetings, encouragement, and cheer. Murry's health responds positively to signs of affection and concern, and correspondence, more than anything, spurs his recovery.

Also, his family, friends, patients, and comrades request that you feel wonderfully free to send him what funds you can. The costs of his illness are enormous, over and above his bare hospital coverage, and a (surprise to him) *Murry Weiss Recovery Fund* has been set up to freshen and refurbish his apartment for his homecoming and to take care of his mounting expenses and loss of income from his private practice as a psychologist.

Please send all mail to Murry to Morris Weiss, 115 West 15th Street, No. 2F, New York City, 10011. No flowers or plants, please. Send all financial donations to Dr. Susan Williams, 301 West 17th Street, No. 2E, New York City, 10011.

Thank you in advance for your sympathy and aid. We came very close to losing Murry, and we feel you will want to help make him as comfortable as possible in his time of recovery. A revolutionary life is a precious thing.

Clara Fraser,
Freeway Hall
Seattle, WA

Madison:

SYL Leads 400 in El Salvador Rally

MADISON—Chanting "No U.S. aid to the murderous junta," over 400 students at the University of Wisconsin at Madison joined in a militant rally February 4 against American imperialism's support to the bloody generals in El Salvador. The successful united-front demonstration was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League (SL), to protest the Reagan administration's clear intention to crush left-wing forces in Central America as the first step in its Cold War drive against Cuba and the Soviet Union.

The rally was organized around three demands: "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador! Stop U.S. Aid to the Murderous Junta! Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!" Among the organizations and individuals endorsing the demonstration were, in addition to the SL/SYL: the Union of Arab Students, the Chicano students' organization MEChA, the Teaching Assistants Stewards Council, the Wisconsin Students Association Staff, Graphic Arts International Union Local 507 president Wil Haasch, the student newspaper, the *Daily Cardinal*, and professors Harvey Goldberg and Steve Stern.

Speakers at the rally included spokesmen for the SL and SYL, members of Community Action for Latin America and the Progressive Students Association (PSO) and Bob Lotz, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1014 from Gary, Indiana. Lotz drew applause from the crowd by calling for labor action to halt U.S. arms shipments to El Salvador and for strikes against any U.S. intervention. SYL spokeman Dorie Reed stressed that "the Soviet Union is the real target of Reagan's war drive." As Trotskyists we call for defending the gains of the Russian and Cuban Revolutions, she said, but also for the ouster of the ruling bureaucrats and their replacement by revolutionary workers governments.

Young Spartacus

University of Wisconsin, February 4: Successful united-front rally for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!"

Gene Schubert of the Spartacist League called for military victory to the left-wing rebels in El Salvador while denouncing the bourgeois strategy of the popular-front Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) coalition. The FDR has pledged itself to a capitalist reform program and is seeking a diplomatic deal with imperialism which would cheat the workers and peasants out of the victory they have already paid for with their blood. At the end of Schubert's speech a good part of the crowd joined with the SL/SYL in chanting, "No popular-front illusions—For workers revolution!"

Opposition to "another Vietnam" in El Salvador runs deep on campus. During the week preceding the rally Madison students clustered around SYL literature tables, eager to protest Reagan's threats of intervention and to discuss not only the role of American imperialism in El Salvador, but also the Trotskyist program of proletarian opposition to popular frontism and military defense of Cuba and the USSR. This was all the more notable as various opportunist "left" groups try to hide from sharp political debate by limiting protest to "U.S. hands off" and calling for "self-determination" for El Salvador. The 400 students who protested with the SYL constituted one of the largest recent rallies at the Wisconsin campus, long a focus of left-wing and student protest.

A right-wing provocateur from the South Korean CIA-supported "Unification Church" of Sun Myung Moon attempted to disrupt the rally by entering the hall where the meeting was held with a sign reading, "Nicaraguan Commies Out of El Salvador." The Moonies' real purpose was revealed at the rally's end when the reactionary cultist got a cop to arrest a member of the SYL on trumped-up charges of "disorderly conduct" and "not answering questions." The SYL protested this police provocation and demands that the charges against our comrade be dropped!

Notable for their boycott of the rally were all the other organizations in the Madison left. The PSO, a front group for the Maoist Revolutionary Student Brigade; the reformist Democratic Socialist Alliance, a lashup of Michael Harrington's DSOC, the New American Movement and the Socialist Party; the local March 28th Movement and the Progressive Labor Party all refused to endorse the demonstration. The idiosyncratic Stalinist PLP/INCAR refuses on principle to engage in united fronts with other left groups and even opposes military victory for the Salvadoran leftists because they are not led by the PLP. The other reformist organizations, despite supposed acceptance of the rally demands, refused to share a platform with the SYL because of our opposition to treacherous political alliances with "progressive" capitalists and "democratic" colonels. Thus they proved in practice that it is they and not the Trotskyists who are the true "sectarians." ■

Union Boycott of Military Goods to El Salvador Ruled "Out of Order"

Bay Area Labor-Fakers Cover for CIA/AIFLD

SAN FRANCISCO, January 22—The first meeting of the "Trade Union Committee on El Salvador" looked familiar: chairman was the ubiquitous Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks Local 1100, flanked by fawning supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). And crawling around the SWP were the cockroaches from the minuscule "Socialist League (Democratic-Centralist)" (SL-DC) and the so-called "Trotskyist Organizing Committee" (TOC). Johnson has led so many fake "labor support" coalitions that he even forgot whether this one was for Chile, Cuba or El Salvador until someone reminded him! And aside from the usual protest rally, his only proposal for "action" was to place an *ad* in the *San Francisco Chronicle* begging Reagan not to intervene in El Salvador.

However, longshoreman Howard Keylor, a member of ILWU Local 10's Executive Board and spokesman for the Militant Caucus in that union, raised a program of resolute working-class action against imperialism and its puppets, both here and in El Salvador:

> "This meeting calls upon the American labor movement to hot cargo all military goods destined for El Salvador and further calls for military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. We urge our class brothers in El Salvador to politically break with the patriotic bourgeoisie and to struggle for a workers and peasants government in El Salvador and throughout Central America. U.S.-OAS-Latin American bourgeoisies—all hands off El Salvador!"

Johnson ruled this out of order with the sneering remark, "We don't want to be telling the peasants in whatever countries what to do." But Johnson does not mind having the "American Institute for Free Labor Development" (AIFLD), the CIA's labor front for Vietnam-style "pacification" in Latin America, telling the workers and peasants "what to do" at gunpoint! When members of the Militant Action Caucus in the CWA tried to present a motion calling for an immediate break from the AIFLD and condemning "the policies of the pro-capitalist labor leaders who for years have collaborated with big business and the CIA in setting up and maintaining the AIFLD," Johnson would not even recognize them. And a subsequent leaflet of his trade-union committee listed among the Salvadoran junta's crimes the murder of "two AFL-CIO representatives." So these shameless reformists shed tears over the deaths of two exposed operatives for the CIA/AIFLD's El Salvador "land reform" hoax!

As usual, the SL-DC and TOC spent their time trying to persuade the skunks to change their stripes: the SL-DC even appealed explicitly to Lane Kirkland, a founder of the AIFLD, to "cease all cooperation" with it! But Johnson would not tolerate even this house opposition. When a supporter of the TOC tried to present a watered-down motion to "investigate" and "expose" and perhaps eventually "withdraw" from the AIFLD, Johnson denounced it as "emoting" on unrelated issues. SWP flunkies like Jeff Mackler chimed in

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Boston SYL Forum

U.S./OAS Hands Off! Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!

For Workers Revolution in Central America!

Speaker: Jan Norden, editor, *Workers Vanguard*
SL Central Committee
Wednesday, February 18
7:00 p.m. Philips Brooks House
Harvard
For more information: (617) 492-3928

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 274 13 February 1981

Don't Let Them Get Away With It!

SWP: Thought Police of the Left

"Trotskyists are being excluded from this meeting!" The protest came from supporters of the Spartacist League as they were refused admittance to a publicly advertised Socialist Workers Party (SWP) rally to kick off the SWP's "socialist Watersuit" against government harassment. This incident at the February 7 meeting in New York is the latest in a long line of SWP political exclusions of the SL aimed at sealing off the SWP membership from our revolutionary criticism.

What makes this incident so gross is that this meeting was not just one of the routine Militant Forums, so deadly dull that even most SWP members don't show up. This "Watersuit" rally was a maximum-effort mobilization, billed as the major event in the left's battle against repression. The advertising crowed: come hear the ideas the FBI is trying to suppress. SWP speakers at the rally boasted of the "broad support" behind their case and touted the "Watersuit" as an anti-sectarian blow in defense of free speech on behalf of all the oppressed. And all the while, an SWP goon squad was maintaining the reformist ideological purity of the meeting through the cowardly exclusion of communists. The hypocrisy of these professed civil libertarians boggles the mind.

The SWP began by harassing our comrades as they tried to sell and distribute literature on the sidewalk outside. The action got going in earnest when three Spartacist comrades tried to enter the meeting hall to attend the rally. As they mounted the steps, a goon squad of at least a dozen SWPers forcibly blocked their path. Then this wall of beef backed the three SL women down the steps and onto the sidewalk.

WV Photo

New York City, 7 February: Reformist SWP excludes communists from its "public" civil liberties meetings, but it is proud to debate the Klan.

Our photographer was prevented from photographing the incident. Another comrade was summarily ejected from the meeting when he identified himself and requested permission to set up a tape recorder.

A gay rights group which includes several ex-SWPers was also excluded from the meeting. After the incident one of its supporters commented to an SLer: "Aren't you glad these people don't have state power? If they did, you'd be in jail and I'd be in an insane asylum."

All protests against the SWP's scandalous policy of political exclusionism were met by charges that the Spartacist League is "disruptive." This is a simple slander. We are not disrupters, as the SWP well knows. We are socialists who simply seek to exercise our right as members of the public to attend public meetings and speak from the floor during discussion periods. This is what the SWP is really afraid of. For the SWP to masquerade as "Trotskyists," it must muzzle those whose authentic Trotskyist politics would expose the SWP's reformist renunciation of its past revolutionary tradition.

This shameful violation of workers democracy must not go unanswered. As an SL leaflet distributed at the meeting explained:

> "Workers democracy is not an empty phrase. It is not even just a tactic. It is a principle fought for by Trotsky and the Trotskyist movement against the Stalinist gangsters whom Trotsky call 'the syphilis of the workers movement.' The Stalinists' organizational practices of exclusionism and slander have a logic. This logic was demonstrated in the Minneapolis Smith Act trials during World War II when the Stalinists cheered on the government prosecution of Trotskyists by laws it would soon fall victim to. The social-democratic SWP now partakes of those practices because it shares the Stalinists' fear of open political debate before the socialist and working-class public."

Indeed, these days the Communist Party—more explicitly revisionist than the SWP and therefore less threatened by the prospect of Trotskyists quoting Lenin (and Trotsky)—is rather less systematic in anti-Spartacist exclusionism than the SWP.

Exclusionism (and the accompanying slanders about "disruption") is soft-core violence, an attempt to create a climate of opinion that communists are non-people, undeserving of workers democracy. On a much more ominous scale, the government uses this same tactic when it hides behind professed concern about "terrorism" to itself do violence to leftist, black and labor militants, branding them as criminals about whom anything can be said and to whom anything can be done. In SWP lingo, "ultra-leftist" and "disrupter" serve the same function as "extremist" and "terrorist" in the mouth of the government—to turn communists into non-people with no rights.

For its own petty factional reasons, the SWP now makes use of the notorious Stalinist tactics of exclusionism and slander which have played no small role historically in undercutting genuine solidarist defense of victimized leftists. The practice of political suppression is the mortal enemy of the struggle for consciousness in the working class. Any unionist who has ever found himself speaking into a suddenly dead microphone will have no trouble understanding what the SWP is all about. ■

Helmut Schmidt is Enemy of Central American Revolution!

20,000 March in Frankfurt El Salvador Demo

FRANKFURT, West Germany—Probably the largest El Salvador "solidarity" demonstration outside of Latin America took place in this city on January 31. Twenty thousand spirited student-youth marched through the financial capital of German imperialism as hundreds of cops carrying body-length shields lined the march route and police helicopters hovered overhead. A few anarcho-spontaneists predictably broke some shop windows, provoking a screaming headline from the local tabloid the following day, "Terror in Frankfurt."

Looking at the surface, one might have thought one was back in the heyday of New Left Third Worldism of the late 1960s. Pictures of Che Guevara were sprinkled among the demonstrators, who chanted: "U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off El Salvador!" In reality the politics of this demonstration were very different. The basic aim of the demonstration was to pressure Helmut Schmidt's ruling social-liberal coalition government into bringing peace, democracy and "human rights" to Central America. The main demand was for the West German imperialist state to recognize the popular-front Salvadoran Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR). This is also the basic strategy of the FDR, whose leading spokesman is a fellow member of Schmidt's Second (social-democratic) International. The demonstrators' other main demand was that Schmidt pressure Reagan to negotiate with leftist insurgents in El Salvador.

Spartakist

Reagan is not likely to give Schmidt the time of day, much less El Salvador. Still the Frankfurt demonstrators are not wrong in thinking that they have some friends in the Bonn ministries. For some time now the social-democratic flunkies of German imperialism have been trying to make inroads into the Yankees' backyard. In order to keep Latin American radicals in the "free world," West Germany's "socialists" have aided the Nicaraguan Sandinistas as well as Salvadoran leftists. One of the reasons the Frankfurt demonstration was so large is that it corresponded to the line of a section of the West German ruling establishment.

A militant contingent of about 40 supporters of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD, German section of the international Spartacist tendency) participated in the demonstration. The central axis of our intervention was opposition to popular frontism (in both El Salvador and Germany) and defense of the Soviet Union against Western imperialism. Our slogan, "Down with NATO! Defend Cuba and the USSR!" clashed with the social-democratic prejudices of many of the demonstrators and drove the anarcho-spontaneists and Maoists into a frenzy. And not least, the TLD sought to impress on the thousands of radical West German youth that the liberation of the Central American masses lies in *workers revolution*, not Schmidt's "détente" cake in place of Reagan's Cold War whip.

Kirkland, Fraser on Cold War Assignment

AFL-CIO Tops—Hands Off Poland!

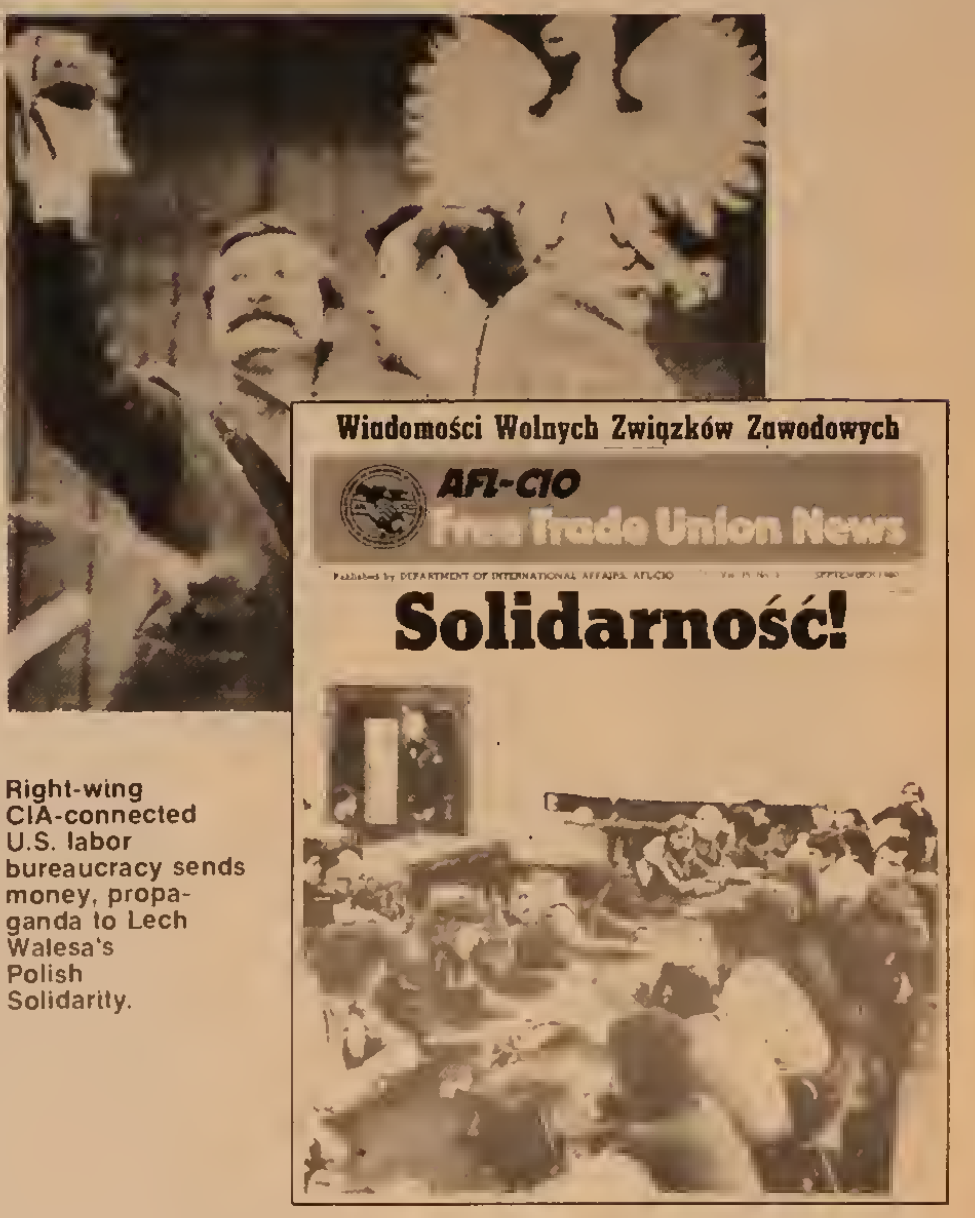
Western imperialism figures it has an opening in Poland, an opportunity to strike a blow against the Soviet Union deep in its own sphere. From the Pentagon to the Common Market Commission to the Vatican, plans are afoot on how to recapture Poland for the "Free World." In the mouths of such certified labor haters, all their talk of "free unions" really means "free enterprise"—a call for restoring capitalist exploitation through bloody counterrevolution. And it should surprise no one that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy is heavily involved in these efforts.

Throughout most of the 1960s-'70s, the Meanyite labor fakers attacked the State Department from the right, for being "soft on Communism." George Meany and his chief lieutenant, Lane Kirkland, were hawks on Vietnam even after Nixon and Kissinger had given it up as a lost cause. Now with Reagan in the White House, the AFL-CIO tops have a president whose foreign policy at least is more to their liking. Under the slogan "Solidarity with Solidarność" (the Polish union body), they are leading the charge on the Polish front of Cold War II.

Early last September, right after the Gdansk agreement recognizing independent unions, the AFL-CIO Executive Board announced it had established a "Polish Workers Aid Fund." At the same time, Doug Fraser of the more liberal UAW said the Auto Workers union had sent $120,000 to the Polish strikers' families. By early this year the AFL-CIO fund had amassed $160,000, which had been "used by the Paris office of the American labor federation to purchase office equipment and supplies to help the Polish union..." (*New York Times*, 7 January). Nobody could remember the AFL-CIO showing such encouragement to workers defying the *American* government—e.g., postal workers in 1970.

Seeking to give this anti-Communist and probably CIA-connected operation a thin cover of trade-union militancy, a special September issue of the federation's *Free Trade Union News* praised the Polish workers for demanding "the right to strike." The AFL-CIO Exec Board, champions of the right to strike? Tell that to the coal miners! Meany, Kirkland & Co. didn't lift a finger when Jimmy Carter tried to break the 1978 coal strike with a Taft-Hartley injunction. Supporters of a 40-hour workweek in Poland, these pro-capitalist bureaucrats go along with compulsory overtime throughout U.S. industry, often resulting in 50-60 hours of labor a week.

So it is entirely appropriate that this same special "Solidarność" edition of the *AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News* (also published in Polish) has a picture of federation president Kirkland shaking hands with strikebreaker Carter. The "aid" fund was preceded, of course, by the reactionary ILA longshore boycott to cut off commerce with "Communist" Poland. Even the Machinists' "socialist" president Winpisinger fell in behind conservative ILA chief Gleason by agreeing to cut off airline service to Warsaw. As we pointed out at the time, both the hucks and the boycott are "designed to strengthen the cold war drive against the Soviet Union" ("No to ILA Anti-Communist Boycott!" *WV* No. 263, 5 September 1980).



Right-wing CIA-connected U.S. labor bureaucracy sends money, propaganda to Lech Walesa's Polish Solidarity.

In Latin America, It's Called "AFL-CIA"

The AFL-CIO dollar-laundering operation, mostly via European unions (such as the Swedish labor federation, which passed along a $50,000 printing press to Solidarność) was immediately denounced as a provocation by Warsaw and Moscow. Even Carter's "détente"-minded secretary of state Muskie first opposed it, though the State Department soon came around. When in

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SWP: Lawyers for Polish Kulaks

The American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) continues in its role as self-appointed lawyer for the forces of social reaction in Poland. Last fall it presented a friend-of-the-court brief on behalf of the Catholic church's demand for access to the mass media (see "SWP: Lawyers for Catholic Reaction," *WV* No. 267, 31 October 1980). Now it has taken on the job as advocate for the Polish kulak. The 6 February *Militant* contains an article polemicizing against Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, entitled "Poland: Why Alliance with Farmers Is Vital for Working Class." It is relatively easy to take out the Marcy group, which condemns Solidarność Wiejska (Rural Solidarity) while claiming that the Polish Stalinist ruling party is the only organized political force capable of "redirecting Polish society in a genuinely socialist direction." But championing the cause of the petty-capitalist farmers is another matter altogether.

UPI

Clerical-nationalist Walesa: "I'm not a socialist."

It is one of the ABCs of Leninism and Trotskyism that in a backward workers state a landowning peasantry is a potent social base for capitalist restorationism. That is why one of the central elements of the Left Opposition's program was agricultural collectivization. Now the long-since *ex*-Trotskyist SWP quotes Trotsky's statement that millions of private peasants constituted the "fundamental source of the capitalist tendencies in Russia," only to *deny that it is at all applicable to Poland today!* In Russia in the 1920s, you see, the peasantry was the large majority of the population, whereas in Poland "the percentage of the population employed in farming has declined steadily." The *Militant* does not inform its readers that the landowning peasants still number 3.5 million or one quarter of the total labor force (*New York Times*, 12 January).

Reading the *Militant* article, one would think Poland's peasants are true-blue socialists almost to a man. There is no mention whatever of the well-known fact that the peasantry is the primary social base of the Polish Catholic church. That is why Pope Wojtyla in his recent interview with Lech Walesa counseled moderation on the part of the industrial workers, while forthrightly championing recognition for the peasant organization. And the priest involved in the Solidarność Wiejska sit-in in the Rzeszów townhall agitates his followers: "The economic disruption caused by your strike is nothing in comparison with the damage which the rural economy has long suffered under the Communists" (*Der Spiegel*, 26 January).

Although the *Militant* has written a lengthy article on "Rural Solidarity," it carefully does *not* list the demands of the peasant organization. On the contrary, the *Militant* is misleading in this regard: "A rich landowner, or an aspiring one, would not be demanding better medical and social benefits and a guaranteed income." But Solidarność Wiejska is demanding rather more than this. It is demanding an end to restrictions on the buying and selling of land, the return to private hands of fields taken over by the authorities for cooperatives, the right to bequeath land to one's children or others and an end to economic favoritism toward cooperatives and state farms (e.g., cheaper credits, first access to new equipment). The peasants' non-economic demands include the construction of more churches, no restriction on religious education for their children and the end to compulsory teaching of Russian in the schools.

Essentially social-democratic in its political outlook, the SWP naturally amalgamates the industrial proletariat with the rural petty bourgeoisie. As Marxists, we hold that "A landholding peasantry is everywhere a deeply conservative potential bastion of reaction, whose immediate interests run counter to those of the working class" ("The President's Pope," *WV* No. 217, 20 October 1978). Despite the strong clerical-nationalist influence among Poland's industrial workers, their demand for independent trade unions had a contradictory character, and so we gave it equivocal support. No such contradiction is present in Solidarność Wiejska. Given its social composition and reactionary program, legitimizing this particular peasant organization can only strengthen the forces of capitalist restorationism in Poland. ■

Reformist Answer to KKK Terror: Lobby Your Congressman

WASHINGTON, D.C.—With black America under the gun of Reagan racism, pressure is mounting in the ghettos. Unemployment exceeds Great Depression levels, social programs face the Republicans' budget-cutting ax and the race-terrorists grow bolder daily (according to the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, incidents of fascist violence have *tripled* in the past year). Even black liberals are feeling the heat. As a result, efforts are already under way to put together a new "people's front" to undercut the appeal of the left by tying labor and blacks to out-of-office Democrats with "fight the right" rhetoric. This is the task which the "National Anti-Klan Network" (NAKN) set itself last weekend. Its program: beg, wheedle and cajole the man the KKK proclaimed its presidential Klandidate to "enforce the law"!

C. P. Reelpe For Fighting Fascism!

Then-revolutionary SWP cartoon: Socialist Appeal, 1939.

The second annual conference of the NAKN, held at Howard University January 30-31, was an attempt to rope in such a broad liberal-left coalition, complete with a black Democratic Congressman as figurehead, recruiting from a "wide spectrum of religious, labor, political and community groups." The approximately 500 people who turned out were a familiar array: "grassroots" Southern organizers, Northern ghetto preachers, "concerned" church organizations, liberal lawyers, "progressive" trade-union bureaucrats. With a hodgepodge of Stalinist outfits (indistinguishable in their coalitions, ad hoc committees and other front groups) running the show behind the scenes, it was your standard popular-front meeting, American style—a throwback to the Vietnam-era "People's Coalition for Peace and Justice" and many more before it.

The Anti-Klan Network's focus is on Congressional hearings into "Racial Violence Against Minorities" before the House Subcommittee on Crime, chaired by Michigan congressman John Conyers. The conference adopted a call for a "Spring Offensive" to "mobilize a National Lobby" around the hearings. Of course, "write your Congressman" has been the hallmark of many a Communist Party (CP) loser campaign for decades. So trying to look a little more militant, NAKN organizers insist that their program is "not a call for 'lobbying' in the classical way of behind the scenes manipulation, but instead a call for a mass people's lobby."

Actually, the NAKN's "lobby of a new type" is standard CP-style reformist fare—appealing to the bosses' state as some kind of "neutral" arbiter which supposedly can be pressured into defending the exploited and oppressed. This flies in the face of history, not to mention the Marxist understanding that the ruling class cannot dispense with the fascist terrorists to whom it will appeal, *in extremis*, as its last line of defense against the spectre of workers revolution and black emancipation. But where the CP calls for "Ban the Klan," even in its own terms the NAKN formula is *below* reformism. Rather than calling on the government to "outlaw racism," they raise only two demands:

> "1. Demand that the Reagan administration...declare a national state of emergency concerning the rise of the Klan and racist violence.
> "2. That all federal, state, and local governments enforce the existing laws ...which have been on the books since Reconstruction and strengthened in the 1960s."

Talk about spreading illusions! Were these demands ever acted on, they would be downright dangerous. Even as direct U.S. complicity with the November 1979 Greensboro massacre is proved, even when a year later the courts released the KKK/Nazi killers while persecuting their victims—these starry-eyed reformists continue to call on the armed bodies of the class enemy to reform themselves into fighters of fascism. Such "anti-extremist" laws to outlaw fascists, when passed, are invariably used against the left and minorities seeking to defend themselves against the reactionary killers. Calling on Washington (under Reagan!) to "protect" minorities against the Klan is inviting a deadly occupation of the ghettos on the order of Little Rock 1956 or Birmingham 1963.

NAKN "Strategy": Populism and Legalism

One of the main themes of the conference was that "we have been outorganized by the right." This note was sounded particularly by NAKN executive committee member Lyn Wells, a long-time leader of Mike Klonsky's Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CP-ML). "Why does Jarvis have to lead a tax movement? Why can't we lead one?" she complained. This appeal to compete with the ultra-right on the terrain of bourgeois populism is certainly in keeping for the CP-ML. The Klonskyites are the American Maoist group with the "Chinese franchise" and have supported every rightward shift of Peking foreign policy toward an open anti-Soviet alliance with U.S. imperialism. Earlier this year, in the wake of Afghanistan, they refused to oppose the draft, and now Wells wants to vie with California senator Jarvis, whose "tax revolt" is a cover for racist backlash. Reportedly these policies coincide with turmoil in the CP-ML, whose China-loyal policies have made it a shameless voice for domestic and imperialist reaction.

Another component of the conference centered on radical fellow-traveling lawyer Arthur Kinoy and his Center for Constitutional Rights. Kinoy says the answer to race terror is enforcement of the old "KKK statutes" passed during Reconstruction. His "weapons" in the struggle against fascism are the grand jury and the federal injunction. Kinoy distributed copies of his testimony before Conyers' House subcommittee hearings, claiming that this "was precisely the approach which was taken in the early 1960s after the brutal murders of the three civil rights workers, Michael Schwerner, Andrew Goodman and James Chaney in Philadelphia, Mississippi." But a year after the COFO three were slain, appeals for Justice Department and court protection didn't prevent civil rights marcher Viola Liuzzo from being gunned down on the road to Selma. It wasn't hard to find the killers, though they were never brought to justice, because FBI agent Gary Rowe was in the car (and may well have been the triggerman). Neither Kinoy's legalism nor Wells' populist appeals offer any perspective for stopping the KKK/Nazi killers or the racist reaction now entrenched in Washington.

Meanwhile, the conference heard numerous disturbing reports of growing racist attacks, from the rise of the Klan in Midwest steel plants to fascist activity in the Pensacola, Florida post office to cross-burnings from Connecticut to Mississippi. In particular, the labor workshop, one of the best-attended, reflected concern among trade unionists over spreading KKK activity. A number of union officials made presentations, including a USWA Steelworkers District 15 rep and a leader of the all-black National Alliance of Postal and Federal Employees. Yet their only answer was "exchange of information by labor groups" and to "share consciousness-raising techniques." In contrast, the Spartacist League has pounded home that organized labor is the only social force with the power and class interest to stop the fascists in their tracks. How to do it: not with bureaucratic committees but by mobilizing workers and blacks to prevent the KKK/Nazis from parading their race-hate in the streets.

This strategy of independent labor/black mobilization was the program of SL-built demonstrations in Detroit and San Francisco which successfully interdicted the fascist terrorists following the Greensboro massacre. While the local AKN in San Francisco last April 19 appealed to the mayor for legal action against the Hitler-lovers and held its own popular-frontist, non-confrontational" demo blocks away from the Nazis' announced site, a Spartacist-initiated demo drew 1,200 (more than three times as many), including contingents and representatives from two dozen unions, to occupy the front of City Hall.

Today It's "Anti-Fascist Unity"

While the various "constituencies" were "sharing experiences" in the workshops, the Stalinist organizers were papering over their quarrels in the name of "anti-fascist unity." Les Freedman of the Greensboro Justice Fund intoned from the podium, "We can heal these wounds between our coalitions. Both sides made errors." What wounds and errors? Only the initiated would know that barely a year ago this same NAKN tried to exclude the Communist Workers Party (CWP) from a February 2 demonstration in Greensboro protesting the murder of five of the CWP's own members on 3 November 1979. In fact, the AKN grew out of an anti-communist conference in Atlanta that December called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Kinoy's CCR, the National Council of Churches and the Inter-Faith Council of the Rev. Lucius Walker. A *New York Times* (18 November 1979) article reported the preachers' real concern: "They are

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Californ Bill Thr

There is a sinister legal trap being set in California, and much of the left is walking right into it cheering and clapping. Warning: on January 29 California attorney general George Deukmejian announced a proposed new bill to "outlaw extremist groups" which "advocate violence." Against the background of outrage over growing Ku Klux Klan/Nazi terror and provocation in California—particularly recent attacks against Jewish institutions in Los Angeles—there are promises that the proposed bill will be used only against fascists. Don't believe it. It is the left which is targeted.

The language of the bill ought to set off paddy-wagon sirens inside the heads of every leftist, black militant and trade unionist: "It shall be unlawful for any group or organization that knowingly and willfully advocates, teaches or encourages the commission of acts of violence and force...." Reporters at the news conference pointed out that the bill could be used against "unpopular groups"; one joked that it could even outlaw the Oakland Raiders football team. But for the left this proposed bill, modeled on the notorious witchhunting Smith Act, is no joke.

"Don't worry," says the right-wing Republican attorney general, "Trust me." Black State Senator Diane Watson, who intends to introduce the bill, promises it won't "impact on labor and non-violent civil rights groups" (*Oakland Tribune*, 30 January). The bill

Don't Rely on Bosses State!

What's Wrong With "Ban the Klan"

Ron Laytner

Mobilize Labor, Blacks to Smash Fascist Terror!

K Terror:

appealed to the mayor for legal action against the Hitler-lovers and held its own popular-frontist, non-confrontational" demo blocks away from the Nazis' announced site, a Spartacist-initiated demo drew 1,200 (more than three times as many), including contingents and representatives from two dozen unions, to occupy the front of City Hall.

Today It's "Anti-Fascist Unity"

While the various "constituencies" were "sharing experiences" in the workshops, the Stalinist organizers were papering over their quarrels in the name of "anti-fascist unity." Les Freedman of the Greensboro Justice Fund intoned from the podium, "We can heal these wounds between our coalitions. Both sides made errors." What wounds and errors? Only the initiated would know that barely a year ago this same NAKN tried to exclude the Communist Workers Party (CWP) from a February 2 demonstration in Greensboro protesting the murder of five of the CWP's own members on 3 November 1979. In fact, the AKN grew out of an anti-communist conference in Atlanta that December called by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Kinoy's CCR, the National Council of Churches and the Inter-Faith Council of the Rev. Lucius Walker. A *New York Times* (18 November 1979) article reported the preachers' real concern: "They are

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California Anti-"Extremists" Bill Threatens Left

There is a sinister legal trap being set in California, and much of the left is walking right into it cheering and clapping. Warning: on January 29 California attorney general George Deukmejian announced a proposed new bill to "outlaw extremist groups" which "advocate violence." Against the background of outrage over growing Ku Klux Klan/Nazi terror and provocation in California—particularly recent attacks against Jewish institutions in Los Angeles—there are promises that the proposed bill will be used only against fascists. Don't believe it. It is the left which is targeted.

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"Don't worry," says the right-wing Republican attorney general, "Trust me." Black State Senator Diane Watson, who intends to introduce the bill, promises it won't "impact on labor and non-violent civil rights groups" (*Oakland Tribune*, 30 January). The bill provides the legal framework for court tests, prison sentences, injunctions, demands for membership lists, contempt of court citations and years of litigation. Watson said an earlier draft of the bill provided that membership in an "extremist organization" would itself have been a felony. That provision, she says, has been dropped in favor of "go[ing] after the organizations" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 January). The bill would empower the attorney general or local DAs to get court orders to disband "extremist groups" and slap contempt of court charges on their officers and members. It also raises the penalty for defacing "someone else's property" with a swastika or cross.

When Robert Harris of the California Association of Black Lawyers and a drafter of the bill says that he is "fed up with the constitutional nonsense that has been going into advocating that nothing can be done to deal with racial violence" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 January), we can sympathize with his sentiments. In the name of the First Amendment, the "constitutionalists" of the ACLU have helped the fascists in court, refusing to recognize that the KKK/Nazis take to the streets not for "speech" but for race-terror. In Skokie, Illinois the ACLU went to court to help the stormtroopers with their plan to stage an anti-Semitic provocation in that community of death-camp survivors. No wonder civil-libertarian objections aren't cutting much ice with people who think Deukmejian & Co. have found a way to deal with the fascists.

But in this instance the California ACLU recognizes what the Deukmejian bill is all about. On February 1 Deukmejian stumped for his "anti-extremist" bill at a rally against anti-Semitism in San Bernardino Valley. *He did not mention the Klan once.* The ACLU's Brent Barnhard observed that those who favor the bill "have amazingly short memories. They should know that this sort of legislation has turned against people like themselves" (*Recorder*, 30 January). She pointed out that the proposed bill is "patterned after the Smith Act"—another law which was "supposed" to be directed against the Nazis (it was passed in 1940 as the U.S. was preparing to enter World War II) but was used to terrorize the left. Barnhard also noted the more recent California Terrorist Act of 1977, which was used against the United Farmworkers in San Diego. She could have added the infamous COINTELPRO counter-intelligence program, originally offered up as a measure to combat growing KKK/Nazi terror. In fact a few disruptions against fascist organizations were engineered by the government's secret police. But COINTELPRO's disruption of far-right terrorists was a cover for its real purpose as an instrument of vicious repression against the antiwar and militant black movements of the 1960s.

The official court calendar newspaper for San Francisco, the *Recorder* (9 February), reports that just last week the Second District Court of Appeals ruled as constitutional the 1977 California "terrorism act" which defines terrorism as "to create a climate of fear and intimidation by means of threats or violent action causing sustained fear [!] for personal safety *in order to achieve social or political goals*" (our emphasis). The case involved a Muslim man arrested on a marijuana charge who quoted "eye for an eye" passages from the Islamic code to the cops. The court ruled that this was "terrorism" and not "protected speech" under standards of the First Amendment because the Islamic code was "foreign to the precepts of the U.S."

The Communist Party which suffered most as victims of the Smith Act witchhunt greets the Deukmejian bill as a prime example of its strategy of relying on the government to "Ban the Klan": "The *People's World* has long been on record favoring the outlawing of the KKK, Nazis and similar groups. Public demand is now swinging more toward that view." The editorial praises the California bill as "historic, brought about by the demand of and outcry of millions," and calls for "a full scale campaign to secure their passage and then we can get on to the business of a national ban on the KKK and Nazis, and the illegalization of the teaching and all acts which foment anti-Semitism and racism" (*People's World*, 31 January).

WV Photo

San Francisco, April 19, 1980: Phone workers contingent spearheads labor/minority mobilization to stop Nazis from "celebrating" Hitler's birthday.

Deukmejian Targets the Left

Headlines in the *Oakland Tribune* read: "Deukmejian Takes on the Klan." But by the time it reached the *New York Times* it was: "Violent Groups Face Curb in California." Just which groups are these "violence prone" "outlaws"? And why does Deukmejian need a new law to deal with them? We don't have to guess. We know.

Why does the attorney general who says he wants to be governor in 1982 need a new law? After all, there are already any number of laws on the books that could be used to prosecute Klan/Nazi violence. Deukmejian claims that "the current laws do not provide law enforcement and concerned citizens with the tools that are needed to stop extremist groups" (*New York Times*, 1 February). But it wasn't because of the lack of laws that the Greensboro massacre became a legal licence to kill for the fascists. There is already a law against murder on the books. We call to jail the killer Klansmen for their cold-blooded, racist murder. But the capitalist state has given the KKK/Nazis a green light for terror while arresting anti-Klan demonstrators who survived the murderous attack.

The "law enforcement" Deukmejian wants is the legal framework for police action against the left, replacing the legally discredited Smith Act. The Smith Act and "Criminal Syndicalism" laws against "advocacy" were rendered moot by court decisions beginning in 1957. The Justice Department dropped hundreds of its cases against the Communist Party (CP). With a new "advocacy" law aimed at "terrorism," Deukmejian expects a new lease on legal witchhunting, with charges of "terrorism" replacing the old "advocacy to overthrow." The proposed bill instead talks about the "advocacy" of acts "which may result in death or great bodily injury." This means nearly anything could be prosecuted, from "advocacy" of a picket line to "encouraging" the future formation of workers defense guards against fascist attack. In fact every basic proposition of proletarian class struggle could be prosecuted under this bill.

Deukmejian "concedes" that "it is going to be difficult to get the kind of evidence that will hold up in court" (*Los Angeles Times*, 30 January). And this is precisely the project that Deukmejian has in mind for himself, the stuff of which witchhunters' careers are made—gathering the "evidence" through surveillance, provocation and disruption of leftist, black and labor groups. Deukmejian speaks openly of the need to "infiltrate" the "violence prone" groups and do "police undercover work." Is there anyone who does not know what that means? The attorney general has explained that he is "establishing a task force in his office to coordinate efforts against violent groups." Of course, the Red Squads, FBI and the rest of the government apparatus do it anyway, but this new law poses a dangerous escalation and legitimization of repression.

And just who is a "violence prone"

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Don't Rely on Bosses State!

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Ron Laytner

Mobilize Labor, Blacks to Smash Fascist Terror!

War President...

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over everything from El Salvador to Poland. As we pointed out in our last issue, Reagan & Co. have not so much a "domino theory" as a domino tactic: "From El Salvador to Nicaragua, to Cuba, to Poland, to the Soviet Union." It is not just the Spartacist League that says so; Reagan's own advisers see this clearly, witness a recent column by former Nixon staffer William Safire:

> "We could also buttress the Polish worker with the threat of an effective Western response to a Soviet invasion. The United States should let it be known that if the Russians are going to clean up their front yard, the Americans are going to clean up their back yard: instead of countering Nicaraguan aid to the rebels in El Salvador, we would help the friendlies defeat the Sandinists in Nicaragua, and put a cordon sanitaire around Cuba, which is fighting the Soviet Union's battles in Ethiopia and Angola."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 February

This is not just idle talk by an ex-Nixon speechwriter. The new U.S. ambassador to San Salvador is a former Pentagon official who spent recent months preparing for "a large military aid program for El Salvador, including military training teams" (they called them "advisers" in Vietnam). And on 6 February NBC-TV News reported State Department sources saying the U.S. was considering sending troops to Central America.

Draw the line in El Salvador, knock off Nicaragua, capitalist restoration in Cuba, again in Poland, then on to the Soviet Union: here we have the counter-revolutionary strategic perspective of the Reagan administration. But things have changed since the Cuban Revolution two decades ago. Should Washington again attempt to blockade Havana, the Kremlin could itself decide to "draw the line" at Berlin... or the Persian Gulf. The Soviet diplomat who negotiated the withdrawal of Russian missiles from Cuba in October 1962 remarked: "You Americans will never be able to do this to us again!" (Charles Bohlen, *Witness to History, 1929-1969*). Reagan's dreams of eyeballing it with Brezhnev aside, today the Soviet Union has the military muscle to back up its envoy's warning. In any such confrontation, Trotskyists pledge their unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

Aviation Week

Aimed at the Soviet Union.

Down with Détente Illusions!

In response to the Reagan/Haig diatribes, lifted straight out of J. Edgar Hoover's *Masters of Deceit*, Moscow pleaded innocence. It is a sad testimony to the destruction of Lenin's Bolshevik Party by Stalinism that imperialist accusations of "exporting revolution" are quite literally a slander. Even the *New York Times* (30 January) pointed out:

> "Mr. Reagan's description of Soviet leaders as seeking a 'one-world' Communist state was historically debatable. 'That was the view of Leon Trotsky, one of the early Soviet leaders who preached a doctrine of 'permanent revolution,' but since his downfall in 1926, Soviet leaders have generally espoused variations on the theme of what is now called 'peaceful coexistence' and have denied trying to foment 'world revolution'."

On the other hand, when top administration adviser Prof. Richard Pipes seeks to buttress Reagan's claim of Kremlin world revolutionary ambitions, he too refers back to Trotsky. In a round-table discussion on "Detente or Cold War" (*International Herald Tribune*, 29 January), the Harvard professor cites a letter to the Bolshevik Central Committee in August 1919 in which the founder of the Red Army remarks that, "the international situation is evidently shaping in such a way that the road to Paris and London lies via the towns of Afghanistan, the Punjab and Bengal" (from *The Trotsky Papers, 1917-1922*).

So the new regime in Washington is accusing Brezhnev & Co. of "Trotskyite deviations"! But the *Times* is right: Stalin's anti-Marxist dogma of "socialism in one country" meant abandoning the revolutionary internationalism of Lenin and Trotsky. In 1927, on Stalin's orders, the Chinese Communist Party subordinated itself to the bourgeois nationalist Kuomintang, and thousands of proletarian fighters were beheaded by Chiang Kai-shek, then an honorary member of the Stalinized Comintern. During the 1930s Stalin paralyzed the German proletariat in the face of rising fascism, then deliberately sabotaged the Spanish revolution in order not to frighten the "democratic" imperialists. After World War II revolutionary opportunities were scuttled in Italy and France as the Kremlin scrupulously heeded the Yalta agreements. Today Stalin's heirs carry on the same policy by a different name: whether "peaceful coexistence" or "détente," it means sacrificing workers revolution for the illusion of a deal with imperialism.

Their reward: Reaganite sabre rattling against "Russian imperialism" and Soviet "international terrorism," plus a mammoth Western arms build-up dragging out of the mothballs everything from the B-1 bomber to the neutron bomb. This is to be accomplished by a whopping $40 billion cut over the next two years in domestic social programs (food stamps, welfare, education, etc.) plus a $32 billion increase in the war budget. Thus the domestic consequences of Cold War II lead to a frontal assault on the labor movement and minorities, both economically and through race-terror/union-busting attacks spearheaded by the most virulent reactionary forces. The American working class and blacks must not fall for the vicious anti-Soviet war propaganda, which means their own ruin. But limp "butter vs. guns" economism is not enough to stop the brinksmen who think the stodgy Brezhnev is a fiery Trotsky. For it is not a matter of warmongering policies or mad bombers run amok, but of the war drive inherent in imperialism.

For decades the Stalinist bureaucrats have fostered illusions in a "peaceful" imperialism, a "democratic" capitalism. Only when forced by threats to their own stability and existence—as in Vietnam, or more recently Afghanistan—do they half-heartedly and defensively take up arms against the rapacious class enemy they otherwise seek to conciliate. Yet history teaches that Cold War is no temporary aberration but the essence of imperialism's unwavering determination to "roll back" the historic gains for mankind achieved by the October Revolution of 1917. Thus the fight against Reagan/Haig's policies can only be a class fight against capitalism. Thus also from an international perspective the battle over Central America today is not a question of some out-of-the-way "Third World" region beset by bloody tyrannical dictators, but a focal point for U.S. imperialism's global counterrevolutionary drive. Hence our slogan: the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador.

If in Russia of 1917, the question of socialist revolution was posed by the three slogans, "peace, land, bread," then in America today it comes down to: fight the Klan/Nazis, respect picket lines, defend the Soviet Union. And, of course, the necessary conclusion—for a revolutionary proletarian dictatorship, without which the imperialists will sooner or later reduce the world to nuclear rubble. As the Trotskyists have repeatedly stressed, the choice today is between socialism and irradiated barbarism. ■

Heikes/UPI

Butcher Chun and his Uncle Sam.

Butchers...

(continued from page 1)

stamped out resistance with an iron heel. He jailed the most popular, best-known bourgeois oppositionist, Kim Dae Jung and later sentenced him to death. When Kim's hometown province erupted in full scale revolt, Chun ordered the U.S.-trained army to crush the revolt with maximum brutality. In the city of Kwangju 200,000 students and workers battled the troops for nine days. Korean oppositionists charge that 2,000 people were slaughtered.

As testimony to Chun's "commitment to freedom," Amnesty International reports that during the three months beginning May 1980 the government closed 617 publishing firms and 172 periodicals, "detained" 34 journalists for "interrogation" and fired 400 journalists for "lacking anti-Communist zeal" (*Amnesty International*, December 1980). The liberal Korean opposition party estimates that 25,000 have been arrested since Chun took power.

As soon as Chun got invited to the White House he announced that his political opponent's death sentence would be changed to life in prison (for now anyway). And Haig requested that Congress suppress their annual "report card" on human rights because Chun's grades were not expected to be passing in human decency. The report, said a State Department spokesman, would be "too controversial."

But if Chun was assured a warm welcome from the U.S., this hated despot could expect a different reception from the Koreans of the U.S., many of whom are family and friends of his victims. So the Korean CIA prepared the way by sending threatening letters to the U.S. Koreans saying their families' "honor," i.e., safety at home, was at stake if they didn't show up to wave the flag when Chun arrived. Corporations doing business with South Korea (the U.S.' 12th biggest trade partner) spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on 16 full-page ads in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* praising a "new era of Korea-U.S. friendship." But despite the efforts of the KCIA, protesters showed up in Washington, Los Angeles and New York with the message: "Chun is a Murderer." In Los Angeles the KCIA-connected Moonies were mobilized to attack anti-Chun demonstrators.

And what is the content of this "new era of Korea-U.S. friendship"? It's military hardware and U.S. troops. North Korea, says the Reagan/Haig gang, can attack "any minute." Thus they justify the brutal regime of Chun and fortify this anti-Soviet arsenal. "I hope you'll understand," Reagan told Chun, "that the United States will remain a reliable Pacific partner." This means that the 40,000 U.S. troops Carter pledged to remove when he took office (but never did) will remain. And the F-16s are on the way. ■

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Chrysler Workers:

"Don't Let It Shut Down—Sit Down!"

DETROIT, February 3—"That does it. We'll make it," sighed United Auto Workers (UAW) president Doug Fraser when it became clear that the union bureaucracy had delivered the membership vote to slash auto workers' wages and benefits at Chrysler. The contract vote, announced at a press conference today, was 26,942 in favor and 18,859 against—more than 40 percent voting "no." Considering that there are 120,000 active and laid-off Chrysler workers, this means the sweetheart deal was passed with only 22 percent of the eligible vote! While Chrysler workers wonder how they will "make it" with a devastating pay cut March 1 in addition to continued mass layoffs, UAW vice president Marc Stepp boasted to reporters that "we have always been a responsible union" and he was "exceedingly pleased."

The bureaucracy succeeded this time by intimidation: workers at failing plants like Jefferson Assembly, Eldon Gear and Axle and Mack Avenue Stamping, their jobs hanging by a thread and seeing no strategy to win, gave in to company blackmail. And of course many of the thousands of laid-off workers, deliberately forgotten and discouraged by Solidarity House, did not even bother to vote.

But Chrysler is only round one: Ford and GM are preparing now to reopen their contracts for similar concessions. Last week, GM president F. James McDonald, commenting on the Chrysler contract, told a reporter: "I'm sure we're going to have conversations along those lines.... And I don't think we're going to wait around until 1982" (*Detroit Free Press*, 28 January).

Despite the bureaucrats' hard sell, there was resistance: the big assembly plant in Belvedere, Illinois voted the pact down by more than a two-to-one margin, and stiff opposition came from "defense" plant and Canadian workers. The leaflet printed below calling for sit-down strikes, distributed by militants from UAW Locals 600 and 140, received enthusiastic responses especially at Chrysler's Lynch Road plant, which is scheduled to close in April. (One Lynch worker reportedly remarked that the only thing the leaflet lacked was the date for a sit-down strike.)

So the contract vote is in and Solidarity House says the Chrysler takeaways passed by a narrow margin. It settles nothing. Even with a gun to your heads, thousands of Chrysler workers voted against the government/company blackmail and displayed a desire to fight. What is lacking is a strategy to win—but there is such a strategy: the sit-down strike.

We are a group of militants from Chrysler Dodge Truck Local 140 and Ford Rouge Local 600 who are here because Chrysler workers are on the front lines of a battle not just for their own jobs and financial security, but that of all autoworkers, city workers and organized and unorganized labor throughout the country. The Rouge Militant Caucus, which was formed after successfully driving out two Klan-hooded foremen at the Rouge last year, knows that we all have a stake in this fight. Like the brothers from Local 140, we have fought for sitdown strikes against layoffs and plant closings since the announcement of the Dodge Main closing a year and a half ago. We are all in a battle for our union and our lives.

The solutions of surrender like the bailout scheme have only imposed devastation on working families throughout the country. If there were a betting pool, which of you would wager on having a job next year? Look at Dodge Main. If the government and the auto barons have their way, Detroit will become a ghost town!

Our jobs are on the line whether Chrysler survives or not. Now Fraser announced that Lynch Road will close in April. The cost of these concessions isn't only wage slashing and union-busting, it's also thousands of Chrysler workers thrown into the streets with no prospects of a job in Reagan's America. We've let Doug Fraser and his cronies on the Chrysler Board of Directors spin our wheel of fortune—no wonder we are handed defeat after defeat! For many of us, there's nothing left to lose. We want our jobs! We can fight for them in the same way we built our union in the thirties—the sitdown.

Once taking the plant, we're sitting on $100's of millions of machinery. That's a real bargaining position to demand the junking of all concessions and restoration of parity with GM and Ford workers. For those laid off we demand unlimited unemployment benefits and government-guaranteed SUB and pension benefits. A sitdown against Ayatollah Iacocca and the government would win immediate support from every worker in Detroit, employed and unemployed. It could be the spark that ignites the workers in this city into a full scale fight against the Chrysler blackmail, and a fight for jobs for all through a shorter work week with no loss in pay.

The government and Chrysler want to close down plants and sell them to pay off the banks and the stockholders. Why should they get the loot from their failures? We have spent our lives sweating blood in these plants. If the plants have to be sold, not a penny should go to Chrysler. The workers occupying the plant should hold an auction to sell off the machinery, metal, cars, everything. And the proceeds could be distributed to Chrysler union members on the basis of one share per year seniority.

Brothers and sisters, we do not have to lie down and die. We still have the power that built our union in the first place—let's use it! Don't let it shut down! SIT DOWN!■

Poland...

(continued from page 5)

December *Pravda* again protested U.S. financial support to the Polish unions, pointing out that the AFL-CIO frequently acts as a conduit for the CIA. Washington cried slander. Yet this is a well-established fact, ever since the post-World War II years when the AFL operative Irving Brown doled out hundreds of thousands of CIA dollars to split the West European labor movement and thus undermine Communist influence.

It is also a fact that the AFL-CIO has done little or nothing to support workers' organizations in savage capitalist police states friendly to U.S. imperialism—South Africa, El Salvador, Chile, South Korea, the list is endless. On the contrary, AFL-CIO largesse has been consistently directed against left-wing governments. The notorious "American Institute for Free Labor Development" (AIFLD), a long-standing joint project with such blood-sucking multinationals as United Fruit and ITT, has been responsible for (and bragged about) "destabilizing" elected governments like the nationalist Goulart in Brazil in 1964 and "Marxist" Allende in Chile in 1973. (In his book, *Inside the Company*, ex-CIA agent Philip Agee describes the AIFLD as a "C.I.A.-controlled labor center financed through A.I.D. [the U.S. Agency for International Development].")

Significantly, the June 1980 *Free Trade Union News* ran a front-page article lauding the AIFLD's "land reform" in El Salvador (locally known as "reform by death") written by its architect, Ray Prosterman, whose previous credits include the "Phoenix Project" for mass assassination of leftists in Vietnam. And when two AIFLD men were recently killed by right-wing gunmen in San Salvador, one of them, Michael Hammer, was given a special "hero's burial" in Arlington National Cemetery. Shortly after, the U.S. solicitor general (attempting to justify the lifting of Agee's passport) revealed that the AIFLD pair were working "under cover" (*New York Times*, 15 January). It's no wonder that the AFL-CIO is known in Latin America as the "AFL-CIA."

Such "labor"-flavored imperialist subversion is not limited to Latin America. The AIFLD has since spawned the Africa-American Labor Center, the Asian-American Free Labor Centers and, since 1978, the Europe-based Free Trade Union Institute (FTUI). FTUI director is the same old Irving Brown. As for FTUI president Lane Kirkland, while George Meany used to boast he "never walked a picket line," his successor could brag that he was never even a worker. A graduate of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service in Washington, the long-time AFL-CIO *treasurer* served on the post-Watergate Rockefeller Commission on the CIA (which did not mention its labor ties), worked with Nelson Rockefeller in AIFLD and with brother David at the Trilateral Commission. *He* may have a friend at Chase Manhattan, but he's no friend of Polish workers.

What $olidarity?

Some liberal and leftish trade unionists may oppose the AFL-CIO's notorious activities in Latin America, but still see nothing wrong with its supporting the Polish unions. Pseudo-leftist groups even call for such "aid"—for example, the social-democratic International Socialists who write, "We hope the Polish workers will gratefully accept the western union leaders' money and courteously reject their advice" (*Changes*, December 1980/January 1981). Such illusions in "no strings attached" Western support are also spread by the German fake-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten, which has been campaigning for the DGB trade-union federation to show "Solidarity with Solidarność." Yet the DGB is led by the same Social Democrats who served as a funnel for CIA money to Portugal in 1975 and whose infamous Ostbüro was for years a vehicle for imperialist meddling in East Europe!

On the other hand, it's no accident that the Solidarność leaders have awakened such "disinterested" financial support from the West. This is no bread-and-butter trade union, simply fighting for better wages, hours and working conditions. And the wily old CIA-connected operators in AFL-CIO headquarters know this. They understand that the group around Lech Walesa and many of the local activists see themselves as leading a Catholic-nationalist-inspired revolt against Soviet-imposed "Communism." This is especially clear from their wholehearted support to "Rural Solidarity," even threatening a general strike on behalf of this peasant group whose demands point toward full restoration of capitalism in the countryside.

Solidarność leader Walesa's links to counterrevolutionary forces go above all through the Roman Catholic church. "I am a union man and not a socialist," he says, adding that "without my religion I would be a dangerous man" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 16 November 1980). And he doesn't just pray to the "Queen of Poland" (the Virgin Mary) for counsel; his advisers are largely drawn from the associates of Cardinal Wyszynski. When Walesa recently paid a triumphal visit to the Vatican, receiving honors usually reserved for heads of states, John Paul Wojtyla assured his disciple he had aided Solidarność "in every way discreetly possible." When the time is ripe, of course, the Polish pope could be a powerful rallying point for capitalist restoration—and then his intervention would be anything but discreet.

The Polish proletariat has historically had a strong Marxian socialist tradition. The forces of clericalism and nationalism were never predominant among industrial workers. It is a devastating condemnation of Stalinism that after 30 years of so-called "socialism," much of the Polish working class now looks to the Vatican for salvation and to the "AFL-CIA" for financial support.

As Trotskyists, however, we do not write off the Polish proletariat, consigning it to the camp of clerical-nationalist reaction. The central task for a revolutionary communist vanguard in Poland today would be to *split* the new union movement politically, winning over the mass of workers from the Catholic church-led forces. Key elements for a revolutionary program in Poland are the strict separation of church and state, the promotion of agricultural collectivization, defense of the Soviet-bloc bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states against Western imperialism, and proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

In the intervention in Poland the pro-capitalist union bureaucrats of the U.S. and West Europe are essentially acting as instruments of their imperialist masters, whether or not the money comes directly from the CIA. Strengthening the connection between the clerical-nationalist Solidarność leadership and the AFL-CIO (or, for that matter, the social-democratic West German DGB) only increases the potential for counterrevolution. For these are the direct conduits of capitalism-imperialism into the Polish workers movement. American trade unionists who want to serve the *real*, class interests of the Polish workers must demand: AFL-CIO Tops—Hands Off Poland!■

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Nazis Vandalize Wiesenthal Center in L.A.

Mobilize Against Anti-Semitic Terror !

LOS ANGELES—In the L.A. area an unholy alliance of racist capitalist politicians has begun pushing "anti-extremist" laws of their own to match California attorney general Deukmejian's bill. Legislation to ban "hate groups" is no answer to KKK/Nazi violenec, but there is indeed an urgent need for action to stop this terror. The past weeks and months have seen a stream of anti-Semitic attaeks:

- Two self-proclaimed Nazi nightriders set a Temple City synagogue ablaze.
- Three Jewish cemeteries have been extensivcly desecrated.
- In the early morning hours of January 7, the Simon Wiesenthal Center for Holoeaust Studies in West L.A. was defaced with Nazi slogans: "Simon is a Murderer," "Death to All Jews, Beware the SS is Coming," and "Nationalist Socialist White Peoples Party Awake."

On January 25, 2,000 people rallied for a ceremonial "cleansing" of the Nazi slogans and swastikas painted on the walls of the Wiesenthal Center. The Nazi-hunter flew from Vienna to participate. Apart from a ritual cleansing, the only other "action" proposed was the cireulation of a petition calling on Ronald Reagan (the Klan's favored candidate) to form a blue ribbon commission to blueprint ways to deal with "extremists." And who occupied the most honored seat next to the courageous Wiesenthal? Newly elected congressman Bobbie Fiedler, the founder of the anti-integration group Bus-Stop!

WV Photo

Los Angeles, January 25: Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal speaks at Holocaust Center.

Fiedler said she was submitting legislation making it a "crime for 'hate groups' to cross state lines to violate the civil rights of individuals or eause harm to private or public institutions." But when Bobbie Fiedler talks about "hate groups" she includes busloads of hlack ehildren who want a dccent edueation. Genuine race-hatc groups like Bus-Stop and the paramilitary South Boston Marshals have been the cutting edge of raeist reaetion in this country and have aeeclerated the growth of fascist outfits like the Klan and Nazis. It is outrageous for this anti-busing bigot to now promote herself as a champion of the fight against anti-Semitism. Suffice it to say, if the fascists had their way blacks and Jews would be on the same trains.

As if to spit on this symbolic "cleansing" at the Wiesenthal Center, the very next day a temple in the Valley was defaced with the slogan, "Die, Jew Boys, Die." Nazi flyers distributed in the predominantly Jewish Fairfax neighborhood of L.A. have threatened a march in that area. This threat must be taken seriously. It cannot be met with witchhunt legislation that will boomerang against the fascists' intended victims. Nothing less than a powerful and united labor/minority mobilization in Los Angeles will stop these Nazi provocations.

Reformist Answer...

(continued from page 6)

fearful that the [Greensboro] killings might provide Communist groups with a foothold among poor, Southern blacks whom they have not been suceessful in recruiting over the years."

So there is bad blood aplenty between NAKN and the CWP/Greensboro Justice Front. But since then the CWP has oscillated from its frenzied-adventurist phase to its "broad unity" equinox while SCLC leaders Josea Williams and Ralph Abernathy havc gone over to bear-hugging Reagan. With the SCLC more or less out of the picture, the people running the NAKN appear to be grouped around the National Anti-Racist Organizing Committee, the vehicle of Irwin Silber's Line of March group and its neither-Russia-nor-China "anti-revisionist trend" (see "Where Is the 'Trend' Going?" in *WV* No. 273, 30 January 1981). So in thc name of fighting sectarianism the anti-communist exclusion of last February is to be forgotten and all red-baiting is supposed to stop. Unless, of course, someone challenges their defeatist program of "anti-fascist" class collaboration. Then the knives come out in a hurry.

The NAKN organizers had allowed no time for discussion during the two-day conference, obviously intended as a rally for their "Spring Offensive." But when the Shachtmanite social-democratic Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) ran around threatening a floor fight over "democracy," the chair finally allotted 90 minutes for debate. However, the RSL's demands were so soft and vague—"unite to fight racist terror," "fight for jobs" and "expose government collaboration" with the fascists—that the session chairman, NAROC's Phil Gardiner, remarked, "To be frank, we don't see much difference." But a fight did ensue over reliance on the capitalist government, so the Stalinists pulled out all the stops: a "Third World" woman race-baited the RSL, an NAKN board member denounced them for "disrupting," a Trender red-baited them. To all of which the RSL replied, "Despite our differences" they would "go forward together" and "build the strongest, most effeetive mass anti-Klan movement"—precisely on the program of posteard campaigns and Congressional lobbying they had opposed! The bankruptcy of these tame left critics couldn't be clearer.

The axis of the National Anti-Klan Network's "new strategy" is appealing to the supposedly "neutral" state to come to the aid of embattled minorities. But when it came to the high point of the conference, it turned out that keynote speaker Congressman John Conyers was absent. Conyers was so damn "neutral" that he wouldn't even grace their popular front for fear of compromising the "objectivity" of his hearings! For Marxists this is no surprise: popular fronts with the "progressive" bourgeoisie didn't stop fascism in the '30s, so why should they now? As we wrote in "Anti-Klan Network Doesn't Fight Fascism" (*WV* No. 273, 30 January 1981), the Trotskyists counterpose to this recycled bloc with discredited Democrats a class-struggle program "to mobilize the power of labor and blacks to smash the KKK/Nazis as part of the struggle for socialist revolution." As Trotsky wrote of Germany as Hitler stood before the door, proletarian revolution is "the only way" to smash fascism. ■

Anti- "Extremist"...

(continued from page 7)

group according to Deukmejian? The *New York Times* refers to the California attorney general's "Annual Report to the California Legislature" for 1979. In Part II on "Terrorism," Deukmejian makes clear who is targeted. The report whitewashes the KKK/Nazis. It downplays their threat to blacks and Jews, instead focusing on the "extremists of the left," who are even held responsible for creating the danger of KKK/Nazi terror:

> "The danger, therefore, lies not in their [KKK/Nazis'] strength, but in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left. That ability was evident when eight Nazis holding their rally on October 13, 1979 in Walnut Creek drew no fewer than 1200 counter-demonstrators."

Following a pattern of "law enforcement" applauded by Deukmejian, the Nazis at Walnut Creek had hundreds of cops, helicopters, dogs, special tactical squads to protect their racist provocation and to arrest the anti-Nazi demonstrators.

This report is a classic attempt to use thc terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left. Besides the KKK/Nazis, some motorcycle gangs like the Hell's Angels, some fascistic prison gangs like the Aryan Brotherhood, etc., the report also brands as "terrorists" various so-called "extremists on the left"—including the Spartacist League:

> "*Left-Wing*: Extreme left-wing groups, primarily the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the International Committee Against Racism (INCAR), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the Communist Workers' Party, along with the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), the Spartacist League and various self-proclaimed militant caucuses of labor unions emerged in 1979 as yet another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal. So close are their radical ideology and advocacy of violence that members of one group often are also members of several others. They exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible. Their propaganda literature is highly inflammatory, and their activities range from counter-demonstrations against right-wing extremists to urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occupation by force of federal office buildings. Members often travel widely in California and out-of-state in order to attend rallies sponsored by their groups, and many of them have been convicted several times for assaults on peace officers, inciting to riot, battery and carrying concealed weapons."

The purpose is clear. These so-called "terrorists" are proclaimed outside the law, targets to be treated militarily. Now there may be those on the list who feel some sort of macho pride in making Deukmejian's hit list. For all we know, the nutty cult of Bob Avakian may think it is a sign of their imminent revolutionary potential that they have been selected while the CP and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) reformists were omitted. But we know better.

We are not terrorists, but Marxist revolutionists who oppose terrorism as a futile, despairing strategy that has turned away from the struggle for mass proletarian revolution. We will not be branded as terrorist criminals without a full-fledged political and legal fight. And because everybody knows we are not terrorists, we are in the best position to make that fight. We have said it before: we do not intend to be among the nameless, faceless victims to be blown away quietly in the night. With all the political, legal and moral resources at our disposal, we will fight this slanderous effort to set us up for government violence.

What's Wrong with "Ban the Klan" Laws?

The Deukmejian bill cites two legal precedents for the authority to outlaw organizations for "advocacy" of violence. It concedes that *Brandenburg v. Ohio* (1969) shows that "mere advocacy or abstract teachings cannot be punished." But it insists that *Scales v. United States* (1961) proves "that there is no constitutional right to maintain active membership in any organization whose known purpose is to teach, advocate or encourage lawless action." Are these two cases contradictory? Not at all. For Brandenburg was a Klansman and Scales was a Communist.

Brandenburg was a leader of the Ohio KKK, arrested and convicted in 1968 for a speech threatening the president, Congress and the Supreme Court for "suppress[ing] the white Caucasian race." In 1969 the Supreme Court overturned his conviction, saying that advocacy was not punishable except when it "is directed to inciting or producing imminent lawless action."

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Junius Scales was the CP's secretary for North and South Carolina. He was arrested for the crime of "knowing membership" under the Smith Act in 1954, tried in Greensboro in 1955, convicted and sentenced to *six years*. When the Smith Act prosecutions began to be reversed, Scales' conviction was dismissed on appeal. But he was *re*arrested in 1958, *re*tried in North Carolina, again convicted and again sentenced to six years. In 1961 the case came before the Supreme Court, which upheld the verdict on the basis of "knowing membership." Scales was never accused of any violent act, merely of membership in the CP.

This is the legal precedent for the new "anti-extremist" bill which the CP says is a "Ban the Klan" law! And the precedent is no accident. The overwhelming weight of historical example demonstrates that it is the left and not the right which is persecuted for "advocating," "teaching," "encouraging." When the fascists *are* harassed by the government (for example, the sedition trials during World War II) it is the exception. The left, on the other hand, is almost always harassed for their ideas, not for violent acts. And the reason is obvious. The capitalists are not threatened by the ideas of the Klan/Nazis. Bourgeois circles generally find the fascists too grimy and vulgar for the moment. Some may honestly object to disgusting race hate. But the *speech* they must try to shut up is that which issues from the class struggle on the proletarian side of the barricades.

Why the CP Can't Learn from History

In supporting what they take to be "Ban the Klan" legislation, the CP cannot be expected to be Marxists, to possess an adequate evaluation of historical experience, even their own experience. But why do they seem to lack the most elemental reflex of self-defense? This is not the first time that the CP has hailed such a law. In 1941 the Smith Act's first victims, the leadership of the then-Trotskyist SWP, were prosecuted. The CP said that these revolutionary defeatists who did not support the Great Patriotic War to End Fascism were "fifth columnists" who deserved to be jailed. Of course, by the late 1940s and into the 1950s it was the CP which was brutally victimized under the "anti-fascist" Smith Act. By the end of 1956 there had been 145 Smith Act indictments of CP members, leading to 108 convictions. Combined sentences totaled 418 years with fines of nearly half a million dollars.

In 1934 the preeursor of HUAC, the anti-Communist Dies Committee, was masking itself as an "anti-fascist" committee. Writing about the Dies Committee, Leon Trotsky pointed out:

> "The outlawing of fascist groups would inevitably have a fictitious character.... Under the conditions of the bourgeois regime, all suppression of political rights and freedom, no matter whom they are directed against in the beginning, in the end inevitably bear down upon the working class, particularly its most advanced elements. That is a law of history."
>
> —*Writings* [1939-1940]

Of course, after the McCarthyites got started, the CP got a little wiser. In the 1950s, CP pamphlets sagely observed that "Believe it or not, the way Dies got the OK from Congress was by offering to use the committee to investigate native Nazis" ("Smear and Run"). And today the CP is "self-critical" of its original support to Smith Act repression. But they continue the very same thing today. Why can't they learn?

Like fated characters in an ancient tragedy the CP repeats the same deadly pattern. It is not stupidity, and it is certainly not innocence. It is politics. The CP campaign to "Ban the Klan" is the programmatic extension of their desire for a class-collaborationist alliance with the "progressive bourgeoisie." The idea of an "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie and even an "anti-fascist" capitalist state is fundamental to Stalinism, ever since the popular-front congress of 1935. They yearn for the "good old days" of World War II and FDR. They quote anti-fascist sentences from the Potsdam Treaty and the UN. For the CP the McCarthy period must be seen as an aberration. The popular front "against fascism" has been the CP's historical model since the mid-'30s. Behind the campaign to "Ban the Klan" and the support for the Deukmejian "anti-extremist" bill is an appetite to reform the capitalist state into an "anti-fascist, anti-racist, anti-monopoly" state.

Now the U.S. is entering a period of heightening anti-Soviet hostility. The sinister General Haig recently told reporters that the Russians' supposed "international terrorism will take the place of human rights in our concern." The KKK/Nazis are growing at the fringes of the new Cold War drive. Still the CP cannot catch which way the wind is blowing. But as soon as Strom Thurmond took over the Senate Judiciary Committee he created a new subcommittee on "security and terrorism" to take up the broken tradition of McCarthy's SISS and HUAC. When cities muttered objections to starting up this witchhunt machinery again, Thurmond responded: "There is a valid role for the subcommittee to examine the role of the Soviet government in influencing U.S. policy." Does the CP need to wonder who is the natural target for persecution as "terrorist agents" of this "terrorist superpower"?

The Power of Labor Must Smash the Klan!

That there is some base of support among blacks, liberals and leftists for government "anti-fascist" repression is due in no small measure to the "consistent civil libertarians" like the ACLU and SWP who uphold "free speech for fascists." When the SWP refuses to confront the fascists in the streets, when it boasts that it "debated" Klansman Tom Metzger on TV, it drives black people into the arms of the sinister Deukmejian, who promises to outlaw the deadly race-terrorists.

As Leninists we know that the state is ultimately the instrument of class terror. The capitalist state can never become class-neutral, much less "anti-fascist." Strategies that call on the capitalist state to "Ban the Klan" prepare the ground for anti-left witchhunts while they disarm the working class and minorities whose organized strength is the only way to stop the fascists. We work to mobilize the power of the labor movement to keep the KKK/Nazis off the streets as we did in exemplary actions in Detroit (November 1979) and San Francisco (April 1980).

The capitalists need the fascists in the wings. They are meant to be the shock troops against the proletarian movement at a time of acute social crisis. The struggle between the fascists and the workers/blacks will not be decided in the courtroom, or at a TV debate. It is a matter of life and death and no matter where the battle starts it will end in the streets. As American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon said in 1938:

> "Force is the argument of the advance guard of American fascism. Woe to the workers of America if they do not learn in time to talk the same language."
>
> —*Socialist Appeal*, 9 July 1938

That too is a "law of history." And the political preparation for that fight today and in the future is an important part of the struggle to build the party of proletarian revolution. ■

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Sit-Ins...

(continued from page 12)

With the union running the phone system, one worker commented, "This is the most pleasant day I've spent in this place in my three years here."

The TWUers—traffic, clerical and plant—have loudly proclaimed their determination to win. They know that if their occupation is ended without a decisive victory that B.C. Tel will lock them out and keep the highly automated phone system more or less running with management scabs. The company indicated its intentions on February 5 when they staged what one unionist described as a "mock fire drill" in an attempt to empty the crucial main long lines facility in downtown Vancouver. One of the occupation leaders in Prince George, when asked by an *SC* reporter if they'll stay put, replied:

> "I've got no option. I've either got to do this or lose my house.... I can't afford six months on the bricks or four months on the bricks. I've got to have some bargaining power. So as far as I'm concerned, we're here to stay."

Unfortunately, the TWU leadership doesn't share this perspective. Supervisors and company security have been allowed to remain in most of the occupied buildings. TWU president Bill Clark has told the public not to pay their phone bills, but the billing equipment is still running. While threatening "passive resistance" to any attempts at forcibly ending the occupation, Clark and the TWU Executive have not established mass pickets *outside* the occupied centers to seal them off. Clark's "strategy" meant nine months of working without a contract with not even a strike vote, and he leapt to accept the Peck report, offering to extend its terms for an extra year.

The most serious blow came after the TWU button suspensions when Clark & Co. simply folded and tried to take the matter to arbitration. The TWU membership had a different response: they spontaneously walked off the job in the hundreds. Phone workers desperately need a new leadership committed to a program of victory through some good old-fashioned class struggle. As *Spartacist Canada* wrote in its January/February issue:

> "The TWU can win, and win big. Effective mass occupations backed up by the solidarity of the entire labor movement as part of all-out strike action could turn the tables. Demanding the expropriation of B.C. Tel with not one penny going to the phone bosses, the TWU could garner widespread public support. But these are the tactics of struggle, not capitulation."

Sick and tired of B.C. Tel management's attempts at union-busting, the TWU has long been demanding that the phone company be turned into a "Crown corporation," a semi-autonomous operation. Anti-American sentiment runs deep as workers feel that the U.S. parent company pulls all the strings but has no contact with the workers. A Crown corporation is also what the social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) offers as a panacea. Given that it was Dave Barrett's NDP that staged the largest strikebreaking action *ever* in British Columbia back in 1975—ruthlessly smashing a forest workers strike, as well as sending supermarket employees, Teamsters and trainmen back to work without the right to strike—TWUers ought to be wary of such a proposal from the start.

While the TWU leadership temporizes the employers are preparing a counteroffensive. Injunctions are starting to fly and no doubt the RCMP has already planned assaults on phone centers and picket lines. The British Columbia labor movement, the most militant and class-conscious section of the English-speaking North American proletariat, can turn back the capitalists' attack. United workers action can rid B.C. of anti-labor legislation, whether Socred- or NDP-inspired, and win the demands of all the striking unions. With cross-Canada political impact and ties to workers up and down the coast through common unions such as longshore, a militant response here could have reverberations continent-wide.

For the union brass and various left groups, the maximum goal in this strike is for a "Crown corporation" to replace the U.S.-owned company. But Canadian bosses for Canadian workers will not stop layoffs, speed-up and harassment. B.C. phone strikers must take up transitional demands striking at the heart of the capitalist system of profits for the bosses and crumbs for the workers. In the battle for public support they should dump the billing records and declare *free phone service* for the duration of TWU management. While they're at it, *open the company's books* to reveal the real financial state of affairs, and demand *expropriation without compensation* of B.C. Tel. Should the struggle escalate, this occupation could become the beginnings of *workers control*. And in the face of double-digit inflation and unemployment the strikers should demand a big wage boost, full COLA, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay: in short, the *sliding scale of wages and hours*.

Such aims can only be really secured through socialist economic planning by a workers government that expropriates the bourgeoisie. The social-democratic NDP will undoubtedly try to make electoral hay out of this strike to bring down the anti-union Socred government. But Barrett has nothing to offer except more strikebreaking, and perhaps the sop of a "Crown corporation." No less reformist is the Communist Party, which is content to give a slightly more militant face to the NDP's "social democracy in one province" or even "one municipal council." The road to a revolutionary workers government lies through the construction of a Trotskyist party which can lead labor's struggles to victory rather than bowing to capitalist legalism or diverting them into reformist dead-ends.

B.C. Tel workers: show the way! No injunctions, contempt citations or fines! All out to smash the anti-labor laws! ■

CIA/AIFLD...

(continued from page 3)

about the sanctity of the single-issue committee—i.e., the AIFLD was not a relevant issue! Needless to say, the SL-DC and TOC satellites did not see this as any reason to politically split, and they didn't—the SL-DC even tried to present a motion to make the committee more "democratic."

The action of Johnson & Co. was no surprise. These were virtually the same people who formed the "labor support" coalition to squash sympathy strikes for the coal miners in 1978, who subsequently let the OCAW oil workers strike go down without lifting a finger and recently refused to mobilize labor to defend blacks against the KKK in Contra Costa County. So once again they refused to turn the ILWU's paper boycott of military goods to El Salvador into a working-class challenge of Reagan's imperialist threats. Today they may gavel down proposals for real action. But when the American working class moves, it will be remembered who were the labor fakers that covered for the counterrevolutionaries of the CIA/AIFLD. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"We've Got You Hostage Now"

Sit-Ins Sweep British Columbia Telephone

VANCOUVER, February 7—Fourteen months without a contract, harassment, suspensions, threats of a lock-out: phone workers in British Columbia have had it. So this week 10,000 members of the Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) across the province occupied every major B.C. Telephone Co. installation around the clock, keeping the phones working but "Under New Management—TWU." From Vancouver to Prince George TWUers are saying, as one shop steward put it to *Spartacist Canada*, "We'll stay until we get a goddamned contract."

B.C. Tel has run to the courts, demanding injunctions, contempt citations and huge fines against the union. But the signs outside the Nanaimo plant on Vancouver Island tell the story: "Possession is 9/10ths of the law," "The workers made you, the workers can break you" and "Ayatollah MacFarlane [B.C. Tel chairman], we've got you hostage now."

The fuse is lit in British Columbia. Municipal workers in towns and cities throughout the province, including 11,000 in greater Vancouver, are out on strike facing court-ordered limits on picketing as scab trucks crash through the lines. Hundreds of area bus drivers wildcatted yesterday and the strike could spread to all Vancouver's mass transit. The teachers' federation is threatening to strike against vicious government take-away demands and the contracts of labor's main battalions—steel, wood, mines—expire soon. And today, B.C. Federation of Labor president Jim Kinnaird proclaimed at a press conference, "The gloves are off.... We're declaring industrial relations war." If the cops, courts and company try to break the TWU's occupation, the entire labor movement must rally behind them with a province-wide general strike. An injury to one is an injury to all!

B.C. Tel is notorious for its anti-union arrogance. It took a bitter 81-day strike to force management to sign the last contract, and since it expired the company has been on a concerted campaign of threats, provocations and intimidation. Amazing even bourgeois commentators, B.C. Tel ostentatiously rejected the recommendations of federal conciliator Ed Peck whose September 8 report offered a miserly wage increase while sidestepping the crucial issues of contracting-out and jurisdiction. Two TWUers were so fed up that one month later they took over the Prince George central switching office for 12 hours to express their "frustration, anger and bitterness" (*Vancouver Sun*, 20 October 1980). They rigged buckets of water over the computers so that they would spill if anyone were foolish enough to storm the offices.

In December, TWUers wore buttons demanding a government takeover: "Crown Corporation Now—TWU." Management struck hard, suspending hundreds of workers in a blatant provocation. Thirteen workers in Nanaimo were suspended indefinitely over the last few weeks for "low productivity." Prince George linemen, currently on occupation duty, reported to *Spartacist Canada* that Company supervisors invaded TWUers' homes to fire them in front of their wives and children. In Burnaby a lineman was laid off just five days short of retirement after 30 years. The last straw at one plant was management ordering a female shop steward home for wearing a pro-union T-shirt. TWUers responded by marching from department to department, gathering strength to occupy the entire facility.

continued on page 11

Spartacist Canada

Phone workers occupy B.C. telephone installations in province-wide sit-down strike.

Spartacist Canada

"An Inspiration to All Phone Workers"

West Coast Phone Workers Send Support Telegram

Brothers and sisters of the TWU—Solidarity with your sitdown strike against B.C. Tel's union-busting provocation. Your militancy is an inspiration to all phone workers. Victory to the TWU and CUPE strikers. All out to defeat government strikebreaking.

Militant Action Caucus in the
Communications Workers of America.
Locals 9410 and 11502

Sit-In Sold Out

VANCOUVER, February 10—Last night TWU president Bill Clark stabbed his union in the back. Capitulating in the face of a provincial supreme court contempt citation, Clark called off the powerful and dramatic occupation of B.C. Telephone buildings. He even had the gall to call it a victory!

As the sellout was going down, the Trotskyist League of Canada issued a leaflet appealing to the strikers to hold on. Entitled "Sit-Ins Can Win," the TL leaflet urged, "TWU: you've shown your power—use it!" But the union tops forced the members out of the B.C. Tel installations.

Though greatly weakened by this treachery, the strikers can still defend themselves from fines and victimizations. Mass picket lines at every office to prevent management scabs from entering could defeat the court-ordered lockout and turn the sellout around.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 275

27 February 1981

Anti-Soviet War Budget Targets Blacks, Poor

Reagan: Let 'em Eat Bullets

Ronald Reagan's February 18 economic message contained no surprises: a silver platter for imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive, the meat ax for the poor, blacks, workers. To prolonged Congressional bipartisan applause he announced that the only department of government to get a big increase will be defense. Social services and programs cut by $41 billion, the war arsenal up by $32 billion. The Reagan speech was greeted with talk about reversing the "New Deal" of Roosevelt. As they said of Ike, now we get the "Raw Deal"... and the threat of a third imperialist world war. Responding to the Cold War sabre-rattling coming from Washington, a Soviet commentator interviewed on ABC-TV suggested that the U.S. capital be renamed "Retrograd."

"Renewal" and "reindustrialization" were the words that floated in the capitalist press, and Reagan's death-and-starvation budget is even being called a program for "recovery." But the policy of austerity and guns is not new: it was the core of Carter's budget and it continues at an accelerated pace with Reagan. The Democrats say they will not fight the budget cuts much in Congress, but instead focus on the so-called "tax cuts" as inflationary. Yet in fact this war budget has bipartisan support, just as the imperialist war drive has the support of the entire capitalist class.

Yaro/LA Times

Tanks in California, on the way to the Middle East. $1 trillion for the anti-Soviet war drive by 1985.

Reagan tried to head off criticism of his war budget by saying he would maintain a "safety net" below the "truly needy." But who is "truly" needy and who is "untruly" needy? The "untruly needy" typically include a welfare mother with a couple of kids or an elderly couple living in a big city on about $500 a month. The budget hits the cities and ghettos: mass transit, subsidized housing, schools, hospitals. It is estimated that a million people will be denied food stamps, that half a million families with children will be denied welfare. The AFL-CIO projects the loss of a million jobs in the public sector the first year of Reagan's budget.

The policy is really one of finding scapegoats for the failures of the American capitalist economy. This is a message that the Nazis and the KKK well understand, as they load up their rifles and douse their crosses with kerosene to "cut" the marked victims with race terror. Reagan's budget cuts are concentrated with almost surgical precision on the poor. And in this country the poorest are the blackest. According to federal government statistics, over 30 percent of black families live below the poverty line, compared to 9 percent for white families. Black infants have twice the mortality rate of whites; black children are twice as likely to suffer malnutrition as whites; and the incidence of tuberculosis among black youths is five times higher than among white youths.

The only change in Social Security pensions is the elimination of the *minimum* (all of $122 a month) going to retired workers whose past earnings would otherwise entitle them to less. If Reagan is not now prepared to cut Medicare, the basic federal health insurance for the aged, he is cutting Medicaid, the health insurance for the poor. Medicaid recipients consist of the 3.5 million parents and 7 million children on welfare, the elderly poor, blind and disabled and those who aren't quite poor enough to qualify for welfare but have no money for medical bills.

The Reagan budget is the social equivalent of the neutron bomb: it tries to wipe out the poor but leaves the tax shelters intact.

There is not even a token gesture toward eliminating the genuine *parasitic* items in the federal budget. While Reagan starves black ghetto youth, takes away benefits from coal miners suffering black lung disease and closes down public health hospitals serving seamen, federal workers and others, large subsidies will still be paid to prosperous farmers for *not* growing crops. Federally subsidized farmers are, of course, a traditional and important Republic constituency. The classic

continued on page 9

Workers Must Liquidate Guardia Civil!

Coup Attempt in Spain

FEBRUARY 23—The dramatic attempted coup in Madrid last night is being portrayed as the escapade of a "mad colonel." Certainly the gang of 200 Guardia Civil cops and civilian Francoist ultras who kidnapped the entire Spanish parliament were fringe elements with little chance of installing a military government. But Colonel Tejero and fellow putschist General Milans de Bosch have influence and protection. Tejero masterminded a 1978 plot to seize the cabinet; although found guilty of sedition he was released from jail and returned to duty. This time they marched unhindered into the Cortes, seized national TV with army tanks and placed Valencia under military rule. This could not have been done without complicity at high levels. The

continued on page 10

SL Debates Sojourner Truth Group on the Russian Question

.... 6

Cleveland Nazi Defenders Take Cue from Reagan

Send War Criminal Demjanjuk to Soviet Ukraine!

CLEVELAND—In the ongoihg trial here of Nazi war criminal John Demjanjuk the implicit witnesses for the defense of this death camp sadist are none other than Ronald Reagan and General Haig. The anti-Soviet fanatics who have been demonstrating on behalf of Demjanjuk say the evidence against him is no good because it comes from the Soviet Union. And, after all, doesn't the White House say that the Soviet Union "lies, cheats and steals"?

In early February the 60-year-old Ukrainian immigrant was confronted by the first of numerous witnesses who've identified him as a Nazi collaborator responsible for mass murder of Polish Jews during World War II. Demjanjuk was identified as the sadistic Ukrainian known as "Ivan the Terrible" among the inmates of the infamous Nazi death camps of Treblinka and Sobibor. Survivors have recognized him from his 1951 U.S. visa photo as well as the photo on an S.S. identification card issued to one Ivan Demjanjuk. The S.S. card fits John Demjanjuk's description right down to the scar on his back, which he traces to a wound he received while serving in the Soviet Red Army prior to his capture by the Germans in 1941.

Testifying in Cleveland, Treblinka survivors are giving chilling accounts of how "Ivan the Terrible" carried out his monstrous work of herding Jews into the ovens, operating the gas engines that pumped in the poisonous fumes and then dragging out the corpses. "He had a pipe, a sword and a whip, and he tortured the victims with this before they entered the gas chambers—especially the women," recounted one survivor. Another recalled how Demjanjuk's greatest pleasure was to cut off inmates' ears—and if they cried out in agony, he'd shoot them.

Demjanjuk's "defense" is that all this evidence is fabricated because it's from Soviet sources! And in this he has the implicit blessing of the Reagan administration, with its recent anti-Soviet tirades recalling Hoover-style "Masters of Deceit" rhetoric of the 1950s Cold War. At a pro-Demjanjuk rally held in a Ukrainian Orthodox church in the "whites only" suburb of Parma, one right-wing Ukrainian "community leader" said, "The president himself has said he was suspicious of Soviet integrity" (*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 9 February). The crowd of 450 bristled when anti-communist crusader and ex-Soviet "dissident" Valentyn Moroz said Demjanjuk had been fingered by a "pro-Soviet" Ukrainian newspaper in New York. Defenders of Demjanjuk made common cause with fascists in a demonstration outside the Cleveland courthouse on the first day of the hearings. A Carmelite nun burned a Soviet flag, cheered on by fascists with placards reading "Holocaust is a Hoax," and "Six Million Lies."

At the demonstration Moroz said, "We are protesting against a Soviet trial in American courts." Not so. If Demjanjuk were on trial in the USSR, he'd be facing charges of mass murder in collaboration with the Nazis, and not just falsification of visa papers. However, anyone who stands opposed to the genocide carried out by the Nazi barbarians can only hope for a speedy conviction of Demjanjuk even on these relatively petty charges, for then he faces deportation. A jury of Russians and Ukrainians, who lost 20 million of their fathers and mothers fighting to defend the USSR from fascism in World War II, would have a keen sense for what kind of justice this monster deserves. ■

WV Photo

Cleveland, February 10: Anti-Soviet Ukrainians demonstrate for Nazi war criminal.

Rouge Militants Demand Sit-Down Strike at DAP

The following excerpted leaflet was issued by the Rouge Militant Caucus in Detroit on February 23 to fight the sudden layoff of 1,000 workers out of 4,000 at the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP). As we go to press, the Caucus has gathered 600 signatures on a petition demanding an emergency in-plant union meeting this Thursday.

Fight For Our Jobs! Sit Down!

If Ford Motor Company has its way this is the last week of work for as many as 1,000 DAP brothers and sisters. The rumored line speed cut and mass layoffs are a fact—skilled tradesmen have been scheduled during the shutdown to make the line speed 52 jobs/hour and the foremen know which jobs will be cut.

It's Ford's profits or our jobs. Who wins is a question of strength. We can and must use ours. A DAP sitdown strike, 4,000-strong demanding NO LAYOFFS is the answer. Big stockpiles and low sales can weaken a regular strike, but not a sitdown. It would halt production and challenge the bosses' claim they own the plants and our lives. Generations of auto workers have poured out their sweat and blood to build the plants. Our lives depend on them; we have a right to our jobs....

A mass meeting in the plant could adopt and implement the sitdown strike on the spot.

We would not be alone in our fight. Like the sitdowns in Flint, ours would inspire workers across the country. We would immediately have the support of thousands of our brothers and sisters in Rouge, Detroit and industry-wide who are on the street or facing layoffs. We would fight to spread the strike Rouge-wide to stop the Flatrock plant closing and other layoffs....

Fraser, [Rouge Local 600 president] Rinaldi, and [DAP unit chairman] Vawters accept the companies' so-called right to lay us off. Their racist "Buy American" scheme and concessions to the auto bosses are two sides of the same coin—preserving the companies' profits at our expense.... The Chrysler "solution"—take-aways in exchange for the hollow promise to postpone plant closings—isn't a compromise, it's surrender. Fraser's strategy is a proven sure thing—sure to get us screwed, proven time and again....

From the fight to fire the Klan-hooded foremen to the fight against layoffs and plant closings the union bureaucrats have fought us with their no-win strategy. The bureaucrats demand that our so-called "friends of labor" Democrats in Congress now pay their debts to labor. But it was the policies of the Democratic Party under Carter that brought us Reagan, and today the Democrats say give Reagan a chance. A chance to do what? Slit our throats?...

Fight for a DAP sitdown strike! No layoffs! No plant closings! Unlimited government-guaranteed SUB, unemployment and pensions!

Letter

Get the Chicken King!

January 24, 1981

Dear Editor,

Your article in the January 16th issue, "It Takes a Tough Union to Break the Chicken King," was to the point. The United Food and Commercial Workers International Union (UFCW) has 1.4 million members and is the third largest union in North America after the Teamsters and Auto Workers. The former Retail Clerks and Meatcutters merged in 1979 ostensibly to better fight union busters such as Frank Perdue. However, the combined union has not yet rekindled the militant traditions of the Clerks (1946 Oakland General Strike) or Butchers (CIO Packinghouse Drive). The merger was a bureaucratic affair with the Retail Clerks imposing their structure and Constitution on the smaller Amalgamated. Among Meatcutters, the new UFCW was said to stand for—"You F--king Clerks Won."

The food industry in all its phases is probably the largest employer of workers in North America. Food retailers, processors and warehousers cannot run very far away. The industry is very labor intensive and heavily unionized. Therefore it is not surprising that numerous strikes have and will occur in the supermarkets, slaughterhouses and food distribution centers of the continent.

The Teamsters, Clerks and Meatcutters of the San Francisco Bay Area have historically enjoyed the best contracts in the U.S. supermarket industry. The 1978 Teamsters and 1980 Clerks strikes in Northern California were major battles between the unions and the Food Employers' Council. 1981 is shaping up to be a decisive year for supermarket labor here as the Teamster contract expires on August 1st.

It will take the type of labor solidarity between the Teamsters and the UFCW which existed before the 1947 Taft-Hartley 'slave labor' Act to win the class struggles of the 1980's. The traditions of mutual support and militant action have been eroded in the 30 plus years of injunctions. As your article shows, the current UFCW leaders have no intention of fighting the crippling law outside of the capitalists courts and Congress. They will use Reagan's election as another excuse for their passivity. Mass picket lines and secondary boycotts may be against Taft-Hartley, but can Taft and Hartley (to paraphrase the miners) pluck chickens and put them in the meat case?

Member
UFCW, Local 1179
Martinez, CA

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 275 27 February 1981

Koch's Cossacks Kill

"Hi, I'm Ed Koch, I'm for capital punishment." Discarding his image as a "limousine liberal," the congressman from Manhattan's Upper East Side "silk stocking district" greeted Brooklyn and Queens voters as he campaigned for mayor in 1977. Koch was the candidate of the white backlash in NYC. The days of "big government" spending were over. No talk about the "war on poverty" anymore. Instead Koch declared war on the "poverticians" (the city's black Democrats) and dismantled NYC's poverty programs one by one. Now he is shutting down schools and ghetto hospitals. Now with the random violence and increasing brutality of life in the city, Koch is seeking to ride into a second term by playing on the fears of the population with thinly veiled racist cries of "law and order."

Koch's cops unleashed against Harlem residents protesting Sydenham Hospital closing, September 20, 1980.

The cornerstone of Koch's "anti-crime" program is gun control. The mayor personally raised $100,000 from private sources to conduct a massive advertising campaign for NYC's new handgun law. Subway posters warn: "If you carry a gun, you'll go to jail for a year...and that's not a threat, it's the law." One of the more savage ads is Koch's late night TV spot in which he positively *yearns* for the introduction of the death penalty. The scene opens with the mayor's mug watching a jail cell door slam shut. Koch declares:

> "If you get caught carrying an illegal handgun in New York, you'll be sent to jail for one year. And I promise you, it'll be the longest year of your life."

New York already has the toughest gun control laws on the books, but now Koch is screaming for hanging judges. He's gone after the city's judiciary for being "soft on crime." The judges, he claims, are abusing their latitude in imposing sentences of less than one year for crimes involving handguns. If Koch gets his way, they'll eliminate all exceptions to the minimum one-year penalty and also institute preventive detention.

Meanwhile, the mayor's cossacks keep rampaging on the streets. Just last week four defenseless people were killed by New York's "finest": a teenager suspected of car theft, a storekeeper beset by robbers, a college student returning home from a Valentine's Day party and a young Polish immigrant trying to patch it up with his girlfriend. The latter's brother-in-law said the New York cops were worse than in Poland: "In Poland we have very strict police and the law is very strict, but they don't shoot anybody" (CBS News, 16 February).

Needless to say, Koch defended his trigger-happy legal guns: "I don't believe our cops have a record for being reckless in this area" (*New York Times*, 17 February). In a sense, he's right. It isn't recklessness, it's policy. Last month president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, Philip Caruso, told his men to "shoot first and shoot to kill." And kill they have—over 50 victims since 1979. Yet not one police officer has been convicted for any of these murders.

The ruling class response to crime is to strengthen its own gunmen (the cops) while *dis*arming the population at large. The powers that be who are chauffeured about in their bulletproof limousines and never have to descend into the subways can advocate gun control and rest assured that they themselves are well protected. But working people are kept defenseless. The main purpose of the capitalist state apparatus—the cops, courts and prisons—is not to protect people from violent crime, but to maintain the racist status quo which breeds violent crime. As for "law and order" campaigns, they don't stop crime but merely give free rein to the terrorists in blue.

As socialists we are against the monopolization of the means of violence in the hands of the capitalist state and fight for the right of working people to defend themselves. All gun control laws must be abolished. But while upholding the right of individuals to effectively defend themselves, we strenuously oppose any kind of vigilantism, such as the Guardian Angels, which can only lead to racist attacks. Only a concerted socialist fight by the labor movement, blacks and other minorities can save America's largest metropolis from the hideous cycle of violent crime and police terror. ■

Racist NYC Subway Vigilantes

They're No Angels!

They've become a familiar sight to the NYC subway rider. Dressed in red berets, white T-shirts and black Kung Fu pants they maraud through the cars or stand in the subway doors, arms crossed, crowding passengers getting on and off the trains. These are New York's "Guardian Angels," a band of lumpen teenagers who roam the subways looking for trouble...to stop it, they say. Hardly a reassuring sight. Passengers eye them warily, for the Angels look as if they could just as easily shake you down as catch a mugger. But such is the level of fear and violence in New York City that the Guardian Angels are media heroes and have become a lightning rod of "law and order" sentiment.

Despite the fact that most of its members are Latin or black, we have insisted that this subway gang has a real potential for feeding into cop bonapartism (see "Guardian Angels: Subway Vigilantes of Racist Law and Order," *Young Spartacus* No. 86, November 1980). The liberals, initially standoffish, have now taken up their cause. A fund-raising bash for the Angels at a posh Upper East Side disco was attended by NY City Council president Carol Bellamy and others. A *New York Times* editorial (17 January) called them "older Boy Scouts" and announced, "We salute the red berets—warily." Mayor Koch, who had earlier denounced them as "vigilantes," has now reversed his position. And on January 16 Police Commissioner Robert McGuire, after months of negotiations, announced a plan to give the Angels "patrol training" and official police identification cards.

Things in New York City are so bad that the ruling class is giving official sanction to a youth gang to run wild on the subways with special IDs—a hunting license to bully and beat! The head of this leader cult, Curtis Sliwa, used to get his kicks by riding the rails at night, acting as a decoy for a heavyweight bone-crusher and bashing brains in. Once the Angels get the official okay, what's to stop any enterprising hoodlum from cashing in? It's already happened—last week two youths in red berets who said they were Guardian Angels were arrested for burglarizing a token booth.

This official sponsorship of vigilantism is ominous and necessarily racist. In deeply racist U.S. capitalist society, the main victims of such formations will be blacks and other minorities. But while the punks in red berets are living it up, the thugs in blue are not so happy. Transit cops see the Angels as a threat to their monopoly on officially sanctioned violence. Tensions which have been mounting came to the flash point February 13 when a fight broke out between the "Angels," the transit cops and some passengers. Naturally, the victims were subway riders who got beat up and pushed around.

It happened on the "A" train, after 12 Guardian Angels got on at the East New York stop and spread throughout the cars. The Angels began messing with a drunk who was sprawled across some seats; a second passenger objected and a fight broke out. It got worse when the rest of the Angels' "patrol" came running to "seal off" the car, blocking the car doors and impeding the passengers' entrance at the next stop. As the fracas got bigger, transit cops on the train radioed ahead for help. When the train pulled into the Utica Avenue Station, the fight spilled out onto the platform and eleven Angels were arrested.

Feel any safer when this gang gets on the train at Times Square?

WV Photo

Fearful the brawl would nix their deal with the city, and trying to drum up popular support, the Angels held a midnight protest march February 17. Some wearing mock shackles on their wrists and charging they had been "set up" by the transit cops, they marched to Brooklyn central booking where the arrests had been made. Although they spent the rest of the week petitioning commuters for support for their subway patrols, Sliwa was careful not to get too alienated from the men he may soon be working with. "We don't want a confrontation, we want to offer an olive branch to [transit cop PBA leader] McKechnie," he said (*Daily News*, 17 February).

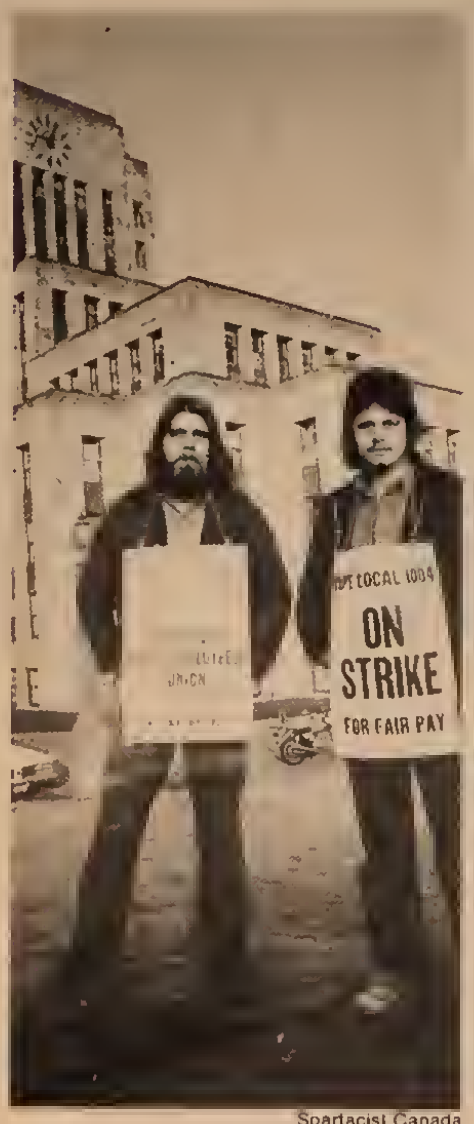
So instead of helping little old ladies cross the tracks, it turns out these "Boy Scouts" have started beating up the passengers. Big surprise—lumpen gangs with official recognition act like lumpen gangs. Their real potential is to become a paramilitary auxiliary to the cops in terrorizing the ghettos. And anyone who thinks a largely minority group can't play this role should look at Haiti's Tontons Macoutes. One doesn't need much imagination to see what their role in the next transit strike would be, or what they might do to turnstile-jumpers the next time fares are raised. Far from being "guardians" and protectors, they are a threat to the life and limb of the citizenry of New York, in particular minorities and the working class. ■

All Out to Smash Union Busting in B.C.!

VANCOUVER—Just over two weeks ago 11,000 phone workers electrified the labor movement here as Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) members occupied every key B.C. Telephone Co. center (see "Sit-Ins Sweep British Columbia Telephone," *WV* No. 274, 13 February). Hundreds of TWUers vowed to stay until B.C. Tel signed a contract, but the occupations ended on February 10-11 when the union leadership treacherously bowed not to superior forces but to a B.C. Supreme Court contempt citation. TWUers were reduced to two pickets at the entrances of buildings they had held only hours before. But the bitter strike continues, along with a four-week-old province-wide walkout by municipal workers.

Hanging a sword of Damocles over the head of the union, Justice Kenneth Mcredith threatened to impose massive fines and possible jail terms as he delayed sentencing until a contract is finalized. Meanwhile, the courts have launched a blistering attack on over 10,000 striking members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE), slapping down 75 injunctions! The entire labor movement must rally behind TWU/CUPE and demand that the injunctions and contempt citations be scrapped—if necessary, by general strike action. Drop the charges! Bust the union-busters!

The TWU leadership's response, however, has been complete capitulation. Following the retreat from B.C. Tel buildings, union president Bill Clark "completely and sincerely" apologized to the judge (*Vancouver Sun*, 17 February)! But militant unionists were not so ready to play the bosses' tune. The day after the ruling, 200 workers in Kamloops blocked supervisors from entering a phone center and in Prince George 80 cars were parked at a B.C. Tel entranceway.



Spartacist Canada

Strikers in front of Vancouver City Hall.

B.C. Tel management has only been emboldened by the TWU tops' legalist kowtowing. Thus the company agreed to accept mediator Ed Peck's report (whose minimal and inadequate terms are all the TWU wants), but only if B.C. Tel is granted a whopping rate increase—on top of a 12.5 percent hike given only weeks ago! Management's arrogance led the latest federal mediator to simply quit, and even the federal minister of labor denounced the B.C. Tel demand as "bizarre" (*Vancouver Sun*, 19 February).

The employers' offensive can be defeated! The workers of B.C. are fed up with shrinking real wages as food prices skyrocket and housing costs jumped 46 percent last year alone. Thirty thousand unionists are on the bricks right now, the public truly hates the phone company and there is much sympathy for CUPE's cause. Effective mass picketing, backed by a province-wide strike if the cops move in, could decisively turn the tables and win solid victories: a big wage boost, unlimited COLA, the unfettered right to strike and the smashing of all anti-labor legislation. The militancy is there; what's desperately missing is a leadership ready and willing to fight.

Clark & Co. backed the sit-ins but pulled the plug province-wide when TWUers in several cities occupied B.C. Tel on their own. B.C. Federation of Labor president Jim Kinnaird, knowing that there's a hot summer ahead as more than 100,000 workers face contract battles, has been mouthing militant rhetoric, trying to keep some credibility. Two weeks ago he mumbled about a "general work stoppage" as he declared "industrial relations war." But at a rally of 1,500 unionists on February 18 he could propose nothing more than a vague "esclation of picketing" and a partial "boycott" of the Labor Relations Board. While telling "the government and employers of this province to go to hell," Kinnaird's strategy is essentially to pressure the Employers Council (which doesn't particularly like B.C. Tel) and the government for a settlement.

The bottom line is the trade-union bureaucrats' efforts to get the right-wing social-democratic New Democratic Party (NDP) back into power. Kinnaird may fondly recall his brief stint as a deputy associate minister of labor in Dave Barrett's NDP government, but the tens of thousands of workers whose strikes were busted in 1975 have a different view. What awaits the labor movement was amply demonstrated on February 17 when Vancouver mayor Mike Harcourt, a prominent NDPer, crossed a CUPE picket line at City Hall! While Harcourt, who received the fulsome backing of the reformist Communist Party in the last election, insisted that he had to "carry on the people's business" (*Vancouver Sun*, 18 February) CUPE strikers nailed him with chants of "Scab, scab, scab!"

The strike-breaking NDP is no answer to the strike-breaking Socreds. The working class needs a party that fights to defeat union bashing, that will take on the capitalists and their courts. But such a party will never be built by the pro-capitalist labor fakers. It will take a new union leadership, committed to a class-struggle program, to break the power of the bourgeoisie once and for all.

Victory to the strikers! Defend the unions! Mass picketing to shut down B.C. Tel and all struck facilities! All out to defeat strike-breaking and union-busting! Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party that fights for a workers government! ■

Militant ILWU Steward Wins Reinstatement

OAKLAND, February 19—International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6 members enthusiastically applauded the announcement at their membership meeting that Tim Chapman, a Militant Caucus member and house steward fired over nine months ago by Kaiser Aluminum, today won an arbitration award of reinstatement with full back pay. Local officers and members repeatedly congratulated Tim and praised the persistent way he conducted his case. Union members were especially pleased by the back pay award, estimated at $15,000 to $16,000, because it will help discourage the bosses from attacking the union through its stewards.

WV asked Chapman how Kaiser workers feel about the victory. He described a phone call he received from a co-worker after the union meeting: "This guy just called to tell me they put up a big sign on a machine saying 'Welcome back Chapman, $16,000 richer' and said he was going to get a T-shirt reading, 'Union wins, company loses'."

Chapman had just been re-elected to a second term as steward last May and was actively fighting job eliminations and company safety violations when management set him up on a two-man machine, eliminated his helper and then fired him for "insubordination." Chapman's firing was one of a series of disciplines and discharges of union stewards from at least seven different warehouses. In a similar case Ellis Johnson, fired steward at Heublein, also recently won his job back.

Chapman told *WV*, "We'll take arbitration when it's the only thing left, but it's not a solution. Even when the company knows it doesn't have a case they can frame up an unwanted activist or steward who's being effective and remove him from the plant for up to two years. And meanwhile you're out for a year not knowing if you've got a job, savings gone, and the rest of the plant is scared. The company does it to try to frighten people off."

He added, "And even when the unions win an arbitration, lately the companies have been going to court to get it overturned or delayed. The union can't afford lawyers to keep up with the company lawyers, and the laws are on the side of the companies anyway. We've been winning some lately, but why let the union be attacked in the first place? If the union responded in a militant way from the start we wouldn't have this happening. That's why I'm in the Militant Caucus—it's got a program for fighting the companies."

WV Photo

Tim Chapman

The Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the ILWU, has consistently fought for effective strike action to counter the escalating bosses' offensive. At the time of Chapman's firing last year, the Caucus issued a leaflet calling for "a well-organized job action led by the union leadership using the full power of the union [which] will win back our steward's job and stop the coming attacks on the rest of us." The reinstatement of Chapman is not only a victory for the union, but it emphasizes the need for class-struggle leadership to mount an effective counteroffensive against the bosses. ■

Militant Caucus: Strike in '81!

Howard Keylor Elected Delegate to ILWU Convention

SAN FRANCISCO—Militant Caucus candidate Howard Keylor won election on February 13 to the ILWU's Longshore Caucus, which sets union policy on upcoming contract bargaining for West Coast dock workers. Campaigning for a solid strike against the bosses' "takeaway" offensive, Keylor was also elected delegate to the bi-annual International Convention of the ILWU to be held in April in Hawaii. Keylor received 254 votes, placing ninth out of ten delegates elected. Fellow Militant Caucus member Stan Gow, who was elected two years ago as convention delegate, received 209 votes placing fourteenth.

Running on the same Militant Caucus class-struggle program that recently got him and Gow re-elected to the ILWU Local 10 Executive Board for the seventh year in a row, Keylor beat out the local's newly elected vice president, two former presidents, two dispatchers and one business agent. Significantly, both Gow and Keylor showed stronger backing than long-time do-nothing *Peoples' World* supporter Leo Robinson. Thus the current round of elections indicates a desire on the part of the membership to elect militants who will fight for the union in this important contract year.

Mugabe's White Officers Crush Nkomo Guerrillas

Tribal Clashes in Zimbabwe

Three refrigerated railway cars rolled into Bulawayo loaded with the corpses of black guerrillas. White-officered black regular army troops had used mortars and helicopter gunships to put down the rebels. The resolute chief of state had declared he was ready to "descend on them like a hammer"—and he did. However, this time it wasn't Ian Smith fighting a last-ditch battle for white Rhodesia, but the "Marxist" leader of the "new Zimbabwe," Robert Mugabe.

Though nominally allied in the Patriotic Front, Mugabe's ZANU and Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU have not suppressed their tribal differences. On February 6 tribal antagonisms exploded between Mugabe's predominantly Shona forces and the Ndebele-speaking guerrillas loyal to Joshua Nkomo. In a week's fighting outside of Zimbabwe's second-largest city, three battalions of the "integrated" army split along tribal lines and Mugabe ordered the elite white-led Rhodesian African Rifles in to crush them. Two of the rebellious battalions were disarmed and a third (Nkomo-loyal) agreed to a cease-fire after being threatened with aerial and artillery bombardment.

Last November intertribal fighting took 60 lives; this time 300 died—mostly Nkomo guerrillas killed by the African Rifles. The shooting seems to have been started by Nkomo forces after rumors that Mugabe's troops were going to disarm them. With the end of Smith's rule, the basis for the fragile unity between the two tribes is gone, and in the latest outbreak there were reports of civilians massacred for speaking the wrong language. For his part, Nkomo attempted to conciliate; after a meeting with Mugabe he stated "...we are working well together" (*New York Times*, 14 February).

Mugabe's Shona majority swept the British-supervised elections, which were the culmination of a series of imperialist "majority rule" schemes to ease the white settler regime out of office. Whites were guaranteed sufficient seats in parliament to give them an effective veto over any legislative attempts to implement even democratic reforms such as "one man, one vote." Nkomo, leader of the Ndebele wing of the Patriotic Front and former head of the anti-Smith nationalist forces, was humiliated by assignment to a nominal cabinet post and last month was demoted to minister without portfolio.

True, Smith and Muzorewa were gone, but the imperialist-orchestrated deal left intact the foundations of white colonial settler order—the police, the judiciary and the white-led regular army. Troops of the former colonial power were brought in to supervise the elections and the construction of a national army from the former guerrillas. In effect, a new set of black faces has taken over the administration of Rhodesian capitalism. This was clearly shown when black workers responded to the Mugabe victory with a strike wave. Mugabe denounced it as criminal and told the strikers to use the existing grievance procedures—Ian Smith's anti-labor laws!

The question of land is key. Millions of rural blacks presently labor for the 5,000 white commercial farmers (who own half of the land) or barely scratch a living from arid tribal trust lands. In addition to the rural unemployed, there are tens of thousands of guerrillas awaiting demobilization with nowhere to go. With one-quarter of government spending going to military payroll, there is no way to accommodate all of them into any new army. Despite the desperate need for land distribution, Mugabe has once again proved his loyalties—the small amount of land so far acquired for resettlement has been purchased for hard cash. Mugabe needs money and is presently lobbying for over $1 billion in aid and loans from the IMF, World Bank and imperialist donors in preparation for a conference to be held next month in Salisbury.

The more enlightened elements of the American bourgeoisie realize that stabilization of a neo-colonialist capitalist Zimbabwe requires U.S. dollars. A *New York Times* editorial (18 February) praised Mugabe's "course of reconciliation and pragmatism" (read: bringing in the army to crush the guerrillas) and gave its blessing to financial assistance. But with Reagan seeing Communist subversives behind every bush, he probably won't give very much to a "Marxist" bourgeois nationalist like Mugabe. Even though Moscow still doesn't have an embassy in Salisbury—Mugabe hasn't forgiven the USSR's support to Nkomo—the Andrew Youngs are gone and the White House is seeking closer ties with the racists in South Africa as a bulwark against "Soviet expansionism." Reagan's UN representative has been quoted as saying that racial dictatorship is not as onerous as Marxist dictatorship.

Most of the left gave uncritical political support to Mugabe. For example, the British International Marxist Group hailed "VICTORY" in a banner headline when the new Zimbabwe leader was elected and ran a heroic center spread on "Robert Mugabe In His Own Words": "Describes himself as a Maoist-oriented Marxist .... enjoys... the singing of Bing Crosby, Elvis Presley and Pat Boone" (*Socialist Challenge*, 6 March 1980). After a year of Mugabe's strikebreaking rule, *Socialist Challenge* (27 November 1980) now whines: "Independence has not brought the benefits of full democratic rights to the people of Zimbabwe, despite other gains that have been made." In the face of tribal warfare, they offer not revolutionary Trotskyism but calls on the competing nationalists to unite: "...the Mugabe government and both party leaderships [must] not only denounce the interparty faction fighting, but take steps to prevent it."

The complete destruction of the white colonial settler state in Zimbabe would take a mass upsurge which could easily escape the control of the Mugabes and Nkomos. That (and not economic considerations) is why they want to keep the white officer corps and 20 percent white parliament. Moreover, neither Mugabe nor Nkomo is capable of accomplishing even the primary nationalist task of unifying a nation—for them it's a turf fight to decide which tribe and which leader will dominate.

Redistribution of land, emancipation of women, an end to tribal conflicts and mobilization against the imperialist apartheid regime to the south are the tasks of the day in Zimbabe, and that means workers revolution. As we wrote when Mugabe came to power ("Strikes Hit Zimbabwe-Rhodesia," *WV* No. 256, 16 May 1980):

> "The only hope for the Zimbabwean African masses lies on the road of permanent revolution, through a revolutionary upsurge centered on the 5 million-strong black proletariat of South Africa which would sweep away not only that bastion of apartheid terror but the neo-colonialist remnants of imperialist domination throughout southern Africa. To be sure an isolated workers state in Zimbabwe with an unchallenged apartheid regime next door could not maintain itself for more than the short term. But a black workers revolution which began in Zimbabwe, led by a Trotskyist party, would almost certainly detonate a mass upsurge by the powerful South African proletariat.■

International Women's Day 1981

Spartacist Forums

Revolutionary Russia, 1917: Women demonstrate for pay increases to soldiers' families.

Women and Revolution
Wednesday, March 4, 7:00 p.m.
Harvard University
Phillips Brooks House
Cambridge, Mass.

Wednesday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.
Brandeis University
Wulliger Lobby
Boston
For more information (617) 492-3928

Khomeini's Iran: Women in Veils, Workers in Jails
For Workers Revolution!
Speaker: D.L. Reissner,
Editorial Board
Women and Revolution
Thursday, March 5, 7:30 p.m.
U of Chicago
Ida Noyes Hall
Chicago
For more information (312) 427-0003

Trotskyism: The Only Road to Women's Liberation
Speaker: Diana Coleman,
Spartacist League
1980 candidate for
San Francisco
Board of Supervisors
Friday, March 6, 7:30 p.m.
UC Extension
55 Laguna, Room 202
San Francisco
For more information (415) 863-6963

Saturday, March 7, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley
Kroeber Auditorium, Room 160
Berkeley
For more information (415) 835-1535

Saturday, March 14
Los Angeles
(time and place to be announced)
For more information (213) 662-1564

From Bra-Burning to Book-Burning:
Feminists Join "Moral Majority" Anti-Pornography Crusade
Speaker: D.L. Reissner,
Editorial Board
Women and Revolution
Friday, March 6
7:30 p.m.
Cross Currents
3206 N. Wilton
Chicago
For more information (312) 427-0003

Friday, March 13
7:30 p.m.
Oberlin College
(Room to be announced)
Oberlin
For more information (216) 775-5245

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SL Debates
Sojourner Truth Group

Trotskyism Exposes Anti-Soviet Blindspot

Ed Clarkson for the SL: "Gains of proletarian revolution remain." WV Photo

CHICAGO—"In the current conjuncture, the Russian question dominates American political life—beginning with the Carter campaign for 'Human Rights,' which was actually directed against the Soviet Union, and currently manifested by Reagan's campaign to rearm America against the 'Soviet monolith.' So this issue, which the New Left always thought was incidental and a topic of discussion only among old Stalinists and 'Trots,' remains of epochal significance." Thus began Spartacist League (SL) spokesman Ed Clarkson in a recent debate here with the Sojourner Truth Organization (STO) on "The Polish Events and the Russian Question." Held on February 7 at the Blackstone Hotel, the event drew an audience of 175 people who participated in the lively discussion period. Among those present were "Third Camp" social democrats, ex-Maoists of the "Trend," left-wing Iranian students and industrial workers from several Midwest cities.

The very fact that the debate took place sparked interest, confronting two rather distant points on the spectrum of the American left. Sojourner Truth is an eclectic local syndicalist collective left over from the New Left. STO founder-leader Noel Ignatin's main claim to fame is that as an SDS honcho a decade ago he was the best-known "theoretician" of the view that the bulk of the American working class is bought off by "white skin privilege." The SL, on the other hand, is the American section of the international Spartacist tendency, which has fought since the early 1960s for the rebirth of the Fourth International founded by Leon Trotsky. Normally, the STO and SL have little intersection. But following the Red Army intervention in Afghanistan and now with Poland boiling, even workerist groups which sought to bury themselves in the plants can't avoid taking a position on the nature and role of the Soviet Union—touchstone for would-be socialist revolutionaries for more than six decades.

In the debate, Sojourner Truth leader Peter Berger alleged that "in terms of conscious movement towards communism," the Soviet Union is "no more advanced than the United States, and probably less so." This absurd claim, loaded with reactionary pro-imperialist implications, is derived from Berger's anti-Marxist view that the USSR is "state capitalist." Spartacist spokesman Clarkson counterposed Trotsky's position that "Stalin had usurped, politically, the proletariat in the Soviet Union, but that nevertheless the gains of the proletarian revolution remain" on the economic level. Clarkson called for political revolution to oust the Stalinist rulers of the Soviet-bloc bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states, while defending the gains of October against counterrevolutionary forces. Pressed for STO's program for Polish workers, Berger's only answer was to "smash up the mess"—lumping

A Real Blast From the Past

What is the Sojourner Truth Organization?

Noel Ignatin's Sojourner Truth group is one of the more esoteric spin-offs from the explosion of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the main organization of the New Left. With the expulsion of Progressive Labor at the June 1969 split conference, SDS explicitly rejected a working-class orientation, however deformed. The rump SDS consisted of two wings, the Weatherman group of Bernardine Dohrn and Mark Rudd, and RYM-II headed by Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian. Ignatin, a Chicago-area radical activist and former member of the Communist Party, was one of the leading lights of RYM-II.

In the aftermath, the anti-PL lash-up soon dissolved into competing clique-organizations, each around its own honcho, supposedly differing on the "central question" of how best to tail after black nationalist and "Third World" movements. Weatherman led the charge with some proto-terrorism (which only succeeded in killing its own members), while the Avakian-led Revolutionary Union and the Klonsky family's October League began their running dogfight over the China franchise. In late 1969/early 1970, Ignatin's group of a dozen or so in north Chicago coalesced into the Sojourner Truth Organization (STO). It's still there today.

STO based itself on Ignatin's 1967 article, "White Blindspot," which argued that white workers have material interests in preserving capitalism: "The U.S. ruling class has made a deal with the mis-leaders of American labor, *and through them with the masses of white workers*" (original emphasis). Put more succinctly, he claims that white workers are bought off because "they have more to lose than their chains; they have also to 'lose' their white-skin privileges...." In the guise of fighting "color-blind" CP-style "black-and-white-unite-and-fight" reformism, Ignatin places race above class and argues essentially that all white workers are part of a labor aristocracy. In a 1974 article, "A Golden Bridge," he referred to blacks who scabbed on the Great Steel Strike of 1919 as "heroic"!

The Ignatin cult is a bizarre, idiosyncratic opportunist sect. Alone of all the degeneration products of SDS, it never made any pretense of going national. Politically heterodox, they were even willing to dabble in the taboo texts of Trotsky. But above all the STO is anti-Leninist, stuck together around "broad areas of agreement" rather than programmatically based. They hold the reactionary position that trade unions are simply "bourgeois institutions." At the same time, STO members work within the unions, often supporting reformist bureaucrats such as Norm Roth at Harvester. As syndicalists they claim to be even harder on Stalinism than the Trotskyists, but socially they are part of the broad ex-New Left Stalinoid milieu.

In the early '70s virtually the entire STO membership went into the factories to persuade workers to divest themselves of "white-skin privilege." They tried some union certification schemes and some decertification schemes, some pro-seniority fights and some anti-seniority fights. But mostly they engaged in washroom militancy and damn little talk of socialism, so that by mid-decade more than two-thirds of their members had drifted away. Since then most of STO's efforts have been directed at studying "state capitalism" and support work for pork-chop nationalists. At a 3 November 1979 Chicago demonstration for the Pontiac prisoners (victims of Attica-style persecution) these champions of "democracy" in the USSR physically assaulted and attempted to exclude *Workers Vanguard* salesmen.

Under the pressure of U.S. and Maoist anti-Sovietism, the Sojourner Truth Organization has come to a new area of "broad agreement"—the USSR is "state capitalist." (Ignatin's reputedly Soviet-defensist sidekick Don Hamerquist, the former Gramsciite oppositionist in the CP, conveniently absented himself from the SL-STO debate.) Vietnam and Cuba are reportedly now under close scrutiny, while Ignatin declares the U.S. nearer to communism than Russia. It's a long way from waving NLF flags and cutting cane with the Venceremos Brigade, ain't it? And don't forget Max Shachtman, who went from refusing to defend the USSR in World War II to supporting the CIA's Bay of Pigs invasion and U.S. intervention in Indochina. ■

together the Stalinist betrayers of the revolution with such historic proletarian gains as collectivized property.

In one respect the discussion was particularly revealing, as the STO "analysis" is a mirror opposite of the Trotskyists'. Trotsky made an analogy between the Soviet Union and the trade unions: both are headed by a class-collaborationist bureaucracy, but nevertheless remain institutions of working-class power. STO accepts the USSR/unions analogy...and concludes that both are capitalist! Clarkson remarked: "Now this has the virtue of both logical consistency *and pointing out the totally counterrevolutionary implications of the policy of 'state capitalism'*." Willing to contemplate the destruction of the Soviet Union, they are indifferent to union-busting at home (Ignatin told the SL in a taped interview: "I'm for an open shop"). A steel worker supporter of the Spartacist League summed up the exchange:

> "October 1917 meant that the working class won something.... The speaker from the Sojourner Truth Organization took 30 minutes and said, no we didn't—we don't have unions, we don't have deformed workers states. We've been fighting for 200 years, for nothing? Well, that's absolute crap. This is not a debate, it's a massacre. The problem with the STO is they have no belief in the revolutionary potential of the working class. It was nice in the New Left—red flags, big demonstrations. Well, now times are tough, Reagan's here. So give up? Hell no! There is a fight in the working class that's going to go on. The key point is you can never win any victories if you don't defend what you have."

"The Polish Events and the Russian Question"

Although Poland was listed as a main topic of the debate, Berger said not one word on the subject during his presentation. Challenged during the discussion period to take a stand, an STO supporter remarked with snotty workerism: "We may not have a program for Poland, but we assume that the workers in Poland without the help of the Sparts will be able to see their way forward towards revolution." Stung by SL criticism, Berger blurted out in his summary: "It's obvious what our program for Poland is; it should be implicit from my remarks.... As Voltaire said about the *ancien régime* in France, 'Smash up the mess!' Destroy the bureaucratic state apparatus! Tear apart the secret police! Place the industries under the control of the population." So Berger and the STO include in the "mess" they want to "smash up" not only the Stalinist secret police but also nationalized industry. And their supposedly classless answer ("people's control" of industry) denies the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

For Trotskyists, the workers uprisings in East Europe provide dramatic proof, in the actual laboratory conditions of class struggle, of the class character of the deformed workers states. SL spokesman Clarkson pointed out:

> "First of all, Poland does not behave like a capitalist state. It is inconceivable for any capitalist state to be in virtual economic crisis for *seven years* without one layoff, without one bankruptcy, without one contraction of production. It's also impossible, and one would find out volumes by talking to the workers at Chrysler about this, for a capitalist enterprise to actually go out and get loans to meet the workers' demands....
> "Secondly, the bureaucracy—that is, the Polish United Workers Party, I believe that's what it's called—displays none of the social reserves or institutional strength of a capitalist class. The workers rise, and it melts. It's impotent. And this was most graphically illustrated in Hungary, where in a more polarized situation, in the course of the Hungarian Revolution in '56, 70 percent of the membership of the Communist Party went over to the side of the Hungarian soviets. No 'state capitalist' has ever sufficiently explained this question: What the hell is 70 percent of the 'capitalist class' doing marching in the soviets with the workers?...
> "The workers do not address the bureaucracy as an alien class, but rather as what they are—as untrustworthy, venal labor fakers, trade-union bureaucrats. They are not addressed as the bosses. Some of the leaders of the 1976 strike are currently factory directors in Poland. It's a very strange 'social class'."

Since Sojourner Truth views Poland as a capitalist country, Berger saw no danger of counterrevolution. As for the clerical-reactionary Catholic hierarchy, he dismissed it as a "factor of stability" and firm ally of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Clarkson, on behalf of the SL, pointed to the existence of real overt and covert counterrevolutionary forces in Poland: Rural Solidarity, "whose demands are essentially a call for flat restoration of capitalism in the countryside"; and Pope Wojtyla's Catholic church, which is currently playing a waiting game. But the Spartacist speaker also noted the other side in this contradictory situation, that "in the space created by the workers' uprising it would be possible to accrue the valuable elements which would constitute a proletarian party—a Trotskyist proletarian party." Its program:

> "It must be, on the part of the Polish workers, to differentiate out the clerical-nationalist elements in the Solidarity [union] movement—split that movement and direct it toward a defense of the proletarian property forms that exist there....
> "The only hope for the Polish proletariat at this point in time is to spread the political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy to the East and into East Germany, and the social revolution against capitalism into the West."

Capitalism Without Capitalists?!

The STO's "state capitalist" position on the Soviet Union was first spelled out in Noel Ignatin's 1978 pamphlet, *No Condescending Saviors*, which borrows heavily from the theories of the now

Does STO think the victorious Vietnamese revolution only produced new form of capitalism?

Pan-Africanist renegade from Trotskyism, C.L.R. James (known in early publications of the Fourth International as J.R. Johnson). In the February 7 debate, Berger regurgitated this "analysis" by stringing together an endless series of out-of-context quotations from Engels and Lenin. He led off with Engels' famous remark in *Anti-Dühring*, the favorite of all "state caps," on statification as the inherent tendency of capitalism:

> "The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine, the ideal collective body of all capitalists. The more produetive forees it takes over as its property, the more it becomes the real collective body of all the capitalists, the more eitizens it exploits."

Berger's conclusion: "It is my contention that the Soviet Union represents the fulfillment of the tendency recognized by Engels, that the Soviet state is the ideal personification of the total national capital, one in which workers remain wage workers, proletarians."

As an SL spokesman remarked in the discussion, "there's something fundamental in the world that's changed since Engels wrote...the Russian workers made a revolution. That's the most historic event in the history of humankind." Moreover, Engels never conceived (as the "state caps" do) of a bourgeois state with a single national capitalist—and thus the elimination of competition, the motor of capitalism (see "How 'State Caps' Render Engels More Profound" in this issue). Berger's arguments to buttress his anti-Marxist theory consist, first, of the discovery that wage labor exists in the USSR:

> "Russian workers do not work to build the communist future, or to give free scope to their natural and acquired powers, in Marx's words. They work for money."

The second element consists of complaints that life under the Stalinists is oppressive. Thus he claimed in his presentation:

> "If the notion of a workers state as a transitional form is to have any meaning whatsoever, it must be gauged not by how many hydroelectric power stations it has built, but by the conscious movement towards communism made by the working class constituted as the nation. How does Russia measure up to this yardstick?"

Berger then indicted the bureaucracy for oppressing women and non-Russian nationalities, for spawning a standing army and monstrous secret police; it denies its subjects elementary rights of organization which "exist, more or less, in Western bourgeois society"; and the very "idea of income equality is regarded as more subversive even than it is in the West." His distinctly pro-imperialist verdict:

> "I submit to you that according to the standards I have set forth, which are the only standards appropriate to a Marxist, the Soviet Union is no further advanced than the United States, and probably less so."

"Wage labor in the Soviet Union"? Even under a "healthy" proletarian state such relations would be maintained until the early stages of socialism. The STO's idealist syndicalist notions, Clarkson pointed out, deny the materialist analysis of Marx's *Critique of the Gotha Program*. And they certainly don't prove the existence of a capitalist class in the USSR. A Spartacist comrade noted in the discussion:

> "When Khrushchev was booted out into retirement, he was given $350 a month pension and a small cabin in the country. That is not a capitalist class. It is simply a bureaucracy which has appropriated more of the good things of life to itself, but it doesn't *live in another way* than the poorest junior sweeper in a Russian factory."

As for Berger's catalogue of Stalinist crimes, this was cribbed straight from *The Revolution Betrayed*. But they didn't lead Trotsky to conclude that capitalism had been restored, that there was nothing left of the conquests of October in the Soviet Union for the workers to defend. An SL spokesman recalled Trotsky's analogy with a doctor looking at a diseased liver: "If a doctor came up and said, 'Oh no, that's a diseased liver, I want nothing to do with it,' what kind of a doctor is he?"

Soviet Workers Wouldn't Permit Capitalist Restoration

Historically, Berger sees a capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union somewhere around 1921-23:

> "In Lenin's eyes, the country was devastated economically, the proletariat no longer existed as a class, the leaders were forced to turn to foreign capital to build an economic base. They were not afraid to do this because the proletariat wielded power through a new state apparatus."

But, he added, "this new state apparatus in fact did not exist." Clarkson pointed

continued on page 8

Only SL has program to combat clerical-nationalist influence among Polish workers.

Der Spiegel

How "State Caps" Render Engels More Profound

Peter Berger, like all other "state cap" theorists, latches onto the passage in Engels' *Anti-Dühring* about the tendency toward statification of a developed capitalist economy. This passage is irrelevant to the Russian question per se since the collectivized Soviet economy clearly has its origins in the proletarian revolution of 1917 and is *not* the product of the organic evolution of an advanced, monopolized capitalist society. Historically, no advanced capitalist country, not even Nazi Germany in World War II, has come anywhere close to the total statification of industry.

Nonetheless, it is important to resolve the question of whether Engels in *Anti-Dühring* (on which Marx closely collaborated) projected the *theoretical* possibility of state capitalism. He did not. Let us look at the controversial passage in its entirety:

> "The modern state, whatever its form, is an essentially capitalist machine, the ideal collective body of all capitalists. The more productive forces it takes over as its property, the more it becomes the real collective body of all the capitalists, the more citizens it exploits. The workers remain wage-earners, proletarians."

This much Berger quotes, but he leaves out the rest of the passage. Let us see why:

> "The capitalist relationship is not abolished; it is rather pushed to an extreme. But at this extreme *it is transformed into its opposite*. State ownership of the means of production is not the solution of the conflict, but it contains within itself the formal means, the key to the solution." [our emphasis]

What exactly did Engels mean that if the state takes over all means of production, the capitalist relationship "is transformed into its opposite"? Unfortunately he doesn't specify. But a careful reading of *Anti-Dühring* as well as of Marx/Engels' other writings on economics leads to a conclusion exactly the opposite of the "state capitalist" theorists.

According to the basic Marxist understanding, capitalism is a system in which all the elements of production are commodities. What then is a commodity? *Anti-Dühring* itself provides an unambiguous answer: "products made in a society of private producers more or less separate from one another." In this basic work, therefore, Engels and Marx are either guilty of an obvious self-contradiction—in one place defining commodities as "private products," in another projecting a single state capital—or they mean that if all the means of production become state property, these *cease* to be commodities, that is, the laws of capitalism cease to apply. The latter is the case.

As Marx carefully explained in *Wages, Price and Profit*, the laws of capitalism are integrally bound up with competition between different capitalists and the equalization of the rate of profit in different branches of production. The division of social product between consumer goods and producer goods is *not* planned in real (use value) terms, but is the result of innumerable market transactions motivated by profit maximization. For example, an increase in money wages will lead to an increase in money demand for consumer goods, thus initially driving up their prices relative to producer goods. The rate of profit in the consumer goods sector becomes relatively higher than in the producer goods sector. Capitalists in the consumer goods sector will therefore bid labor, raw materials and equipment away from the producer goods sector. The net result of all these market transactions will be a change in the relative output of consumer goods and producer goods.

But where all the means of production are state property, none of these capitalistic mechanisms work. An increase in total money wages, as in Poland today, will drive up consumer goods prices. But there is *no automatic economic compulsion* to increase consumer goods production. The state is not interested in maximizing nominal "profits" in one branch of production at the expense of others. Thus during the first Soviet five-year plan total money wages increased greatly, leading to a sharp inflation of consumer goods prices. But this had little, if any, effect on real production. Stalin did not cut back production of tractors and machine tools because shoes and kitchen utensils had become "more profitable" to sell.

In a collectivized economy there is no economic mechanism or need to equalize the nominal "rate of profit" in different branches of production. And in the Soviet Union nominal "rates of profit" in various industries have been widely different for decades. Where the state is the sole owner of the means of production and the sole employer of labor, production will necessarily be planned in real terms. The division of social product between consumer goods and producer goods will be a conscious *political* decision, not the unplanned outcome of innumerable profit-maximizing transactions. That is why in *Anti-Dühring* Engels maintains that state ownership is "the key to the solution" for overcoming the irrationality of the capitalist system.

Debate...

(continued from page 7)

out that this defeatism is merely a variant of Kautsky's argument that since Russia was too backward for socialism, the Bolsheviks themselves were impelled to be the agents of capitalist development. "His actual argument is that in the course of winning the civil war against the imperialist interventionist troops, they lost the revolution. One wonders how they would have won!" The SL speaker also noted that the Berger/Kautsky argument is a form of reformism in reverse—the notion that one class can replace another as ruling class without a confrontation at the military level. And it presumes that the proletariat as a ruling class is impotent, that it will not even fight to maintain the gains of its own revolution.

As for Lenin's vaunted turn toward foreign capital, it was never more than a subsidiary element—a few Armand Hammers and nothing more. Potential investors objected to the constraints demanded by the Bolsheviks, and in any case were not interested in building up the strength of a revolutionary workers state. Clarkson noted:

> "Berger gives a lot of quotes from Engels and Lenin about state capitalism. Essentially the argument is that Lenin needed to make the Soviet Union state capitalist as a transition to socialism. Now, 1) Lenin never said that state capitalism was the only aspect of the Soviet economy.... The socialized sector was the bulk of industry that had fallen into the hands of the Bolsheviks as a result of the October Revolution, and in 1921 it was moribund and destroyed. So what really happened with the 'state capitalism' plans of the Bolsheviks? Well, in 1922, when Lenin calls a retreat to this phase of the NEP [New Economic Policy], he points out, 'We got 17 capitalist firms.' And that's as far as it ever went, as any student of Russian history knows."

What Berger tries to do, the SL speaker continued, is to invent "state capitalism" as a viable system. But it is a "capitalism" without its fundamental contradiction—a clock without the spring, as one Marxist critic put it—that is, with no over-accumulation of surplus value, no historic necessity for socialism, no role for the proletariat as a scientific force of revolution.

In making his "case" for capitalism without capitalists in Russia, Berger discovers a "tendency to accumulate capital" in the fact that "every five-year plan hatched by the bureaucracy has placed a lower priority on expanding the production of consumer goods than producer goods." There follows a recitation which amounts to a syndicalist equation of capitalism with speed-up: Stakhanovism introduced in 1935, piecework universalized after 1939, "1943 becomes the year of the conveyor belt," etc. This is combined with some pseudo-dialectics, so that "1943 also sees a crisis in ideology among the rulers of Russia," a crisis that is resolved by reorganizing the teaching of political economy. Berger summed it up thus:

> "The process of catching up with world capitalism had enabled world capitalism to catch up with Russia. Not, to be sure, in the sense of restoring private property. That was impossible. The Russian workers would never have tolerated it. But through transformation of the bureaucracy into a new ruling class—the Marxist dialectic in its most profound sense."

An SL speaker from the floor trenchantly caught the lifeless quality of Berger's crackpot "economics":

> "[They] are devoid of a kind of social reality. In 1943 there was a crucial discussion in the Soviet Union about the categories of the law of value? In 1943 there was the Second World War! "There's a book by Tony Cliff, the English 'state capitalist'...on Stalinist China. He proves that Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang had a state-capitalist society. And then Mao had a state-capitalist society. He takes all the figures for 1947, 1948, 1949, up to 1955, and the only thing that's missing is the civil war and revolution!"

On the Front Lines

In the discussion, the main and practically only argument put forward by Sojourner Truth supporters was the fraudulent claim that the SL "stands on the sidelines." An STO woman comrade:

> "The hallmark to me of the Spartacist League in my 15 years of participation in the left has always been that whenever there's a real movement, a real struggle, the Spartacists are always on the sidelines throwing eggs.... It is intriguing to me that during the Vietnam War, the Sparts spent more time criticizing the Vietnamese than building the antiwar movement."

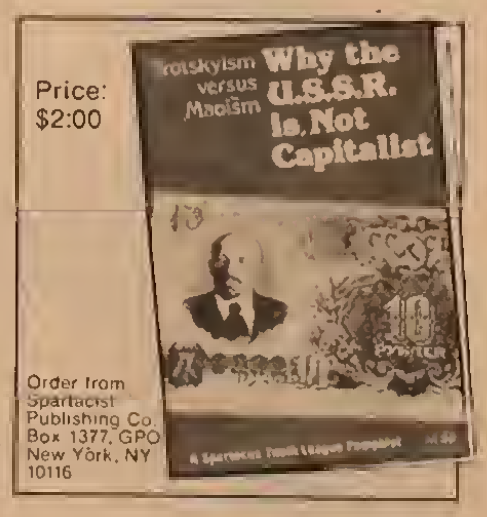
An SL supporter, a militant seaman, refuted this slander:

> "I know what you did on Vietnam. You uncritically hailed the Stalinists, whom you claim to hate. Ten years later you suddenly raise a few criticisms of Stalinism. Do you think that the property relations in Vietnam and Cuba are any different than they are in the Soviet Union? How would you like to work in a North Korean textile mill?... So why all this crap about 'state capitalism'? The difference with Vietnam was that it was extremely popular ten years ago among the petty-bourgeois left, and the Soviet Union is not so popular....
>
> "That's the point on Poland: you don't have a program. Well, no program, no sense of a party. That's the history of Sojourner Truth basically. The problem [for the STO] is that there's always been a Trotskyist movement that has existed for the last 60 years, that has fought for the extension of proletarian revolution. Not Sojourner Truth, which either tailends Stalinist states where they're popular or abandons their defense when they're not."

As for doing nothing for Vietnam, when STO supporters were waving NLF flags, the Spartacist League was calling for "All Indochina Must Go Communist." Today Sojourner Truth has abandoned any defense of Vietnam, while against the 1979 Chinese invasion (with U.S. complicity) the international Spartacist tendency called on the USSR to honor its treaty with Hanoi.

Other Spartacist militants proceeded to demolish the STO's philistine parochial workerism. A member of the editorial board of the SL journal *Women and Revolution* exposed Sojourner Truth's pretensions to fight for women's liberation, pointing to the example of Iran and Afghanistan:

> "So Khomeini has a clear program for women—they should suffocate under their wretched veils; they should die in the thousands from TB and dysentery; they should remain illiterate and they should keep quiet while their daughters are bought and sold like cattle. And STO supported him over the bodies of Iranian women. Because that's what



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support for Khomeini meant. And let's get it clear: mullahs are not Mensheviks, and Khomeini is not Kerensky—their guns are pointed not only at the shah, but at the Kurds, at the Azerbaijanis, and the Iraqis as well.

"And similarly in Afghanistan, these phony Marxists find that their concerns over national sovereignty far outweigh the fact that at this moment the Red Army alone stands between Afghan women and the perpetuation of child slavery in that country. And if you look just over the border into Uzbekistan, where the Red Army intervened a mere 60 years ago, the literacy rate is now about 100 percent, as opposed to about 5 percent in Afghanistan.... But this is of no concern for the STO, because for them a women being photographed in a black garter belt is a real outrage—but if you have to spend your life under a black chador, that's okay. And besides, 'who are we to tell the Afghan people what to wear,' right?"

A laid-off black Chrysler worker from Detroit criticized Sojourner Truth's dead-end nationalism in the factories:

> "What's your program? Bust the seniority system, make white workers give up their jobs. No fight for jobs for all—you oppose that slogan! And what you held up as an example for me and other militant auto workers is DRUM, the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. Among other things, their program called for more black cops and more black foremen. The failings of DRUM were: it tried to organize auto workers on a racial basis, not a class basis. How can you have a sit-down strike with one-half the work force?... We can win with a revolutionary integrationist program. "In Detroit a group of militants a year ago organized black and white workers in the Rouge plant to drive out two foremen who went parading around the plant in Klan hoods. And they were successful! And they went on to help organize a rally against the Klan in downtown Detroit against the wishes of the black mayor.... Talk about 'white-skin privilege' to those Chrysler workers with 15 years seniority who are getting laid off with no hope of a job ever again!"

And a former worker at International Harvester near Chicago on the subject of "throwing eggs":

> "I want to talk about Spartacist League supporters and members always being 'on the sidelines.' I was at Melrose Park [IH plant] when the C.B. Dennis defense [union guards for a black worker's family against racist nightriders] was going on. And I was out there for 11 weeks, and that didn't seem like the sidelines to me, sitting out there waiting for some crazy guy to come along and blow us away. That seemed like the front lines!"

Which Road?

As the discussion continued, supporters of Sojourner Truth became increasingly dispirited. Their last speaker from the floor ended her reply to the Chrysler worker: "I'm in favor of sit-down strikes. We have lines, we have positions, we have theories, but we also experiment in understanding how these theories can be implemented. And it's not always crystal clear. Oh well, fuck it." Berger, in turn, spent a good part of his summary complaining that SL supporters' political characterizations of STO were personal insults. Spartacist speakers stressed that these "state capitalist" theories had been around for 40 years, and that like Burnham and Shachtman their proponents end up as ideologues for American imperialism. The question, asked SL spokesman Clarkson, is: where are the members of Sojourner Truth going?

> "Now, 13 years ago Ignatin was one of the leaders of RYM-II in SDS. He headed an organization that had several thousands of members, subjectively anti-capitalist. Since that time Ignatin and the Sojourner Truth Organization have managed to reduce themselves and that human capital to a parochial, American-centered group—of course, they started with parochial, American-centered conceptions, 'tis true—located within the limits of greater Chicago. For us, on the other hand, the question of Poland and the defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states is not academic. Because we are an international tendency, and for us it is not impossible, although we are small and modest, that we might in the course of our work run into some potential future cadres of what would be a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Poland....
>
> "The question is, where are the members of STO going? They've thrown out Lenin and Marx on the state; they've thrown out, essentially, Marx's analysis of capitalism.... And all for what is essentially some empty-headed, petty-bourgeois cafe intellectual type of theorizing. Now unfortunately, comrades of the STO, these battles will not be fought out in cafes.... Just like it was in Germany, the destruction of the trade unions will result on a national level in the incapacity of the proletariat to struggle for at least a generation. And the defeat of the October Revolution and the gains therein will give the imperialist world bourgeoisie a boost in the arm that will make the class peace that followed the Paris Commune look like a historical incident.
>
> "So it is rather time to grasp the nettle. Either confront the program of revolutionary Marxism, represented in the cadres and program of the Spartacist League, or at least retire! Look, you've been at this a long time, so there is some subjective impulse there that is valuable. But you better make a choice, because objectively you're already on the other side of the class line in theory, and if you do not change your course you will soon be there in tragic deed." ■

Reagan...

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portrait of a Middle American conservative farmer is Major Major's father in Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*: "He was a long-limbed, God-fearing, freedom-loving, law-abiding rugged individualist who held that federal aid to anyone but farmers was creeping socialism." New Right fanatic Jesse Helms claims Reagan's cuts don't go deep enough. But about cutting subsidies to tobacco farmers, the senator declares that in North Carolina, "tobacco isn't a commodity, it's a religion" (*Economist*, 14 February)!

Reaganomics: The Credibility Deficit

Reagan campaigned as an economic superman, a veritable miracle worker. His administration would reindustrialize America, restore military superiority over the Russians, reduce inflation to a trickle, cut taxes by 30 percent, take nothing away from the "truly needy" and still balance the budget. No one can believe in this. It is hard to imagine Reagan believes it himself. Although the Reagan adminstration has been in office all of one month, its economic proposals and projections have been repeatedly contested by its own supporters and officials. The most problematical thing in analyzing Reaganomics is that the figures change literally from day to day.

Take taxes. This seems straightforward enough. Reagan's proposal to cut personal income taxes by 30 percent over three years (the Kemp-Roth bill) was undoubtedly one of his more popular or "populist" campaign promises. Many people believe that, whatever else happens, taxes will be lower. Look again. Amid all the tax-cutting talk, taxes have actually *been raised*. The proposed 10 percent income tax cut to begin next July (which may well be scaled back in Congress) would do little more than offset the increase in Social Security deductions of 10 percent which took effect beginning January 1. Meanwhile, higher money wages and salaries are pushing people into higher and higher income tax brackets, while inflation lowers real wages to below 1965 levels. When all is said and done, at the end of Reagan's first year in office the average tax burden is likely to be *higher* than under Carter.

Reagan's tax-cutting promises were associated with the new-fangled "supply side" economics. "Supply siders" like Arthur Laffer maintain that a big enough tax cut will stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort and investment that national income will increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue, thus balancing the budget. Reagan's economists assigned the "supply side" Claremont Economic Institute to estimate the overall effect of their taxation and budget proposals. The Claremont people duly predicted that if Reagan's policies were carried out, by the end of 1982 the inflation rate would be cut to only 4 percent and national output would be growing at 7.5 percent (the U.S. hasn't experienced this rate of growth since the Korean War boom of 1950-51!). This forecast was so preposterous that GOP Congressional leaders persuaded Reagan to disown the Claremont fantasists lest they completely discredit his economic program.

Oer Spiegel

Welfare office in the South Bronx. No longer "truly needy."

Now Reagan says his economic policies will not really take effect until 1984, that is, almost four years from now. Not until then will the budget be balanced. Quite the contrary. Even with his massive social welfare cuts, Reagan is projecting a budget deficit for 1982 that is *60 percent higher* than Carter's ($45 as against $27.5 billion). Reagan said in his fireside chat on the economy earlier this month:

> "We know now that inflation results from all that deficit spending. Government has only two ways of getting money other than raising taxes. It can go into the money market and borrow, competing with its own citizens and driving up interest rates, which it has done, or it can can print money, and it's done that. Both methods are inflationary."
>
> —*New York Times*, 6 February

Quite true. So while big business is wildly enthusiastic about budget-slashing for the poor, it is *not* happy with the proposed income tax cuts, given the massive increase in military spending. Reagan talks of restoring "freedom of choice" in economic life. In reality, the only choice in Reaganomics is whether the anti-Soviet arsenal of mega-death is paid for by higher inflation or higher taxes.

Fighting the War Budget

Right now Reagan is riding high, but he is likely to run into some stiff resistance from the workers and minorities. Furthermore, his popularity will decline as it becomes obvious that his prescriptions to inflict pain on the poor do not cure the cancerous U.S. economy. And unlike the Republican ideologues surrounding Reagan, the American people do not like the idea of suffering for the sake of Wall Street profits.

Right after Reagan was inaugurated, a *New York Times*/CBS poll reported that traditional right-wing Friedmanite solutions are still decidedly unpopular: 82 percent opposed any decrease in Social Security benefits, 52 percent supported an increase. More narrowly based social programs also continue to have broad support: 72 percent said unemployment compensation should either remain at the same level or be raised; the same percentage was for aid to college students. Even food stamps, long a prime target for right-wing and racist demagogy, are by no means overwhelmingly unpopular. While 47 percent favored cutting the program, the same number opposed this.

As the conservative London *Economist* (7 February), which supported Reagan for the presidency, observed or perhaps warned: "Taking into account the beneficiaries of these entitlement programs, it is reckoned that 110 [million] people—*half the population of the United States*—now derives more than a quarter of their income from the government. There is an obvious political problem in this unhappy statistic: many of these 110 [million] government dependents must have voted Republican and will not relish seeing their income shrivel, however much they believe in budget cutting" (our emphasis). Unlike that living laboratory for Milton Friedman economics, Pinochet's Chile, in the U.S. the labor movement has not been crushed. If Reagan breaks his campaign pledge and takes the ax to basic Social Security entitlement programs, he will have a very short honeymoon indeed!

A fight against the war president's war budget is necessary, but the labor tops and reformists have already promised not to wage it. They complain about the cuts but look to the Democrats to hold on to cherished government programs. The first point in fighting the Reagan cuts is to recognize what they are—part of the imperialist drive against the Soviet Union. The Reagan war budget of course is open to one of the reformists' favorite hoaxes: "less guns, more butter." But to pretend that U.S. imperialism will shift its priorities from the war drive to social services is to lie about the character of decaying U.S. capitalism. You can't duck the Russian question. For class-conscious workers the answer to Reagan's Cold War crusade must be to militantly defend the gains of the October Revolution while denouncing the Kremlin's dangerous illusions of "détente" with warmongers of the Reagan/Haig ilk.

The AFL-CIO tops meeting in Bal Harbor, Florida last week sounded empty rhetoric when they issued a statement on the Reagan budget saying, "Workers and the poor take a lion's share of the risk." The labor fakers made it clear that they accept the Cold War premises of capitalist austerity. Lane Kirkland explained that the AFL-CIO "continues to favor a strong defense," but hoped it would not be "a trade-off for domestic programs" (UPI, 19 February). Kirkland made an idle threat, saying that the programs Reagan sought to cut "were put forward in those times when part of Washington was on fire, burning, and similar episodes were happening in sections of Los Angeles, in Detroit and other parts of the country, and that long black summers were experiences of our past and many of these programs and concerns grew out of them" (UPI, 19 February). Of course, if the ghettos actually are driven beyond the flash point, these do-nothing misleaders will do nothing but fiddle with Reagan while the cities burn.

What is needed is not "more Miamis"—desperate, undirected explosions of discontent—but a powerful class mobilization, with organized labor standing at the head of the black masses in a fight against the bosses and their government, for justice and jobs for all. That struggle will never be undertaken by the Kirklands and Winpisingers, nor by those "guns vs. butter" reformists who refuse to fight the accelerating anti-Soviet war drive. This requires a new class-struggle leadership of labor and oppressed minorities. This is the task of the Trotskyists, who fight for workers political revolution to oust the Brezhnevite bureaucrats in Leningrad and for socialist revolution to sweep Reaganite reaction out of "Retrograd." ■

Welsh Miners Beat Thatcher

LONDON, February 22—As 25,000 Welsh miners struck last Tuesday, the "shadow of '74" was cast over the Tory government of Margaret Thatcher. And that shadow, the threat of the first national coal strike since the miners finished off the last Tory government of Edward Heath, was sufficient to force the first humiliating climbdown for the union-bashing Thatcher government since its election two years ago.

In response to a National Coal Board (NCB) proposal to close up to 50 pits, slashing thousands of miners' jobs, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) executive voted unanimously on February 12 to ballot the membership for national strike action if the closure threats were not withdrawn. As the NCB announced the first of the pits marked for closure—five mines in South Wales—miners in the region started walking off the job spontaneously.

The threat of an uncontrolled wildcat forced the hand of the regional leadership and three days later, February 17, every one of South Wales' miners was out on official strike. Transport and railway workers immediately honored the strikers' pickets and blacked [boycotted] coal shipments. Flying pickets were sent to the power stations and to other mining areas. A day later all of Kent was out and the stoppages had spread to Yorkshire and Scotland to include 35,000 miners around the country. Clearly the mood of the miners was solidly for a fight as they defied not only their right-wing "moderate" president, Joe Gormley, but even "lefts" like Yorkshire leader Arthur Scargill and Scotland's Mick McGahey, a leading Communist Party member.

The memory of the last big ruling-class defeat in 1974 loomed large. The government immediately began to backpedal from its previous stands of no intervention and no increased subsidies. As the strike began to pick up momentum, clearly heading toward a national stoppage, Energy Secretary David Howell moved up the talks scheduled for February 23 by five days in order to propose increased state aid enabling the NCB to withdraw all closure threats and promising a clampdown on coal imports. The vague formula was sufficient for Gormley to swing a 15 to 8 vote in favor of a return to work in an emergency meeting of the NUM executive the following day.

But the mood of a protest lobby of militant miners from Wales and Kent outside the NUM executive was angry and suspicious. "The government is looking for a breathing space," said Kent NUM president Jack Collins. "They will get the men back to work and after the dust has settled they will pick us off one by one." The radical populist Scargill was booed and jostled and subjected to chants of "scab, scab" for failing to bring the strategic, 55,000-strong Yorkshire region out. "Gormley wants a purge and Scargill wants the presidency," observed one disgusted Welsh miner to a *Spartacist Britain* reporter. The following day, delegate meetings in South Wales voted for a return to work while Yorkshire and Scotland called off their proposed strike action.

In 20 years Britain's mining industry has gone from 700,000 men to 250,000. Areas like South Wales in particular, already hit hard by massive redundancies [layoffs] in steel are economically devastated. Meanwhile, the NUM begs the capitalist state for more government subsidies and calls for a reactionary protectionist ban on all coal imports. Import controls will do nothing to save miners' jobs, but only whip up chauvinist sentiment that ties the workers to their own dying bourgeoisie and sets them against their class brothers overseas.

The miners' strike has had a real impact on the political situation in the country. For weeks the bourgeois press and political discussion generally had been preoccupied with the brouhaha over the supposed threat to parliamentary government posed by the Labour Party's recent decision to give the trade unions a decisive say in the election of the party leader, a decision which led to the split by the right-wing "gang of four." But when the coal miners showed their muscle last week, the ruling class really quaked in its boots. And for good reason. A national miners' strike could have triggered a general working-class offensive against the deeply hated Thatcher, whose monetarist economic policies (in part inspired by Reaganite Republican Milton Friedman) have brought about conditions not seen since the Great Depression of the '30s. Due to the cowardice of the Mineworkers leadership, including "leftists" Scargill and McGahey, the final fight with Thatcher remains to be had. But it will be had!

Down with the Tory government! No trust in the Labour bureaucrats! Build a Trotskyist Party! For a workers government! ■

Sturrock/Report

One-day general strike in Cardiff, Wales, January 28, 1981.

Coal Miners to Reagan:

Don't Dare Cut Black Lung Fund!

"If we have to, we will close down every coal mine in this country," warned United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) president Sam Church at a protest rally in front of the White House on February 19. Church led about 75 members of the UMWA staff to the site to denounce Reagan's devastating cut in black lung benefits for disabled miners. It was virtually the only peep of protest from American union leaders against Reagan's massive anti-labor program.

No doubt Church feels the heat from the UMWA ranks, who do not appreciate watching their family members suffocating with pneumoconiosis while Reagan tells them to eat coal dust. Coming not long before the March 27 expiration of the contract for 170,000 coal miners, Reagan may well have undermined Church's maneuvers to avoid a strike. But what is really needed to defeat the bosses' austerity scheme is a massive counteroffensive by the entire labor movement.

The labor traitors like Kirkland and Church must be ousted by a class-struggle leadership. Break with the Republicans and Democrats—We need a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Spain...

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"mad colonel's coup" was *warning* of a real military takeover if the generals—unregenerate (though not crazy) Francoists almost to a man—don't get their way.

King Juan Carlos, appointed by the defunct dictator, is being hailed as the savior of "Spanish democracy." But the fact that the *golpe* was not dismantled until after the monarch's intervention confirms that he is not a mere figurehead but the ultimate commander-in-chief of the armed forces. This time he ordered the high command to support civilian government. Tomorrow the king's authority to impose or sanction a "strong state" regime will be greatly reinforced. And the army has repeatedly hinted darkly or threatened openly to sweep aside the feeble parliament if the left grows in strength or Basque nationalist terrorists remain active. "Spanish democracy" could easily experience a bonapartist transformation, for the sinister forces and anti-democratic institutions of the Francoist dictatorship have never been truly rooted out. *Beware of kings who call off coups!*

Perhaps the most dangerous aspect of the bizarre Cortes coup attempt is that the working class did not act. The army stayed in its barracks while the armed national police—the *grises*, no less dangerous than the Guardia Civil—surrounded the parliament building. The unions and mass parties of the working class, notably the Eurocommunist PCE of Santiago Carrillo and social-democratic PSOE of Felipe González, ordered the masses to stay home. They argued that this was "an isolated incident that was apparently not supported by the armed forces." So what should the workers have done—waited until a serious coup effort came along and they would be met by a determined, united military wall of fire? This parliamentary cretinist policy is a program of bloody defeat. *Remember 1936!*

The responsibility for the present dangerous situation lies squarely in the hands of the González and Carrillos, who by their repeated refusal to call for general strike action during the dying days of the Franco era allowed the Francoists to preserve as much as possible of their positions of strength. The resulting "reinforced democracy" has left the workers politically out in the cold, while facing mounting unemployment and rampaging inflation. Already voices are being heard among the petty bourgeoisie to "bring back Franco," while workers are streaming out of the PCE and PSOE by the tens of thousands in demoralization. The same crisis has hit the so-called "far left" as well, which only tailed after the PCE/PSOE reformists and had no alternative to bankrupt parliamentarism. It is deeply ironic that the chief reformist betrayers were among the hostages taken by the killers whom they had given a new lease on life.

The Spanish workers hate the Guardia Civil with a passion and bitterness that could open the door to revolution. Even a moderate-sized revolutionary propaganda group would have seized the crucial moment of this warning coup, seeking to mobilize the proletariat in the hundreds of thousands to deliver its own warning to the Francoist murderers. A Trotskyist leadership would have called for general strike action to frustrate the putsch; for the formation of union-based, non-party workers' militias to seize barracks and army convoys; for soldiers committees to polarize the army; for a march on the Cortes to disperse the fascists and putschists. Proletarian defense committees would lay the basis for soviet bodies that could sweep away the armed institutions that were the backbone of Francoism, mobilizing for workers revolution. But in the absence of such action, it will be all the more difficult even to jail the Guardia Civil torturers who terrorize the Basque population and pose a permanent threat to the entire working class.

Recall the Kapp putsch in Germany, 1921, when the German working class rose up en masse to block the path of a small group of ultra-rightist militarists, opening the way for a new revolutionary crisis some months later. In Spain, had there been such an outpouring in October 1934 (when the ultra-right entered the cabinet) instead of an isolated uprising in Asturias, the course of Spanish history would have been much different and hundreds of thousands of proletarian lives would have been saved. It was this crucial failure that paved the way for Francoism.

On guard! Reaction has only shown one broken tooth, but it will bare its fangs again. The formation of workers militias is an urgent task of self-defense for the Spanish labor movement. The Guardia Civil and all special bonapartist political police must be liquidated. And this will be accomplished not by "democratic" monarchs or impotent parliaments, but through the struggle for proletarian revolution. ■

Central America...

(continued from page 12)

fully confirm our warnings. While liberals and reformists talk only of "self-determination" for El Salvador—refusing even to take clear sides in the civil war raging there—revolutionaries place the struggle in its global context. We demand: Military Victory to Salvador Left Insurgents! U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America! Defend Cuba and the USSR!

Lies and Threats

Amid all the war talk of throwing a "cordon sanitaire" around Cuba and "refusing to rule out" U.S. troops to Central America, on February 23 the administration finally released its "White Paper" on El Salvador, more than 100 pages of lies and distortions. Even the bourgeois press put the word "evidence" in quotation marks, as the only "hard" material in the document talks of promises of arms from East European regimes, Vietnam and Ethiopia. The rest consists of thank you notes to Castro for his "help" and "requests" to the Hungarian embassy in Mexico; offers of "advice and exchange of opinions" by Nicaraguan leaders and statements that the Sandinistas view "the cause of El Salvador as their own" are taken as proof positive of "indirect aggression."

Contrary to Reagan's recent comments, cooking up such fictitious "proof" as a justification for military intervention is actually a specialty of U.S. imperialism. Recall the Gulf of Tonkin incident (which only appeared as alleged blips on a radar screen), the basis for sending American troops to Vietnam; or LBJ's famous list of 50-plus "communists" (most of them in jail or out of the country) in Santo Domingo, his excuse for landing the Marines in 1965. But more than just debunking Washington's lies is called for here. *If there were adequate Soviet, Cuban and Nicaraguan aid to the left-wing forces in El Salvador, there wouldn't have been the more than 12,000 victims of the junta butchers and rightist death squads in 1980!* It is criminal that the Soviet ambassador in Washington can truthfully plead innocent to Reagan's charges. All the more so as it is increasingly clear that the U.S.' real targets are Managua, Havana and Moscow.

Already Reagan cut off $15 million in economic aid to Nicaragua left over from the $75 million authorized under the Carter administration, using the excuse of Sandinista arms supplied to the Salvadoran left. He even slapped an embargo on a scheduled shipment of 20,000 tons of wheat contracted for by the Nicaraguan government; if no alternate supplies are found, this will mean that bread will no longer be available there by the end of March. Washington's hard-line message has gotten across to Managua, which is now pushing for some kind of negotiated settlement with elements in the Salvadoran junta. Sandinista leader Tomás Borge told the *New York Times* (16 February):

> "In El Salvador, the guerrillas could not defeat the army and the army could not defeat the guerrillas. Things cannot continue like this. It is convenient neither for the Government nor for the guerrillas, neither for the United States nor for us. No defeat and no victory seems possible, so we feel that a political solution should be sought."

To encourage El Salvador leftists to take a similar stance, the Sandinistas recently shut down the Salvadoran "Radio Liberación" on Nicaraguan territory.

Balance Sheet of the "General Offensive"

The "general offensive" carried out last month by El Salvador's left-wing guerrillas failed to spark the hoped-for popular uprising or to defeat the U.S.-backed military junta's forces. The offensive demonstrated the military capability of the rebel forces, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), to take on the Salvadoran army throughout the country. But it also demonstrated that the FMLN is still too weak to defeat the junta's forces and that the population was not yet prepared to join in a massive insurrection. After ten days of fighting, in which leftist forces briefly held several key towns, the rebels called a "tactical retreat" to regroup their forces and prepare for the next round of battles. Thus the offensive was a failure as measured by the goals the FMLN leaders set for themselves: there was no mass rising and the rebels did not succeed in setting up a "liberated zone" in which to establish a rival government.

Since the offensive the guerrillas have been keeping pressure on the junta with hit-and-run tactics. A virtual press blackout has kept it out of the newspapers: only one TV channel reported it when guerrillas spectacularly blew up the Exxon refinery. But the main offensive being waged by the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) now is diplomatic, not military. According to the *New York Times*' Alan Riding, "If they fail in their next push, their leaders said privately, they hope at least to win a place at the bargaining table" (*New York Times*, 8 February). The liberal wing of the Salvadoran church, headed by Archbishop Rivera y Damas, is also urging a compromise between civilian junta head Napoleón Duarte and his former associate, FDR head Guillermo Ungo.

The "realistic" perspective of the FDR for a negotiated solution to the civil war poses a deadly danger to the Salvadoran masses. In the first place Reagan, eager to teach Cuba and the USSR a "bloody lesson" in Central America, is interested only in one kind of "solution" for the Salvadoran left: a "final solution." Delaying the necessary military day of reckoning with Reagan's puppets in the hopes of cutting a deal is both politically and literally suicidal. Moreover, even if some sort of negotiated settlement were possible, the bottom line for the bourgeoisie would be preservation of at least part of the *gorila* officer caste. The military and paramilitary forces are prepared to massacre up to 200,000 workers and peasants to put down "Communist subversion." Any deal which would preserve even a part of this corps of sadistic murderers would simply prepare savage repression in the future. Just look at the actions of the "reform junta" installed by the U.S. in October 1979! No deal with the butcher colonels! Break with the bourgeoisie!

Which Way Forward?

The U.S. liberals and their reformist left boosters attempt to avoid at all costs the key question of Russia and Cuba. For the liberals the question posed in El Salvador is "What should be the policy of U.S. imperialism?" Currently they are focusing their efforts on House Resolution 1509 to prohibit military aid or credit to the junta. They do *not* oppose economic aid to El Salvador, which junta front man Napoleón Duarte says is even more vital than guns in propping up the shaky U.S. puppet regime. They are tailed by leftists and Salvadoran nationalists in groups like the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) who have consistently (and unsuccessfully) tried to exclude supporters of the Spartacist League from recent El Salvador demonstrations. The reformists and nationalists object not only to our denunciation of the bourgeois politicians in the FDR popular front but even to our slogan of "Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents" because it might scare off some liberal Congressmen.

"Let the people of El Salvador decide" was the headline on a full-page ad recently placed in the *New York Times* and other newspapers by CISPES. But self-determination is not the question in El Salvador. In the early days of the anti-Vietnam War movement the liberals called for all "foreign" troops out of South Vietnam and tried to pose the class war in Indochina as simply a question of national self-determination. But North Vietnamese troops and Soviet aid were *key* to the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam, which was also the scene of a showdown between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet bloc deformed workers states. As revolutionaries we would welcome the maximum in military aid by Cuba and the Soviet Union to the Salvadoran rebels. In the face of Reagan's war threats against Castro, we call on the USSR to come to the defense of Cuba with whatever means are necessary.

The struggle in El Salvador cannot be separated from the fate of the Nicaraguan revolution. Reagan has written Nicaragua off as lost to "Marxism" despite the fact that the Sandinistas have been careful to preserve capitalist property and to share the ruling junta with bourgeois representatives. But the Nicaraguan capitalists, already deeply embroiled in coup plots and economic sabotage, are a point of support for counterrevolution, and the Sandinista Liberation Front (FSLN) leaders know it. Just as Eisenhower's turn against the Cuban Revolution pushed Castro into the Soviet camp and forced radical nationalizations on the petty-bourgeois July 26 Movement, Reagan's hard line against Nicaragua may force the FSLN further than it wants to go on the road to expropriating the bourgeoisie. But if Washington forces the consolidation of a deformed workers state in Nicaragua, it will be because it plans to roll on into Managua with its ex-Somoza mercenaries after smashing the left in El Salvador. This is no abstract danger. The Sandinistas' attempt to conciliate imperialism and the local bourgeoisie could spell their own doom.

The crisis over El Salvador is not merely a question of U.S. big stick policies in the Caribbean/Central American region it views as its "backyard." For Cold Warrior Reagan, El Salvador is the front line in the battle against world Communism. The defeat of the guerrillas there would only whet his appetite for attacks and military threats against Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet-bloc states (first of all Poland). The military victory of the leftist rebels, however, would deal a stinging blow to Reagan's plans for global counterrevolution. Reagan has forced a showdown in which the alternatives in Central America are literally victory or death. And victory—workers revolution—depends on uncompromising class struggle, led by a proletarian Trotskyist vanguard, against all wings of the bourgeoisie in El Salvador and Nicaragua. ■

Cambio 16

Salvadoran FMLN guerrillas prepare the "final offensive."

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Speaker: Jan Norden, editor,
Workers Vanguard
SL Central Committee

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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S. Hands Off! Defend Cuba, USSR!
Military Victory to El Salvador Left Insurgents!

Central America: Hot Spot of the Cold War

FEBRUARY 24—The Reagan administration threw its El Salvador offensive into high gear last week, and its real targets were immediately clear: Washington is challenging the Soviet Union and Cuba to a showdown in Central America. In this anti-Soviet crusade, Yankee imperialism has pointed a gun at the head of Sandinista Nicaragua, demanding it cut off aid to Salvadoran left-wing rebels. The U.S.' West European allies have been read the order of the day; they will be expected to stand at attention, whatever their yearnings for "détente." And the Pentagon is already funneling greatly increased military hardware and "advisers" to prop up the murderous junta in San Salvador. In the name of "stopping Communist expansionism," Ronald Reagan's Cold War bloodbath has begun in Central America.

San Salvador's main post office during guerrilla offensive.

Der Spiegel

The orchestrated campaign led off with closed-door Senate testimony by Secretary of State General Alexander Haig, following which Foreign Relations Committee chairman Senator Charles Percy blustered that the U.S. would not stand idly by while "outside forces—outside our hemisphere or within our hemisphere" attempted to topple the Salvador junta (*New York Times*, 18 February). Next came a State Department memorandum, released Thursday, asserting that "the insurgency in El Salvador has been progressively transformed into a textbook case of indirect armed aggression by Communist powers." The textbook, of course, was written not by V.I. Lenin or even Castro but by J. Edgar Hoover. And on Sunday top presidential adviser Edwin Meese went on national TV to threaten a naval blockade of Havana ("U.S. to Cuba: We'll Blockade Over Salvador," *New York Post*, 24 February).

As we have underlined in recent weeks, the stakes in El Salvador go far beyond the fate of the masses in that long-suffering Central American statelet. As it becomes the focal point in Reagan's Cold War drive, a counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua is posed and the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union are directly at issue. The ominous events of the last few days

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Bay Area SL Overwhelms Anti-Trotskyist Exclusion

"For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!"

SAN FRANCISCO, February 14—Nearly 100 Spartacist League members and supporters marched in a demonstration of about 500 today through San Francisco's predominantly Latino Mission District demanding "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!" The march had been called by local Bay Area labor leaders and the "Committee of Progressive Salvadoreans." Behind our banners "Yankee Imperialism—Hands Off El Salvador!" and "Break with the Bourgeoisie—For Workers Revolution in El Salvador!" the Spartacist contingent, joined by members of the ILWU's Militant Caucus and Communications Workers of America Militant Action Caucus, was by far the largest organized group at the march. But this did not prevent the Communist Party hacks and Salvadoran nationalists from attempting to split the march in order to "insulate" those in attendance from our revolutionary politics.

When the Spartacist contingent arrived at the march's starting point (outnumbering the march organizers present), a spokesman from the "Committee of Progressives" objected to various SL signs and slogans, such as "Defend Cuba and the USSR," "For Trotskyist Parties in El Salvador and Throughout Central America!" and demanded that they be taken down. SL spokesmen refused, insisting on our right to raise questions of political strategy for the Salvadoran revolution. When the Spartacist contingent chanted "U.S./OAS: Hands Off El Salvador!" and "Break with the Capitalists—Workers to Power!" the march organizers went into a frenzy.

WV Photo

SF, February 14: Spartacist contingent could not be excluded.

One CP honcho screamed that our chants and signs showed a "lack of respect" for the popular-front FDR coalition and would not be allowed. But lacking the forces to physically exclude us, the march organizers decided to split the march and huffed off, dragging their followers across the street.

WV reporters heard these frightened reformists trying to explain this cowardly sectarian split to their confused followers: "Those people don't support the FDR—they're for workers revolution." Evidently, many in attendance did not see what was wrong with that, as nearly 100 pieces of Spartacist literature in English and Spanish were sold at the rally in the Civic Center following the march. The Spartacist contingent marked the end of the rally with a spirited and well-received chant: "Down with the Junta, Workers to Power!"

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 276

13 March 1981

Front Line El Salvador

Smash Junta Terror!

Philippot/Sygma

"There is unfortunately no effective Soviet aid going to the insurgents in El Salvador. Because if there were, we wouldn't have had 12,000 people who died at the hands of right-wing death squads and the junta's army in the last year. That is the proof."

Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Cuba, USSR!

We print below the edited first half of a speech by Jan Norden, editor of Workers Vanguard *and member of the Spartacist League Central Committee, recently delivered in Boston and New York under the title, "For Workers Revolution in Central America." An expanded version of the second half, focusing on Nicaragua, will be published in our next issue.*

It's high noon in Central America. The whole isthmus is red-hot, bubbling like the volcanic chain that forms its backbone. A string of banana republics, puppet dictatorships and oligarchic tyrannies have shot their wad, and there is an historic day of reckoning approaching. There is a general crisis of bourgeois rule in the region, such as it has been practiced over the last half century. And in this explosive situation a new administration has moved into the White House which is determined to send a bloody message to the Kremlin. The message consists of Huey helicopters, 105 millimeter bazookas, PT patrol boats and U.S. "military advisers." The blood is supposed to be that of the Central American masses. Reagan has challenged Castro and Brezhnev to a shoot-out over El Salvador, and Central America is now the focal point of the Cold War—the point at which all the energy of imperialism's anti-Soviet war drive is concentrated on the tinder of popular outrage and the flames begin to leap up.

To meet this challenge the left, both in Latin America and in the imperialist centers, has to face head-on the basic question, to take a stand in the confrontation between rapacious imperialism and the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. It won't do to appeal to liberal "concern" over genocide. In the first place, this is not just another case of the U.S. backing up some bloodthirsty butchers in its backyard. When Teddy Roosevelt was riding roughshod over these little statelets, American imperialism was mainly concerned with consolidating its regional hegemony. The Spanish-American War and dollar diplomacy were centrally aimed at turning the Monroe Doctrine into reality. Building the Panama Canal enabled the U.S. for the first time to possess a two-ocean navy. It was part of the carving up of the colonial world by imperialism in preparation for World War I. The issue half a century ago, the last time that Central America was big news, was essentially regional. This time the stakes are far higher.

So in the last couple weeks we have been treated to this outcry over Soviet arms in El Salvador. I have here the State Department's "White Paper." I guess they have to call them white papers because their real purpose is to throw mud in the eyes of the public, so they don't see what's going on. So the first thing you have to do is to debunk the imperialist lies. To recall President Reagan's words of a few weeks ago: who is it that goes around the world lying,

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Lahman/Visions

Deportation often means death. Salvadoran refugees await deportation in Mexican jail.

Asylum for Refugees from El Salvador!

REPRINTED FROM YOUNG SPARTACUS NO. 89, MARCH 1981

While Reagan showers his El Salvador butchers with Huey helicopters and American military "advisers," back home the U.S. Immigration Service is doing its bit to contribute to the bloodbath. In January the Spartacist League reported how *la migra* has been deporting several hundred Salvadorans *a week* to the clutches of the murderous junta and its right-wing execution squads. This airlift to death came to light when 42 Salvadorans awaiting deportation in an INS concentration camp at El Centro, California went on a hunger strike after learning about a Christmas Day massacre of a group of deportees at the San Salvador airport.

The 2 March *New York Times* carried a lengthy story investigating this grisly business. In the last fiscal year, the *Times* reported, nearly 12,000 Salvadorans were sent back to face the sadistic junta torturers and assassins. It noted that some of those deported were trade unionists and teachers whose names have appeared on "what purport to be 'death lists'." The article reports a spokesman for the U.S. embassy affirming "that he had heard

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The Terror Times

For those who wish on liberal stars to make the Reagan/Haig war frenzy go away it's time to wake up. A sign from the *Times*: the respectable good gray lady of American journalism has plunged into Hearst/Murdoch-style "the Russians are coming" propaganda. The 1 March Sunday *New York Times Magazine* cover story, "Terrorism: Tracing the International Network," by Claire Sterling, was the kind of sleazy yellow journalism that set off reactionary wars earlier in the century. The *Times* obviously had this smear job Kremlin gold-and-guns pastiche waiting in the wings, with all the guns, the ski masks, the blood, the old photos. Today "responsible" liberalism only means holding off a few weeks after General Haig fired off his opening shot to take up the Big Lie campaign that the USSR is running an international terrorist conspiracy—no "decent interval" here.

In her "terrorist" potboiler (soon to be a *Reader's Digest* book, of course) Sterling poses as a "sadder but wiser" liberal. Until recently (Reagan's election?), she writes, she would have been among those Americans who "shook their heads despairingly at what sounded to them like nothing more than an old cold warrior's refrain." But now she hails Haig for "going public" with the real "news" about the Kremlin: "There is massive proof that the Soviet Union and its surrogates, over the past decade, have provided the weapons, training and sanctuary for a world-wide terror network aimed at the destabilization of Western Democratic society." BS.

How did Claire Sterling stop shaking her head and learn to love the Haig terror scenario? "Research," she writes, research. But she doesn't have any proof, "massive" or puny; she can't even marshal effective innuendo to prove that there's some Soviet "terror network" stretching from the IRA to the PLO to the Red Brigades to the Baader-Meinhof group to Cuba to El Salvador. An RAFer sunning himself on a Bulgarian beach—that's "the Russian connection" in this sordid genre. More "research" like that and she'll be discovering that the Soviets are equipping subway muggers to "destabilize" NYC's underground. But she's already way behind the New York governor: "Gold-chain grabbers? Carey blames Soviet heroin-war strategy," headlined the *Post* last October.

There was some genuinely clinical paranoia about the Soviets after World War II, but this current propaganda blitz is simply a cynical attempt to manipulate public opinion. So liberal Sterling borrows witchhunter Joseph McCarthy's methods, jumbling up everything in the hope that some of the mud will stick. The USSR is much too stodgy for the likes of the German RAF (Baader-Meinhof group) or the Italian Red Brigades; in fact the Italian Communist Party has fulsomely and actively backed state repression and trade-union witchhunting against the Red Brigades. The "discoveries" of a "Russian menace" lurking behind the IRA, the PLO and so forth are simply an attempt to find a global Cold War rationale for backing the naked state terror unleashed against the Palestinians by the Israeli bourgeoisie (and don't forget Thatcher's "H-Block" hellhole for IRA nationalists)—real terrorism which makes the IRA and PLO look pacifistic by comparison.

What's really going on here is a renewed imperialist propaganda drive to denounce *all* national-liberation movements as "terrorists" and "criminals." Remember the Western press treatment of the Algerian FLN fighting French colonialism, the Angolan MPLA fighting the Portuguese, etc. But should these groups win and come to power, send their people to the UN, have accredited diplomats in Western capitals and play by the imperialist rules of the game, then yesterday's "terrorist" becomes today's "statesman." Remember the sanctimonious mourning for ex-Mau Mau leader turned pro-Western "moderate" Jomo Kenyatta. In other words, *the imperialists call "terrorist" those people they intend to kill and believe they can.* That the U.S. leaders now apply this term to the ever-so-conservative bureaucrats of the Russian Politburo is a very dangerous sign indeed. And they're not just talking: Presidential Directive 58 directly targets the Soviet leadership for nuclear death.

"International terrorism" is the Reagan code word for a war drive against the Soviet Union, just as "Human Rights" was Carter's. The government's lying "White Paper" on El Salvador is only the latest "proof" they have manufactured. But the tragic fact is that the USSR is not at all interested in "exporting revolution." The real evidence is bitter enough: the blood of 12,000-plus Salvadorans massacred by the junta's death squads in 1980. Too bad the Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow hasn't supplied the rebels with adequate arms, just as in Vietnam it starved the NLF and DRV forces, supplying them only minimal, outmoded military aid and thus prolonging the agony of the war.

The exporters of "international terror" are well known, as are their true ideologues, listed recently by Alexander Cockburn in an informative *Village Voice* (4 March) piece on the Robert Moss/Arnaud de Borchgrave/Walter Lacqueur "small band of extremists." Among the bloody acts of imperialist terror Cockburn points to is the murder of former Chilean ambassador Orlando Letelier and his American assistant right in Washington, D.C. by Pinochet's security forces and their *gusano* cohorts. (Reagan's response, rather than "punish terrorism," was to "de-link" Chile and welcome it back into the fold with open arms.) Or Cuba, which has been the target of an ongoing terrorist campaign, from the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion and at least eight assassination attempts against Castro to the bombing of a Cubana Airlines plane, which left over 80 dead.

But talking about this official policy of imperialist state terror doesn't fit the Cold War purpose of "responsible" liberals like the *New York Times*. That's the "international terrorist conspiracy" story they don't see fit to print. ■

All the CIA "disinformation" that's fit to print.

Workers Power Rotten Bloc

With the Reagan Current

It's not unusual in U.S. radical circles for a gaggle of academic dilettantes, political losers and renegades from left organizations to come together, put out a journal and proclaim themselves the fresh new breeze in town. In general one whiff of the political aroma surrounding such groups is more than enough to send serious Marxists running in the opposite direction, fast. *Against the Current*, a "socialist quarterly magazine sponsored by Workers Power," is no exception to the general rule. But the story of how this gang of political burn-outs came together serves us well as a cautionary tale for the Reagan years. Demoralized centrists: this can happen to you!

The story of *Against the Current*, two issues of which have appeared to date, is told in its catalog of 36 editors and "editorial associates." The magazine is run by co-editors Steve Zeluck and Bob Brenner of Workers Power, formerly one of the permanent clique/factions in the workerist International Socialists (IS). Inheritors of the miserable "Third Camp" anti-Soviet tradition of Max Shachtman, Workers Power shares their piece of political turf with half a dozen other disintegration produets of the IS. What unites Workers Power, the IS, ISO, RSL, LRP, etc. is their refusal to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution against imperialist attack. But what is notable about *Against the Current* is that some of the homeless "boat people" of ostensible Trotskyism have sought refuge in this safe harbor of "State Department socialism" during the coming storms of the Cold War.

The editorial associates of *Against the Current* include several former members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) who left that organization at various times over the past three decades. There's Milt Zaslow, who split from the SWP in 1953 as a supporter of the Michel Pablo-led revisionist faction of the shattered Fourth International. There's Myra Tanner Weiss, long-time Pabloist, forced out of the SWP in 1965. There's Hedda Garza, expelled from the SWP in 1974 as a leader of the Internationalist Tendency (IT), the orphaned children of former Pablo lieutenant Ernest Mandel. There's Juliet Ucelli of the Mandelite fellow-traveling New York Committee for Marxist Education. These remnants of U.S. Pabloism would claim, of course, to defend the Soviet Union. It's just not a "split issue" for them. That's the kind of outfit *Against the Current* is: to accommodate both the Shachtmanites and the Pabloists the magazine declares itself "anti-Stalinist" but does not characterize the Soviet Union or raise the question of defensism. The second issue of the journal features a lengthy leading article on Poland—without saying what kind of class society Poland is.

The Workers Power magazine dedicates itself to the task of "regrouping" the "non-sectarian" left. But *Against the Current*'s complaint about the "left sects" is more than just a rejection of Leninist organizational discipline and Leninist politics—although it surely is that. For the Pabloists it is an excuse to abandon even the pretense of Soviet defensism in order to join the Russia-haters and liberals on Reagan's Cold War bandwagon. What really scotch tapes this gang to Worker Power is the fact that the Reagan years look like tough times for the left. And even tougher times for authentic Trotskyists who defend the Soviet Union while calling for political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

With Reagan in the White House and an anti-Soviet drive well under way, *the* crucial test of revolutionaries is the willingness to stand up in defense of the gains of the October Revolution and of the degenerated and deformed workers states from imperialism. *Against the Current* borrows its name from the collection of Lenin and Zinoviev's writings against imperialist war and against the reformist and centrist betrayers in the socialist movement who sold out to "their" bourgeoisies in World War I. Despite the name, the new *Against the Current*, floating downstream on the current of anti-Sovietism, has more in common with the social-patriots Lenin bitterly denounced. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 276 13 March 1981

Correction

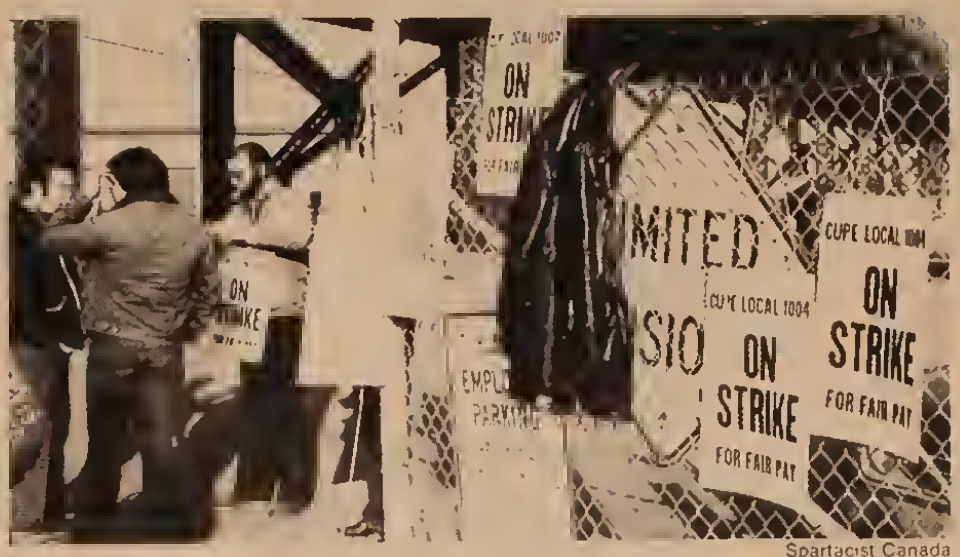
The headline of the article on the Ontario Federation of Labour convention in *WV* No. 270 (12 December 1980) incorrectly states that supporters of the Communist Party voted against the convention motion for a labor anti-Klan demonstration. As the article noted, supporters of the CP did *speak* against the motion from the convention floor, counterposing reliance on the capitalist government to labor-centered action against the Klan. Characteristically, however, they did not *vote* against it.

For a B.C. General Strike, Now!

VANCOUVER, March 6—More than 6,000 unionists paralyzed the southern part of Vancouver Island today, shutting it down in a one-day general strike as a dramatic show of support for the embattled Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU). Almost nothing moved in traditionally militant Nanaimo in response to the British Columbia Federation of Labor's call to protest the phone bosses' latest union-busting move. In an attempt to gut the union of militants, B.C. Telephone, having supposedly reached agreement with the TWU on all other issues, arrogantly refuses to rehire over two dozen TWUers fired for picket line "misbehavior." B.C. Fed president Jim Kinnaird has warned B.C. Tel to sign a back-to-work agreement or "We'll start walking off the job from one end of this province to the other" (*Vancouver Sun*, 4 March).

While the capitalists' media wail, the British Columbia workers are ready to fight—in their tradition as the most militant and class-conscious section of labor in North America. It's certainly a far cry from the union scene in the United States today. TWU and municipal workers' flying picket squads closed down hundreds of companies, sometimes with just one picket, as unionists enthusiastically carry out B.C. Fed policy: "A picket line means don't cross." A militant among the 10,000-plus striking members of the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) told *Spartacist Canada* that workers strangled by court orders limiting pickets to four at the crucial Vancouver-area garbage dump want to "defy the injunctions" and bring back "mass picketing." The TWU members, who tasted real power during their five-day occupation of key phone locations last month, are raring to go. A TWU leader admitted, "We've had to sit on a lot of our workers" (*Province*, 5 March).

With an angry membership breathing down their necks, the B.C. Fed leaders have adopted a town-by-town rotating mini-general strike plan. But Kinnaird & Co. have refused to go after the decisive center, Vancouver. And it will take more than warning gestures to win reinstatement of the fired militants, cancel the crippling fines and wipe out possible jail terms hanging over the TWU. No firings, no citations, no victimizations! The flying pickets work, so extend them! But why chase management scabs across the province? Shut down B.C. Tel with mass pickets! Enough of this union-busting by smug General Tel executives sitting in Stamford, Connecticut: Expropriate B.C. Tel with not a penny for the bosses! And what about CUPE's fight? Throw the nearly 100 anti-picketing injunctions into the garbage! Mass picket the dumps!



Spartacist Canada

Striking Vancouver municipal workers picket garage entrance.

The Trotskyist League of Canada says: *It's time for a Vancouver-centered, province-wide general strike!* And not just a sympathy action. All B.C. unions should demand: Rehire all victimized unionists, no reprisals against the strikers! Drop all charges, contempt citations and injunctions! Smash the anti-labor laws and win the unfettered right to strike! Wipe out the results of Trudeau's wage controls: Fight for a big wage boost for all B.C. workers—an immediate 20 percent catch-up, across the board—as well as full COLA! Settle the existing disputes on the strikers' terms! Militant British Columbia workers can show the way for labor across North America.

Unfortunately, B.C.'s trade-union leadership doesn't want to launch such an all-out fight. Despite their militant rhetoric (and occasional action) the labor brass accepts the framework of the capitalists and their laws. While sometimes the bureaucrats are forced into action by pressure from below in order to keep their authority (for example, TWU president Clark and the occupations), their real program is not class struggle, but the election of a New Democratic Party (NDP) government. That's why Kinnaird stonewalled for months before marshaling even a small portion of the Fed's troops behind the TWU, and then only for one day, while apparently ready to let CUPE and the thousands of other strikers go it alone.

Already the B.C. NDP, seeing power within its grasp, is doing its utmost to preserve its "respectability" in the eyes of the bosses. Not only has the NDP *refused to support* the TWU/CUPE strikes, but former labor minister Bill King has condemned the B.C. Fed's action on Vancouver Island: "I don't support what they are doing. I think where a contract exists that contract should be honored" (*Vancouver Sun*, 6 March). Vancouver's NDP mayor Mike Harcourt is daily scabbing on the CUPE strike and playing his role as *management* to the hilt. He says CUPE is demanding too much! And lest anyone think that the NDP's massive 1975 strikebreaking Bill 149 was a "mistake," leader Dave Barrett was explicit February 16 at the University of British Columbia when he responded to a challenge from a Trotskyist League supporter: "I make no bones about it, we would pass the same legislation"!

Militants who might look to the Communist Party of Canada (CP) as an alternative will fare no better. Perhaps the CP will disavow its active electioneering for Mayor Harcourt, but what about its long-time favored alderman, Harry Rankin, who has been crossing CUPE lines with the bureaucrats' connivance? When Rankin was addressing a CUPE rally at City Hall March 3, cries of "Scab!" greeted someone trying to cross the picket. When Rankin turned around, a *Spartacist Canada* reporter heard one CUPE picketer yell, "Not you, Harry, the other one!"

Pointing to the organized support of the trade-union leadership and building on the real need for a vehicle to combat the parties of the bosses—the Socreds, Tories and Liberals—the NDP occasionally tries to pass itself off as the party of the working people. But the NDP's job when in power is to administer the capitalists' state, including its laws, cops and courts. The labor movement doesn't need that kind of party. We need a *class-struggle* workers party that fights for a workers government. We need a party that would be in the forefront of the battle against union-busting, a beacon for labor militants throughout North America. ■

Sellout Herman Redbaits ILWU Militants

OAKLAND, February 28—Local 6, the Bay Area warehouse division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), held its 36th convention today in the face of mounting attacks on the union: imminent closure of the Colgate plant in Berkeley, representing a loss of over 300 jobs, a full 10 percent of the Local 6 jobs in the East Bay; a drive by the Industrial Employers and Distributors Association (IEDA) to destroy the union hiring hall; and KKK terror, including a shotgun assault on the home of ILWU brother Roosevelt Presley in Contra Costa County.

Addressing the 392 delegates, Local 6 president Keith Eickman attempted to sweep these attacks under the rug, managing to not even mention them in his opening Officers' Report! Posing a bleak prospect with Reagan in office, Eickman could offer nothing but harder times ahead for the workers, dead-end "community coalition" (read Democratic Party) politics and platitudes about "unity." The only opposition to this defeatism came from the Militant Caucus, which was also the target of a vicious witchhunting outburst from International president Jimmy Herman. The Caucus, with a six-year history in the Local, put forward a class-struggle program on the major issues facing the union and the working class. In contrast, a lash-up of opportunist "leftists" rushed to give a cover to the International's do-nothing bureaucratism.

Responding to Eickman's report, delegate Pete Woolston of the MC took the floor to point out that Carter and the Democrats as much as Reagan are responsible for anti-labor policies, and the ILWU should break with both bosses' parties. He also explained that the fascists can be stopped, citing last April 19, when the Caucus helped organize a mass labor-centered demonstration of 1,200 that forced the Nazis to cancel their planned Hitler rally in San Francisco. Woolston called for union defense guards against Klan terror in Contra Costa County, and the Caucus submitted a resolution to that effect.

ILWU president Jimmy Herman.

WV Photos

Militant Caucus member Pete Woolston.

Delegate Jackie Clark, MC member recently elected to the Local 6 General Executive Board (GEB), blasted Eickman for letting the hard-won union hiring hall be put up for arbitration after the Electro-Coating strike against company hiring off the street. She told the delegates that the employers' association is out to get the hiring hall and the union is going to have to defend it on the picket line. In contrast to the International's position that any union action from boycott to sitdown will jeopardize negotiations for a meager severance pay for Colgate workers, Clark called on the union to oppose the closure with a sit-down strike as the only way to stop the runaways which are sapping the union.

Midway through the convention, International president Jimmy Herman stepped to the mike to deliver a 20-minute tirade against militants in the union. There was no doubt who his smear attack was aimed at. He denounced supposed "anti-ILWU leaflets

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Moral Majority Goes Ape

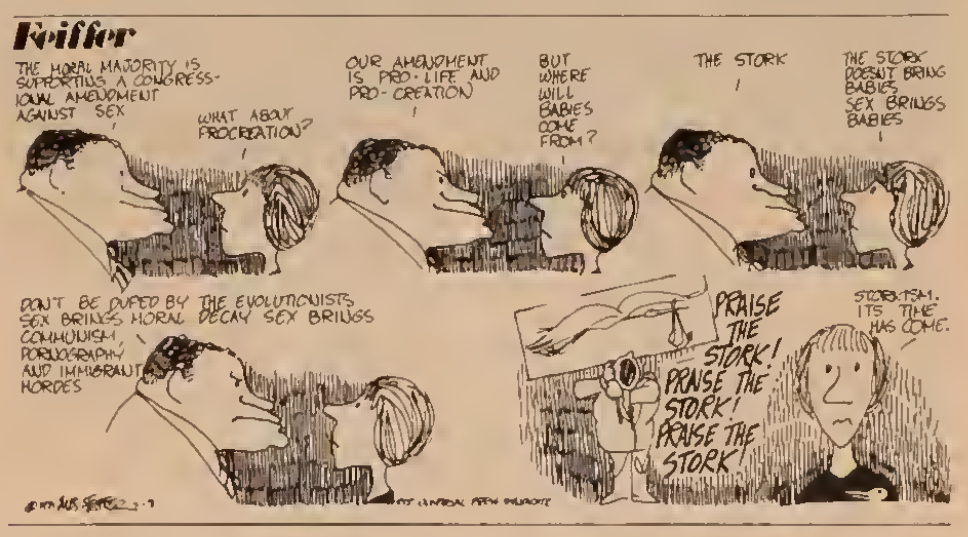
Sacramento Monkey Trial

In a Sacramento, California courtroom last week, 13-year-old Kasey Segraves took the witness stand to testify that he did not believe that he was descended "from apes...or fish, or reptiles." "I believe," he told the judge, "that God created man as man and put him on the earth." The trial the press dubbed "Scopes II" was on. On one side stood the State of California, defending elementary-school science guidelines that hold evolution responsible for having "produced all the groups and kinds of plants and animals." On the other side was the fundamentalist Christian "Creation Science Research Center" headed by young Segraves' grandmother Nell. "We want the authority and endorsement of the state removed from evolutionary theory," she said. "If man is taught he is descended from animals, he will behave like an animal."

The danger represented by the anti-Darwin crusaders is not scientific but social. Along with the "Moral Majority" and other "new right" religious outfits, the "creationists" are on the fundamentalist flank of Reaganite reaction, campaigning to roll back secular education and the separation of church and state. The same bible-thumpers hammering away at evolution are on the offensive for prayer in the schools, against "immoral" library books, against abortion and the ERA.

Judge Irving Perluss decided for the state on March 6. But the verdict was hardly a ringing victory for science over the fundamentalist yahoos. In ruling against the Segraves suit, Judge Perluss simply held that it was unnecessary as California *already* has textbook and teaching guidelines undercutting the "dogma" of Darwinism. During his tenure as California governor, Ronald Reagan backed a suit which would have required teaching the biblical creation myth in science class. While the suit failed, the Reagan administration forbade the use of texts reflecting evolution theory "dogmatism" and allowed religious fundamentalist "creationism" to be taught in social science classes.

Thus Judge Perluss' decision simply reaffirmed that California is one of a frighteningly long list of states and cities where fundamentalist religion has infiltrated the public schools. A number of states and school districts, including South Dakota, Wisconsin, Missouri, Dallas, Atlanta, Tampa and Chicago go as far as mandating that the Bible story be presented alongside the Darwinian theory in biology and science classes! Not so long ago people who advocated throwing Darwin out of the schoolroom were widely regarded as harmless kooks of the sort who saw a communist plot behind fluoridated water. But today the fundamentalist reactionaries, with "their" president in the White House and the country's political tide flowing to the right, are an important and dangerous part of the "new right" campaign to morally rearm America for domestic austerity and Cold War.



The Reagan administration includes several important spokesmen of the "right to life" legions. Health and Human Services secretary Richard Schweiker backs the campaign for an anti-abortion constitutional amendment. His assistant secretary and a candidate for surgeon general is Dr. Everett Koop, a board member of the National Right to Life Committee. The new head of the Office of Adolescent Pregnancy Programs is one Marjory Mecklenburg, president of American Citizens Concerned for Life, an anti-abortion lobby. Even without the campaign dollars and political clout of groups like the "Moral Majority," it would be no surprise to see faces like these on the "Reagan team." The fundamentalist version of the morality of the bourgeois family, with its opposition to women's rights, welfare and "godless communism," is made to order for the Reagan years.

Scopes II?

The Segraves suit was universally compared to the famous Scopes "monkey trial" of 1925, in which a young Tennessee teacher challenged that state's ban on teaching evolution. But despite apparent similarities, the historical and political context is very different from what it was when Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan squared off 56 years ago. Scopes lost the original trial (H.L. Mencken paid his $100 fine), but that fact is a historical footnote to the real impact of the case. Darrow humiliated the fundamentalist Bryan in a brilliant cross-examination recreated in the play and movie "Inherit the Wind." The narrow-minded Tennessee bigots were fighting a rearguard action against the advancing forces of scientific acceptance, and the "monkey trial" drove them back into the darker corners of rural backwardness.

Today the new religious right is on the offensive, winning victories even in states like California and New York. They are on the cutting edge of the right-wing revival. They have shed their backwoods image for leisure-suited suburban respectability. Instead of handing out grimy crank tracts, they peddle slick "creationist" textbooks and something called the "Handy Dandy Evolution Refuter." Attempting to masquerade as "scientific" debunkers of an unproved "theory," the anti-evolutionists point to scientists' debates over evolutionary processes as proof that the Bible myth has as much validity as Darwin's *The Origin of Species*.

There are still many unanswered questions about "macroevolution" leading to major species differentiation, and paleontologists and geneticists are still arguing over how such evolutionary processes occurred. But the fact of the evolution of species by a process of natural selection is not a matter of debate among genuine scientists. Darwinian evolution is a "theory" in the same rigorously scientific sense that Einstein's relativity is a "theory": i.e., not an unproven hypothesis but a tested and accepted fundamental pillar of scientific thought. Nevertheless, the "creationist" backlash has already had its effects in the classroom.

Charles Darwin and Karl Marx were two of the giant thinkers of the 19th century, men whose ideas bear a family relation to each other. Both men (despite Darwin's profession of religious belief) were thoroughgoing materialists who took their observations of nature and society as the basis for synthetic theories about the mechanisms of natural or social change. Both were "developmental" thinkers who made fundamental changes in the way the world would henceforth be understood. In *Anti-Dühring*, Engels defended Darwinism against the assaults of German idealists who "express anger at the colossal impetus which Science owes to the driving force of Darwinian theory."

The unresolvable crisis of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay, and especially the current rightward-moving political trend, provide a fertile breeding ground for all sorts of irrational obscurantist ideologies. Even as they employ the most advanced scientific technique to build world-killing death weapons aimed at the Soviet Union, the U.S. bourgeoisie finds valuable political allies among the Bible-quoting anti-scientific reactionaries. It is tragic that 122 years after Darwin published his *Origin of Species* it is necessary to defend the concept of evolution against powerful religious rightists. But to make the classroom safe for Charles Darwin it will be necessary to further the social evolution of the human species through Karl Marx's workers revolution. ■

Firebombing in Detroit

KKK/Nazis Attack SWP Candidate's Home

DETROIT—The home of a River Rouge UAW Local 600 member, Liz Ziers, was firebombed by Nazi/Klan terrorists last week. Ziers, a member of the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit and a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), received several death threats, including a letter which read in part, "We will kill you, commie.... The only good red is a dead red." This murderous attack was in response to Ziers' announcement that she would run as an SWP write-in candidate against Nazi/Klan candidate Republican Gerald Carlson in southwest Michigan's Fourth District. This attempt to terrorize Ziers is an attack on all unionists, blacks and leftists!

Defeated in another Congressional bid in the Detroit-area 15th District last fall, Carlson nevertheless garnered over 53,000 votes (32 percent!) running on his program for the "final solution." "Negroes do not work like white people," he said. "Corrupt communist-led unions protect Negroes" (*Detroit News*, 7 August 1980). Yet the strategy of the SWP faced with this anticommunism, union-busting and genocide against blacks is...to "fight" it only at the ballot box. Moreover, in other electoral contests (such as against Southern California KKK "grand dragon" Tom Metzger last year) these reformists boast not of *battling* the race-terrorists, but *debating* them!

The UAW Local 600 General Council passed a resolution on the "right of any local member to run without intimidation" and for "support in her [Ziers'] battle against Nazis and Klan." Such paper support is not enough, yet both the SWP and the UAW bureaucracy *oppose* the necessary formation of union/black defense guards. As we have pointed out before, the fascists' weapons of "debate" are the firebomb, the bullet and the lynch rope. Only the mobilized power of labor and blacks can stop the fascist terrorists. Ballots won't stop bullets. Stop the attacks against Liz Ziers! For labor/black mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror!

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French Communist Party Feeds Anti-Immigrant Racism

EXCERPTS TRANSLATED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK, 2 FEBRUARY 1981

The bourgeois electoral pot has begun to bubble in the past few weeks. Even though the main candidates all agree on one fundamental point—the workers must pay for the crisis of French capitalism—the campaign that is shaping up could be more chaotic and "divided" than expected.

Vitry was the latest spectacular contribution to the "presidential campaign" by the Stalinist bureaucrats and their candidate Marchais. The scandalous racist attack against black workers from Mali shook up the political world for a month. Today the [Communist Party newspaper] *Humanité* has stopped publishing daily articles on Vitry, and the bourgeois candidates have other fish to fry for the moment. But the workers who traditionally look to the PCF [French Communist Party] and the CGT [PCF-dominated General Confederation of Labor] to lead their struggles against the bosses and who regularly vote PCF at election time must closely examine this "incident" and firmly denounce it, especially before considering casting their ballots for Marchais. While in the past the Communist Party has made pretensions of supporting the immigrants' struggles, even participating (symbolically) in some struggles and opposing Bonnet/Stoléru's anti-immigrant actions, with the events at Vitry and its "anti-ghetto" campaign the PCF has now explicitly taken up a struggle against the immigrants.

The Vitry affair is an important question because behind it is the PCF's national-chauvinist, protectionist policy—"Buy and Produce French"—a policy that binds the workers in the straitjacket of their capitalist masters' interests. At Vitry the Communist Party gave the bourgeoisie a shameful "guarantee," once again proving its readiness to take on the most despicable tasks to defend the interests of its "own" bourgeoisie. What's more, this particular demonstration of its reformist aspirations was practically gratuitous, for the PCF has little chance of finding a bourgeois electoral partner in the midst of the imperialists' current Cold War revival.

On 24 December 1980 Vitry's Communist Party mayor Paul Mercieca led some 50 people in a commando raid on a housing project where a few days before 300 Malian workers had been transferred from another project in [the neighboring Giscardian-run suburb of], Saint-Maur. After demanding that they return to their Saint-Maur slum, orders were issued [by the PCF mayor of Vitry] to sack the place. Telephones, water, electricity, heat were all cut off, while a bulldozer ripped out the front staircase and blocked the doors.

But Communist Party members won't find out what really happened in Vitry last December 24 by reading *L'Humanité*. The PCF's daily paper first ignored the facts, speaking only of "racist violence...in Saint-Maur" and the anti-Communist campaign. Then, after publishing the CGT's 2 January communiqué "deplor[ing] the Vitry incidents," *L'Humanité*'s editorial the next day recognized that "regrettable incidents" and "deplorable acts" had occurred. The beginning of self-criticism? No, just an evasion.

The PCF leadership will go on loudly applauding Mercieca, even making

Atlan/Sygma

L'Humanité

(Top) French CP mayor of Vitry bulldozed black African immigrants' homes. (Below) CP demonstration in Vitry tries to alibi Stalinist chauvinism.

Vitry the symbol of its policy on immigration. Witness the January 10 demonstration: while with great difficulty it drew 4,000 participants (including few immigrants and many tricolor sashes [of elected officials]), it nonetheless presented an impressive display of national Communist Party leaders, even candidate Marchais in person. As *L'Humanité* (12 January) emphasized, such a presence "meant the entire party will not budge one inch in its policy on immigration." The naive are warned: Vitry was no "slip."

Fight Racism, Not Immigrants

Vitry has served as the pretext for a violent anti-Communist campaign. The bourgeoisie and their social-democratic lieutenants immediately seized the occasion to feed their Cold War campaign: "Just look at the Communists—in France they use bulldozers, in Afghanistan they use tanks." Social democrats, Gaullists, Giscardians, not to mention the far right (the racist rag *Minute* screaming about "red fascism"!), all responsible for anti-immigrant actions far worse than Vitry, used the situation to touch up their "liberal" image on the cheap. Even Stoléru, author of the immigrant expulsion decrees! The fascist swine Le Pen, however, showed the greatest moderation, criticizing the Communists for only wanting to drive the immigrants out of town. All these criticisms of the PCF's *methods* poorly camouflage an agreement on the essentials: stopping immigration. Thus [right-wing social-democratic union chief] Bergeron didn't miss his chance to remind us that the PCF defends today what it accused him of yesterday; as for the PS [Socialist Party], it says that the Communist Party is basically correct to raise the problem of immigration.

Today the PCF administers the capitalist crisis on the municipal level, aspiring to administer the capitalist system on a national scale tomorrow. It complains of "clashes between different nationalities and ethnic groups," of backwardness in the school system, rising municipal taxes, unemployment, the housing crisis, etc. For the Communist Party, who is responsible? Capitalism? No, it's the presence of immigrants rising to the level of a "flood alert." (Not to be confused, says Marchais, with "the unscientific, racist notion of a so-called 'threshold of tolerance'." Is there a difference?!) How convenient, this "flood alert"—in the guise of limiting the number of foreigners for fear of racist reactions among the population, it means encouraging racist prejudices under the pretext of fighting them!

For the bourgeoisie, the immigrant workers constitute above all an indispensable industrial reserve army which can be drawn upon almost limitlessly in periods of economic expansion, then easily disposed of in periods of crisis. The bourgeoisie can subject them to well-nigh forced labor to reap its superprofits, but its immigration policy also serves to divide the working class, setting one section of the proletariat against another to demobilize and demoralize it. Fighting racism means fighting the bourgeoisie's chauvinist policy of expelling immigrants and closing borders; it means fighting for the rights of immigrants, especially full citizenship rights. Thus they could join fully in the struggles of the rest of the proletariat against capitalist austerity and unite with the mass organizations of the working class. Only through common struggle against the same bosses and the same state power can racism within the French working class be fought.

But there is no solution to the immigration question under capitalism. Its resolution lies in the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism, a society that will liberate the productive forces from the shackles of private property.

Racism, Chauvinism and the Popular Front

Aulnay-sous-Bois, Nanterre, Levallois-Perret, Vénissieux, Bagnolet, Saint-Denis, Ivry. Rennes, etc. There is a long list of cities and towns where the Communist Party has been campaigning "against ghettos" (read: "Immigrants Out of PCF Municipalities") since the summer of 1980. The 5 November 1980 declaration of the PCF Political Bureau, which set the tone and the theme of the present campaign, explains its rationale:

> "The authorities, by this concentration [of foreign workers], are trying to make the municipalities and their Communist mayors responsible for the difficulties thus created. They want to weaken their influence. But it is in the interest of French and immigrant workers that solid Communist-run municipalities should exist."
>
> —*L'Humanité*, 6 November 1980

So the PCF decided upon this "anti-ghetto" campaign to maintain its "influence." This is the treacherous policy of a chauvinist party, devoted to defense of the bourgeois order, seeking to strengthen its social base by exploiting and encouraging the racism already existing among the most backward social layers.

In fairness to Marchais, it must be recognized that the PCF position on immigration is neither new nor surprising. With its 1934 turn to the politics of the popular front and its corollary, national defense, the PCF passed over definitively to the side of the bourgeois order, supporting the colonialist and imperialist policy of its "own" bourgeoisie. In 1937 it backed the popular-front government's ban on the Étoile Nord-Africaine, the main organization of the Algerian workers. In 1947 Communist Party ministers (in the name of the "French Union") voted credits for the Indochina War. And again, after World War II, the same ministers covered up the massacres perpetrated by French imperialism in Sétif and Madagascar.

These days, the PCF likes to recall that the social democrats intensified the repression of the Algerians' struggle for their national independence. True. But it "forgets" that this colonialist repression was made possible thanks to the special powers that PCF deputies voted to give the government of social democrat Guy Mollet in 1956. The PCF refused to call for immediate independence for Algeria (calling only for "negotiations") and refused to *mobilize* the French working class in support of the Algerian struggle. That is the real story of the "anti-colonialist past"

continued on page 10

Front Line El Salvador

(continued from page 1)

cheating and stealing? Well, we have a candidate for that. It's the United States. And this is really attempt Number 2. Number 1 was back in January when they had "definitive proof" that Nicaragua was the "real source" arming the Salvadoran rebels. And the proof was a couple of rowboats on the Bay of Fonseca. The wood, they said, was a kind that's not found normally in El Salvador, and this was the proof of Nicaraguan aggression. It's obviously ridiculous, but this was the basis on which they cut off $15 million in aid to Nicaragua, and $5 million in "lethal" military aid was resumed to El Salvador. Well, that flopped pretty bad—the correspondents rushed down there and couldn't find any evidence of arms or anything. So now we have supposed reports by the head of the El Salvador Communist Party.

Now the unofficial voices of American imperialism have even more fantastical things to say. There was a terrific one in the February 2nd edition of *Business Week*. They said:

> "The recent arrival of North Koreans [to aid the Salvadoran guerrillas, they said] was discovered when four of them were killed in a traffic accident in Nicaragua in early January. Buenos Aires has also identified larger numbers of Montoneros, Argentina's left-wing guerrillas. It has been reported that American-made 105 howitzers, captured by the North Vietnamese in 1975, have been landed by a Lebanese ship chartered by the Palestine Liberation Organization to bring them up from Saigon."

Whew! So my first reaction is to ask, "Where is Carlos in all this?!" And what about the Baader-Meinhof gang?! But as proletarian revolutionaries we have more to say than just exposing inventions. The reality is that there is unfortunately no effective Soviet aid going to the insurgents in El Salvador. Because if there were, we wouldn't have had 12,000 people who died at the hands of right-wing death squads and the junta's army in the last year. That is the proof. Hopefully there are some arms from Cuba and the Soviet Union there. But the fact of the matter is that there is not adequate protection for the masses facing bloodthirsty dictators. And then the Soviet ambassador to the U.S. gets up and says, "We're innocent." Unfortunately he was telling the truth. If he did lie, cheat and steal in order to further the cause of world revolution, we'd feel a lot better. But it's not so.

Now what we are seeing here is the attempt by the leading capitalist world power to reassert a claim to global hegemony after being badly mauled in Indochina. The unraveling of the various dictatorships in the region is intimately connected to the relative weakness of U.S. imperialism following Vietnam. Then came Jimmy Carter's "human rights" crusade, which in Latin America was essentially a passing phase of bourgeois hypocrisy. But as we pointed out from Day One, its real direction was against the Soviet Union. In other words it was imperialist moral rearmament, in preparation for war. And it wasn't just going to be Cold War, it would be hot war. And Reagan has decreed that this is where the hot war starts. So Central America is a substitute for the Persian Gulf or Berlin or somewhere else. Poland, for example. That's the place that's uppermost in Washington's mind. And by "drawing the line against Communism" in El Salvador, what they are really preparing for is to "roll back," in Foster Dulles phraseology, the historic gains of the Russian proletarian revolution.

Secondly, as we wrote in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the U.S. rulers are not seeking to achieve "stability" in the region or anything of the sort. The only solution that they have in mind for the Central American left is a "final solution," Reagan's spoiling for a fight; he wants the blood to flow in rivers. And since the most powerful imperial power of this epoch wills it, *the blood will flow*. That is a fact. So why all this talk about a political solution? The Latin American populist regimes, like Mexico, and European social democrats are talking about it. It's so much pipe-dreaming. And they'd better take that Détente Gold out of their hookahs, because this is serious business. But the same sort of dangerous utopianism is coming from the intended victims, from the Sandinista leadership in Nicaragua and spokesmen for the Salvadoran left. They should draw some conclusions from the U.S.' brush-off. *Reagan stands by his butchers.*

The Salvadoran junta is not going to get a "human rights" slap on the hand this time. And the reason is that what's posed here is a class battle on an international scale. And therefore the only answers which make any sense are class answers—the program and perspective of proletarian revolution. That's why we say what at first struck a lot of people on the left as "off the wall," that "Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union Begins in El Salvador!" And, comrades, the events of the last week have emphatically confirmed that warning. For example, one liberal Congressman complained it was a return to "gunboat diplomacy"—he's so right. Spanish radio reported last Tuesday that there are presently more than 40 American ships in the Caribbean trying to stop arms shipments to Nicaragua and El Salvador's leftists. Reagan answers the liberal concern about getting embroiled in a "new Vietnam" saying he intends to deal with the problem at its "source," which he claims is Cuba and the USSR. Now in fact that's baloney, but it is U.S. policy. So now Washington is telling Moscow that SALT depends on the junta winning in El Salvador. Havana's being told that unless they stop arms shipments to the Salvadoran leftists they will face a naval blockade.

And then what? Recall what the Soviet diplomat said who negotiated the Russian backdown over the October 1962 missile crisis. He said, "We will never permit this again." And the Kremlin meant it. So where will the liberals and social democrats stand in a new Cuban missile crisis? I recall very well how things stood the last time. The Socialist Workers Party, the SWP, which used to be a Trotskyist organization until it started tailing after Castroism in the early '60s, had been building up a pro-Cuban front group, called the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. With an eye toward the liberals, they talked only about "self-determination" and "hands off" Cuba. But when the missile crisis came around, when push came to shove, big surprise: all of the liberals just faded away. There was no more "fair play" for Cuba—it was "which side are you on, brother?" for it was a class question. And the SWP capitulated to the liberal pacifists by refusing to criticize Khrushchev, even though Castro himself, their big hero, was opposed to the deal and the Cuban masses were incensed at the deal which left them without essential protection against American imperialism.

So that's what's wrong with these class-collaborationist coalitions and politics on the part of supposed left-wing and revolutionary forces. When it gets down to the nitty-gritty, they paralyze effective action by the workers organizations, because they seek to avoid the fundamental contradictions. Whereas the main thing Marxists have always pointed out about politics is that when all is said and done, it comes down to a class division: you're on one side or the other on a picket line. In a civil war you stand on one side or another, or because there's no qualitative difference from the point of view of the proletariat you're opposed in a revolutionary way to both sides. But these reformists try to *hide* that distinction. So the question I would pose here is what happens when there's a new Cuban crisis—all those liberals talking now about "Let the Salvadoran People Decide," where will they and coalitions built on those politics stand then? You can't escape the class question.

So Reagan has chosen El Salvador and Central America as the axis around which he's revving up his Cold War. And what's going to be at the center of the political battle is the question of the Soviet Union and the degenerated and deformed workers states. As Trotskyists we have a side there. We criticize the détente illusions of a Brezhnev or Castro—Castro, by the way, supported Carter against Reagan last November, but who laid the basis for what's happening in El Salvador if not Carter? We call for the ouster of a Stalinist caste which weakens the foundations of proletarian rule by its attempts to conciliate imperialism. And that is part of our overall political program for the unconditional defense and extension of the gains of the October Revolution. So to prepare the proletariat for its tasks, key slogans are: "Defense of Cuba and the USSR." Enough of this talk about a "political solution" with the bloody junta: "Military Victory for the Left Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Break with the Bourgeoisie!" In Nicaragua there's no middle way, the only road is "Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!" and "Set Central America Aflame with Workers Revolution!"

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(Above) January 22, 1980: 200,000 take to the streets of San Salvador to commemorate the 1932 uprising. (Below) The bloody aftermath: junta sharpshooters murder 21, wound 120.

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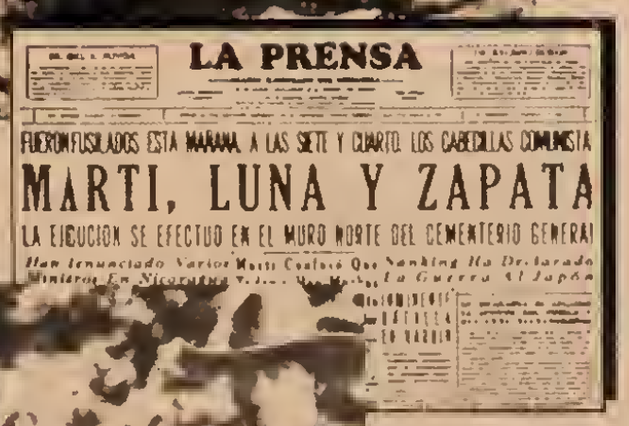

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In 1932 El Salvador's white terror sent 30,000 to their graves; newspapers announced the executions of the leaders of the insurgency. Below: Nicaragua's Sandino (left) with Farabundo Marti.

El Salvador 1932

So let's look a little bit at El Salvador and go through some of the last 160 years since independence was won from Spain. Now, first of all, El Salvador is not a banana republic, it's a coffee republic. Since the late 1800s its main export has been that little green bean that turns to gold for the coffee barons. But more than anything else, it's the quintessential country run by an oligarchy. The ruling class consists of a very small number of families—the biggest one is called the Hills, the Alvarez are another. These are dynastic families who control everything. They're the landlords, the generals, the bishops, the presidents and so on. In El Salvador they call this oligarchy the 14 Families. Someone did a study on it recently and they discovered there were 60. So if you want to make a distinction....

If you really want a picture of El Salvador sometime, I suggest that you see a movie that was around some time ago called *Viva Maria!* It stars Brigitte Bardot, Jeanne Moreau and George Hamilton. It's a spoof on Latin American revolutions: Brigitte Bardot is the daughter of some IRA terrorist who

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(Above) January 22, 1980: 200,000 take to the streets of San Salvador to commemorate the 1932 uprising. (Below) The bloody aftermath: junta sharpshooters murder 21, wound 120.

wing and revolutionary forces. When it gets down to the nitty-gritty, they paralyze effective action by the workers organizations, because they seek to avoid the fundamental contradictions. Whereas the main thing Marxists have always pointed out about politics is that when all is said and done, it comes down to a class division: you're on one side or the other on a picket line. In a civil war you stand on one side or another, or because there's no qualitative difference from the point of view of the proletariat you're opposed in a revolutionary way to both sides. But these reformists try to *hide* that distinction. So the question I would pose here is what happens when there's a new Cuban crisis—all those liberals talking now about "Let the Salvadoran People Decide," where will they and coalitions built on those politics stand then? You can't escape the class question.

So Reagan has chosen El Salvador and Central America as the axis around which he's revving up his Cold War. And what's going to be at the center of the political battle is the question of the Soviet Union and the degenerated and deformed workers states. As Trotskyists we have a side there. We criticize the détente illusions of a Brezhnev or Castro—Castro, by the way, supported Carter against Reagan last November, but who laid the basis for what's happening in El Salvador if not Carter? We call for the ouster of a Stalinist caste which weakens the foundations of proletarian rule by its attempts to conciliate imperialism. And that is part of our overall political program for the unconditional defense and extension of the gains of the October Revolution. So to prepare the proletariat for its tasks, key slogans are: "Defense of Cuba and the USSR." Enough of this talk about a "political solution" with the bloody junta; "Military Victory for the Left Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Break with the Bourgeoisie!" In Nicaragua there's no middle way, the only road is "Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!" and "Set Central America Aflame with Workers Revolution!"

El Salvador 1932

So let's look a little bit at El Salvador and go through some of the last 160 years since independence was won from Spain. Now, first of all, El Salvador is not a banana republic, it's a coffee republic. Since the late 1800s its main export has been that little green bean that turns to gold for the coffee barons. But more than anything else, it's the quintessential country run by an oligarchy. The ruling class consists of a very small number of families—the biggest one is called the Hills, the Alvarez are another. These are dynastic families who control everything. They're the landlords, the generals, the bishops, the presidents and so on. In El Salvador they call this oligarchy the 14 Families. Someone did a study on it recently and they discovered there were 60. So if you want to make a distinction....

If you really want a picture of El Salvador sometime, I suggest that you see a movie that was around some time ago called *Viva Maria!* It stars Brigitte Bardot, Jeanne Moreau and George Hamilton. It's a spoof on Latin American revolutions: Brigitte Bardot is the daughter of some IRA terrorist who emigrates to Central America because nothing's happening in Ireland, and you've got to throw bombs somewhere. So they lead a revolution, all those beautiful girls wearing bandoliers, George Hamilton martyred against a cross and Jeanne Moreau cuddling up to him in jail. It's really a schlock movie, of course, but it's got all the stereotypes about a typical oligarchy-run Latin American society. They have torture wheels with peasants on them slowly turning in the wind; they've got peasants marching single file, all barefoot, down dusty roads with brutal foremen riding up and down the line with whips and rifles. Well the point is, if you go up and down the roads in El Salvador you can see just that.

It's a murderous society with many semi-feudal characteristics. But only semi-feudal, because it's been producing for the world market ever since at least a century ago. So in this situation you get deeply felt democratic demands. To get rid of these butchers, right? Why should 14, or 60, families lord it over everyone? The demand for land to the peasants who till it. And for national emancipation from the imperialist overlordship that's exercised by the U.S., directly and through its local intermediaries. In Latin America today bourgeois-democratic demands are burning revolutionary issues. But as Trotskyists we don't therefore call for a "democratic revolution" as the social democrats and Stalinists do. The fundamental contribution of Leon Trotsky and the Russian Revolution to Marxism is that we understand that in this imperialist epoch you can't have real democracy (particularly for the oppressed masses) unless the workers win it by achieving their own class rule.

The reason is that if some of these "democratic" capitalist forces finally get power, they're going to have to carry out a repression that's not that different from what the previous tyrants and patriarchs did. Why? Because the reason that these dictators are the norm in Latin America in the first place is because there is a very tiny bourgeoisie sitting on top of a very big oppressed peasant and proletarian or plebeian population whose miserable conditions are continually leading to revolutionary ferment. And the only way that they can keep them down is through one kind or another of bonapartist regime—you know, the "man on horseback," military dictatorships which ultimately come down to mass terror. In line with this, I was doing some translating the other day and it occurred to me that there are an awful lot of words in Spanish for coup. So I looked it up and there were 297 nouns for coup. If you add the verbs, it's over 580! So there's actually more words than there are for snow in Eskimo. Of course, the reason is there's a lot of snow in the Arctic, and in Latin America you have a lot of coups. And then in El Salvador they just got their first civilian president in 50 years. His name? José Napoleon Duarte—Joe Napoleon!

In El Salvador, the quintessential land of the coffee oligarchy, this tendency to bonapartist rule is shown dramatically. For the country has been continually subjected to military rule ever since 1932. It's the longest continuous period of army rule anywhere on the continent. And it's not an accident. Why? Well, El Salvador is the most productive area of Central America, producing commercial crops from one end of the country to the other—it's like one giant plantation. And when they went into coffee, they just threw hundreds of thousands of peasants off their land, so that the percentage of landless peasants who have become agricultural workers in El Salvador is far higher than anywhere else in Latin America. The conditions are very similar to what they were in Zapata's Morelos around the time of the Mexican Revolution, and of course the Mexican Revolution had a big impact at this end of the Central American isthmus.

So when there was an international financial crash, the capitalist economic collapse of 1929, the traditional terror was lifted and the landless laborers began to lift their heads. The oligarchy saw the storm clouds gathering and decided to dump the reformer, replacing him with a bonafide hangman-general named Maximiliano Hernández Martinez. The Communist Party called for an uprising to which the rural masses responded massively. And the result was an indescribably bloody repression. Thirty thousand people died, in a country of a little over 2 million people. It's like shooting down 3 million people in the United States by comparison. And ever since then that has been the dominant theme of Salvadoran politics. Everybody knows that if things get out of hand, it's going to be 1932 all over again. So that is what revolutionary organizations that claim to lead the proletariat have to prepare for—for another 1932, but this time one in which the workers and peasants can win!

This was the first Communist-led uprising in America, and it was met with the longest-lived military dictatorship in the Western hemisphere. There's a close relationship here, and the point is that El Salvador expresses in concentrated form the conditions of bourgeois rule throughout Latin America. This is what is at the heart of the Trotskyist theory and program of permanent revolution, namely that in the backward capitalist countries the very weak bourgeoisie cannot rule independently of and against imperialism and the semi-feudal elements. In fact, they're intimately allied, and they cannot install a hourgeois-democratic revolution; the history of the French and English Revolutions cannot be repeated here. Because the ruling class is not much more than a branch-office bourgeoisie. All of the "experiments" in bourgeois democracy have failed miserably in Latin America. A few decades ago, Uruguay was supposed to be the Switzerland of Latin America. Or Chile, a little piece of Europe transported to South America. And they had the Alliance for Progress to boot. Well, look at Uruguay and Chile now.

So why does this happen everywhere? That's what the Trotskyists understand while the Stalinists and social democrats are always bitterly surprised. You see, these reformists always maintain that you can have some kind of a bourgeois-democratic stage, or an anti-imperialist stage, or an anti-oligarchic, anti-feudalist, anti-fascist stage, etc., etc. When you hear all that rhetoric you should stop and ask yourself, what's missing here? It's anti-everything and full of Marxist-sounding terminology, but there's no reference to proletarian revolution. Right? So all of this fancy language is essentially to cover up the fact that they refuse to struggle for proletarian revolution. In fact, they are simply trying to put over some kind of more liberal or "progressive" capitalist regime which will ultimately turn around and repress the workers just like its predecessors did. And only the Trotskyists tell the truth, that to win the classic demands of the bourgeois revolution today it's necessary for the working class to take power and establish its own class rule. This is the *only* alternative to bloody counterrevolution.

The classic case in Latin America is Chile. Now Chile actually does have a more European class structure, and ever since the 1930s it's had large reformist and even centrist workers parties. Consequently they also had their People's Front experience. They had a series of popular fronts from 1936 to the late 1940s, and the last one was headed by General González Videla, whose main support was the Communist Party. He came into power in 1945, and by 1947 he had thrown the entire CP into concentration camps. There's also the other alternative, the Pinochet variant, where the Allende Unidad Popular acted as a barrier to going beyond the limits of capitalism. The UP was brought to power by a working-class upsurge—initially very enthusiastic—but as it gradually played its forces out, imperialist reaction and the domestic bourgeoisie struck back. In either variant the popular front is a roadblock to revolution.

E Monies

El Salvador's left-wing guerrillas.

Break with the Bourgeoisie!

To come back to the case of El Salvador, there are other limitations to bourgeois economic development and the achievement of any kind of real prosperity or social progress in the region. And that is that the whole area is Balkanized into tiny countries. Basically, all of Latin America is in many senses one big nation, with the exception of Brazil. But in the case of Central America, this is even more extreme. It emerged from colonial rule as a single federal state, but the bourgeoisie was so dispersed that it soon split up. But the result is that you now have Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama, none of them economically viable. Oh, they all have their own oil refinery. Every single one of them has a Coca-Cola bottling plant—though now that the Republicans are in, they'll probably change hands and become Pepsi-Cola. (The *Times* noted the other day that things always go better for Pepsi under the Republicans.) And they all have their Sears Roebuck stores for the tiny middle class that lives in suburban divisions named Colonia Kennedy, Colonia Country Club or

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El Salvador...

(continued from page 7)

Colonia Sears. Which are all laid out like Levittown. But meanwhile you go two streets over and you have a mass of almost unbelievable poverty. Even today it's real progress when you can get a tin roof! In other words, the conditions of life for the masses are if anything worse than they were 30 years ago.

Now part of the reason why you have such overwhelming poverty, such a tiny middle class, is that the narrow national framework doesn't allow for genuine economic development. And any attempt at development within the capitalist framework is doomed to failure, because you set up a canning plant here, a Revlon factory there and pretty soon they're all competing and the local bourgeoisies are getting at each other's throats because there's no market for their produce. Let me give you an example, this so-called "football war" between El Salvador and Honduras in 1969. This was one of the most ridiculous wars in Latin American history, but it had nothing to do with football. What happened is that the Central American Common Market was set up as part of the Alliance for Progress; you were supposed to produce widgets in one country and gizmos in the other, and then you would get to the "take-off stage" and Walt Rostow would come down and give you a prize.

That's the theory, but El Salvador being a little more advanced began industrializing like crazy, and soon Honduras complained that their market was being invaded. Meanwhile there were also a lot of peasants spilling over the border, because land pressure in El Salvador is very great. So Honduras accused its Maryland-sized neighbor of imperialism and threw out thousands of squatters. Both countries were whipping up popular hysteria and after a contested football game in Mexico City it blew up into a war. But the fundamental thing was competition between these economically unviable statelets. This "football war" put an end to the Central American Common Market and since then there's been hardly any industrialization at all. If the working class took power, of course, it would not be some tiny "socialist republic of El Salvador," but in the framework of a socialist federation linking all of Central America with Mexico, which is the real potential industrial powerhouse of the region. And that is the precondition to any real economic development.

Now another important aspect of the situation in El Salvador is the extremely sharp left-right polarization, reflecting the deep abyss between the classes. Another dramatic example: in Latin America there's a certain code on how to run a dictatorship. It used to be, for instance, that when leftists got jailed they would be relatively well treated, because everyone knew (including the jailers) that after they sold out, one of these fellows might be the next president or a cabinet minister. Now that's all changed after the Alliance for Progress, which led to the systematic dissemination of Nazi-style torture methods by "enlightened" American imperialism. Okay, so another rule of the game is that there is a certain cycle to these things. As long as you're going to keep the masses in abysmal poverty, it's inevitable that periodically they will have waves of mass protest sweeping through the population. And the rule is that when it reaches a high point you let it pass over, let 'em march past and wait for another day. Not in El Salvador.

Last year, on January 22, there were 200,000 people marching into downtown San Salvador. They have the traditional central plaza, with the national palace and then the cathedral (you know, god blesses El Benefactor); and then there's the national bank (Mammon blesses El Benefactor), and finally the defense ministry (the guns bless El Benefactor). Anyway, so the crowd pulls into the central plaza, they turn right around the cathedral and start going past the national bank and presidential palace. Two hundred thousand people and what does the government do? It puts sharpshooters on the roofs, and they gun down the crowd. They killed 200 people and wounded another 300. Now that is playing with fire—it's not in the Dale Carnegie rules for tinpot Latin American dictators. But there's a reason for it. The Salvadoran bourgeoisie knows that its situation has been precarious for a long time, and that's why there has not been any real attempt by dissident bourgeois elements to challenge military rule for five decades. And so this kind of shameless massacre is also taken for granted—it's necessary from their class point of view.

There are all sorts of other examples. The assassination of Archbishop Romero, for example. You're not supposed to shoot archbishops either, especially when he has friends here. He was a good friend of Father Drinan, the Congressman from Massachusetts; but then the pope kicked out Father Drinan, so I guess they figure it's alright to kill the archbishop. Now Archbishop Romero got very upset with President Romero (no relation) when the army started shooting off his priests several years ago. And when the "human rights" junta put in by Washington about a year and a half ago did the same thing, pretty soon he began sounding like a Maoist. All from the scriptures of course—you know, Epistle of Paul, Chapter 1, Verse 13, "God says don't kill, so if they kill it's right to rebel." Well, the day after he said that he was shot down in the middle of saying mass. Incidentally, the hit men are supposed to have been Cuban gusanos trained by the CIA—so if you want to talk about exporting terrorism, that's a pretty good example.

And then there were the heads of the opposition popular-front coalition, the FDR, the Revolutionary Democratic Front. Their top leader, his name was Alvarez Córdova, was a scion of one of the 14 Families. And you don't normally shoot down members of the oligarchy. Or the Catholic missionary women: you shouldn't shoot nuns, it's not accepted, remember Stanleyville and all that. And Carter's ambassador Robert White—after the November election, all of Reagan's advisers were calling him a "social reformer" and he accused them of trying to get him killed. That's what happens to all the other "social reformers," even when they're connected to the CIA, like the land reform guys they bumped off in the San Salvador Hilton coffee shop.

So what is the response to that? As Marxists, communists, we say that it's necessary to organize the oppressed and the exploited around that social force which has the class interest to do away with the system that leads to such sadistic killers. But unfortunately the Salvadoran left has been influenced by decades of nationalist and Stalinist-reformist ideology so that its efforts have mainly been directed at papering over the very deep abyss between the classes there. That's what their whole popular-frontism policy is about. In the name of "democratic unity" they get the workers and peasants committed to respecting the private property of the capitalists, the "integrity" of the armed forces, the "serene guidance" of the church, and so forth. So you tack on a handful of dissident Christian Democrats and a couple of limp-wristed Social Democrats—actually bourgeois liberals masquerading as social democrats—all in order to keep the masses in check. Then supposedly you won't frighten off the "progressive bourgeoisie" and maybe you can strike a deal with Washington.

So they get a popular-front coalition with a few liberals and priests and reformists. And the masses, who are overjoyed at the ouster of the previous gang of murderers, initially give them their support. Now they've already had a version of this in El Salvador with the so-called reform junta that was put in by Carter in October 1979. They had liberal army officers, liberal civilians; the Communist Party supplied a labor minister, and there were two hard-line colonels. So what happens? The liberals all get shunted aside, one after another, in what's called a "creeping coup," and the military hawks unleash the worst bloodbath in decades. Oh yes, and you have a "land reform" that is brought to you by the same people who brought you "pacification" in Vietnam. This land reform consists of handing out parcels to the members of a fascist organization called ORDEN, which has links to the military and is used to spy on the peasants. And the rest of the people who used to be there, the agricultural

El Salvador: New Vietnam?

At the Spartacist League forum in New York on February 28, a member of the audience noted, "There's been a lot of talk in the bourgeois press about Reagan saying there is not going to be another Vietnam, and among a lot of so-called leftists of not wanting to bring back Vietnam. Would you comment on how you think the situation in Central America differs from Vietnam and... the idea that we're going to rerun Vietnam and the antiwar movement." Comrade Norden replied:

On the Vietnam question, there are important differences that have to be stressed. As I mentioned, the coalition in El Salvador is a bourgeois popular front. Now, like in Spain, we call for the military victory of the popular-front forces against the right-wing reactionaries, because if the junta wins against the left-wing rebels it will lead to the obliteration of the working class and all active elements in it. As an example, in Spain 100,000 proletarians were killed *after* Franco won. So from the point of view of the working class, even though both forces are bourgeois, that's a qualitative difference, and so we call for the military victory of one side.

In the case of Vietnam it's a little bit different. The South Vietnamese National Liberation Front and the North Vietnamese behind them had a popular-front program and even had something that looked like a popular front. But in fact all they had in this popular front were a couple of Buddhist monks and an architect. The reality was that on the one hand you had the North Vietnamese deformed workers state going up against American imperialism, and you had this NLF in the South that was connected essentially to the North Vietnamese. So in terms of the class forces concerned here, the nature of the civil war was different.

What you find with many left groups is that they try to cut the corners so they don't have to take the hard positions. And what this leads to in the protest movements in the United States over El Salvador and Vietnam is a similar sort of thing. So a comrade over here spoke about CISPES, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. They call for "Let the People of El Salvador Decide," and "Self-Determination for the Salvadoran People," and "No Intervention." Now you listen to those things and you say, "How can anybody be against that." I mean, shouldn't the Salvadoran people be allowed to decide?

Well, raising these things which seem like what "all men of good will" could support, really is bourgeois liberalism. Because, for example, CISPES and the people who support it like the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party, are supporting a bill, HR 1509, which calls for no military aid to the junta. "No military aid to the junta" means that they accept *economic* aid to the junta, which is what's keeping that junta running. That place is bankrupt—their economy's been shot to hell for months. But they put forward this program which essentially approves of economic aid, because liberals don't oppose that. They just don't want to give guns to bad butchers, or something of the sort. And thus they have policies that are literally enabling the junta to stay alive.

And their overall program is for "self-determination." That came up at the beginning of the Vietnam War, too. They said, "No foreign troops in Vietnam." Right? "Self-determination for the South Vietnamese." Well, what did that mean? That meant no North Vietnamese troops in Vietnam. But we were *for* North Vietnamese troops in South Vietnam. And in the last days of the war we said, "Viet Cong On to Saigon!" Now, at the same time we said, look, these are the representatives of a deformed workers state; if they get in they are going to suppress workers democracy. But they will carry out a fundamental social transformation, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, and the duty of all Trotskyists and class-conscious proletarians is to support that militarily.

So we said you've got to take a side, and the slogan for which we were most notorious in the Vietnam antiwar movement was, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" We took a *class* side there. Today we are for the military victory of the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. But we also say of the situation in Nicaragua that it is necessary to go beyond their program and expropriate the bourgeoisie, that there is no middle road. The whole of the Central American isthmus must erupt in a volcano of workers revolution, in order to set the whole continent afire. And it's doubly important in this case. I'll tell you why.

In Vietnam what the SWP connected up with was bourgeois defeatism. And one thing about bourgeois defeatism, you never get it unless the bourgeoisie is getting defeated. Now in Vietnam they had Soviet aid. It came through North Vietnam. But in the present circumstances it is quite true that Fidel Castro has been counseling "moderation," and a "political settlement" and all of these things. Obviously they're getting their arms somewhere, although the main supplier, unfortunately, is the U.S. Defense Department. Because most of those guns they seem to have captured from the Salvadoran government forces. But even though they may give some arms, fundamentally they're starving them of arms, just like Stalin starved the Spanish workers and peasants in the 1930s of arms. And it's because of their overall political program.

So at the global level, in terms of the confrontation with the Soviet Union and Cuba; at the level of the internal politics of El Salvador and Nicaragua; and at the level of the struggle in the United States, this kind of popular-frontist program, class collaboration, is a program for defeat.

laborers, etc., all get thrown out, sent up into the hills where they are labeled guerrillas and then shot down by the army. It's called "Reform by Death" in El Salvador.

So today they have another version of this class-collaborationist coalition, the Revolutionary Democratic Front. At first it was headed by the landowner Alvarez and now by the "social democrat" Ungo, both of whom were members of the original "human rights junta" of October 1979. Lately the FDR has also been angling for an agreement with Colonel Majano, who was also a member of that junta but has now been arrested. It's a more left-wing coalition, more like Allende's UP perhaps. But what does it stand for? What about the land question, for example. The junta has a "land reform"—what does the left say to that? Now Bolsheviks call for agrarian revolution, not land reform. The peasants are not going to fight for pieces of paper that say "title to land" on them, so that they keep on paying 50 percent of the harvest, only now it's not sharecropping but paying off the land bank. History shows that the only time the peasants really believe that anything has changed is when they rise up in a revolutionary insurrection and burn down the hacienda or manor house, and burn the land records. That's what happened in France in 1789 or Russia in 1917, or also in the defeated peasant revolution in Mexico in Morelos.

The reason is quite obvious. In addition to the "title" in the peasant's hand there is another piece of paper, right? It's in the national archives in the capital. And when the wave of reform passes, the landowners are going to return from Miami. Then it's going to be their piece of paper against the peasant's piece of paper. And guess what—their piece of paper has more guns behind it. So the peasants are rightly skeptical about these various reforms. Whereas if they are mobilized around a program of land to the tiller and led by the social force that has the power to impose that against the bourgeoisie, namely by the working class, they can be a tremendous auxiliary force and even the bulk of the numbers supporting proletarian revolution. But not if you have a popular front. Señor Alvarez is in the coalition; he holds thousands of hectares of land and represents a social class.

Furthermore, it's not that there are some bad landowners over there and some good industrialists over here, and those people are for social reaction while these people are for social progress. They're all the same people. In the typical Latin American oligarchic family the oldest son inherits the estate, a younger brother becomes a colonel in the army, a third son goes into bourgeois politics and number four goes into the church. If they have five sons, the last one is a revolutionary. Oh, and the one who gets the Coca-Cola franchise, I forgot about him. So there's a division of labor, they all come from the same family. In El Salvador they're named Romero or Alvarez, and in Nicaragua they're all Chamorros, but they're not going to carry out an agrarian revolution.

Internationally it's the same thing. So recently the Second International has been mucking around in the U.S.' backyard, recognizing all sorts of liberal and populist parties as members of their social-democratic international. Now Alan Riding, a very perceptive reporter for the *New York Times*, was writing about this recently. There's a very small group in El Salvador called the National Revolutionary Movement, the MNR, a bunch of liberals headed by Guillermo Ungo, who is a vice president of the Socialist International. Thus they're connected with the Social Democratic Party of Germany, which sends them D-marks and acts in some respects for the interests of West German capital. So Riding remarked that the actual number of social democrats in El Salvador could probably fit into one Volkswagen. What they're angling for is for Helmut Schmidt and Willy Brandt to pull their chestnuts out of the fire, and in return they promise to be good boys, pay all the imperialist debts and so on. But what do you suppose Schmidt and Brandt are going to do when Reagan's gunboats start coming down the coast? Not a hell of a lot.

So the question of popular-frontism runs through all aspects of the situation in El Salvador, including the recent failed offensive. This was billed as the "final offensive," and *Time* magazine quoted one guerrilla leader saying it was the "final, final offensive. Finally!" Now it sounds like a joke, and partly it's for military tactical reasons, but behind all the stop-and-go offensives and retreats in El Salvador there is a political program. Now it appears to be the case—and it's hard to tell because of the blackout in the imperialist press—that there was little response to the call for insurrection. And certainly that was the case with the general strike. A leader of the left-wing insurgents, whose coalition is called the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, or FMLN, Ana Guadelupe Martinez said that "The masses felt that they lacked the support to massively carry out the strike, and for the political-military organizations, it was too weak to have been able to grow over into an insurrection.... The strike call at this point in time was a political error."

But this is not the first time such an error has occurred. The general strike last August was also a failure, and for similar reasons. In that case they were trying to negotiate with various bourgeois forces to broaden their popular front. And on the eve of the strike the bus owners pulled out. Shortly after the strike one of the more "moderate" groups, the FARN, left the military body of this multi-faceted left-wing coalition, the DRU, in the hopes of making a deal with Colonel Majano. Now the deal did not come off, because significant sectors of the Salvadoran bourgeoisie are not willing to be part of a left coalition. But the point is that it's the constant effort to try to get such a deal which has held them back from mobilizing the masses in a truly revolutionary insurrectionary direction. For example, in the recent final/general offensive they never intended to carry out a countrywide uprising. Action in the cities was always supposed to be auxiliary, and not because they are some kind of Maoist "prolonged people's war" guerrillas.

What they were after was to get a piece of territory where they could set up their alternative FDR government, and then the Helmut Schmidts and López Portillos could recognize it and if they were lucky maybe it would come up before the UN or the OAS. In other words, the military action was conceived fundamentally as a pressure tactic on the international bourgeoisie. However, such a strategy is hopeless under the circumstances of Reagan rule. And in any case even if it did come to power, what it would mean is eventually that the workers and peasants would be cheated out of a victory for which they had shed a lot of blood. And everything would all end up back in the hands of the ruling class. So while the bulk of the left tries to mask the class division, the Trotskyists say that it is necessary to mobilize the working class, with the support of the peasants, to overthrow this very tiny bourgeoisie, which however has the backing of imperialism. And in the new Cold War context, the tasks posed by tiny El Salvador are on a global scale.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

CIA's "Truth Squad" for Death Squads

As United States intervention in El Salvador picks up steam, the Reagan administration is mounting a campaign to hoodwink the public into buying its fairy tale of Communist "indirect aggression" as the source of the masses' discontent. Among the apologists for the murder junta are the Social Democrats USA, notorious for their earlier support of the Bay of Pigs invasion and U.S. imperialism's war on Vietnam. On February 24, the SDUSA youth group, Young Social Democrats (YSD), held a forum at Columbia University in New York City on the topic "El Salvador: Terror or Reform?" Apparently these ostensible State Department "socialists" are for both. Their featured speaker was one Mary Temple, now touring the country as a consultant for the pacification program known in El Salvador as "Reform by Death." But the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) spoiled this charade by exposing Temple for what she is, a collaborator in CIA-sponsored mass murder.

The social-democratic CIA symps are promoting the U.S.' big lie that the El Salvador junta is nothing more than "liberal-minded military men" (so said a YSD spokesman). Temple lashed out at the "extreme left" which she claimed was trying to "discredit" the present Salvadoran regime as a gang of right-wing murderers rather than a "centrist" coalition committed to reform. As an example of this far-left conspiracy she held up a copy of *Workers Vanguard*. In the ensuing discussion, however, these paragons of "democracy" (whenever directed against the USSR) refused to call upon SYL supporters. Our comrades were undeterred at this attempt at suppression and rose to point out that Temple is the current version of the government-sponsored "truth squads" that toured the college campuses early in the Vietnam War spouting about "North Vietnamese aggression" (in their own country!).

Who is Mary Temple? The CIA watchers of *CovertAction* recently (December 1980) published a memo secured from the Hudson Institute suggesting that the State Department dispatch Temple and Roy Prosterman as land reform experts to convince European social democrats to support the junta. The Hudson Institute is the creation of Herman Kahn, author of *Thinking the Unthinkable* and one of the original nuclear first-strikers. As executive secretary of The Land Council ("a private group devoted to support for agrarian reform in developing countries"), Temple co-authored with Prosterman an article on El Salvador in the June 1980 *AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News*. Prosterman, in turn, is a consultant for the AFL-CIO sponsored American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), a U.S. government-funded outfit that has served as a cover for CIA disruption throughout the hemisphere.

But most of all Roy Prosterman is infamous for his role as a CIA "agrarian reformer" in Vietnam. According to Philip Wheaton ("Agrarian Reform in El Salvador," November 1980), Prosterman "helped draw up the legal document of the Phoenix pacification program in Vietnam...." Under the CIA-run Phoenix program peasants were forcibly resettled in "strategic hamlets" while more than 30,000 of them were singled out for assassination as "Viet Cong suspects." Now this mastermind of mass murder is at it again in Central America. It is noteworthy that the day after the Salvadoran program was decreed, the military clamped the country under a "state of siege" (see "El Salvador: 'Reform by Death'," *WV* No. 272, 16 January). Yet this barely disguised "counterinsurgency" program is hailed in the Prosterman/Temple article as "the most sweeping agrarian reform in the history of Latin America." Reform by sweeping away the peasants, that is.

Of course, not so long ago the same Prosterman referred to Vietnam pacification as "probably the most ambitious and progressive non-Communist land reform of the twentieth century." And everyone knows what happened there.

WV Photo

ANN ARBOR—Two hundred fifty rallied on the University of Michigan's "diag" March 6 for a noontime rally demanding, "U.S. Hands Off El Salvador! Stop U.S. Aid to the Murderous Junta! Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents!" The united-front protest was initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and endorsed by over 40 campus organizations and individuals, including members of many groups that refused to endorse. The demonstration was successful despite active opposition from the Stalinist Young Workers Liberation League and its liberal cronies on the student government, who ironically argued that the SYL was trying to "split the movement" by demanding the military victory of the leftist insurgents! Despite the sectarian efforts of a few, popular outrage at U.S. imperialism's deadly role in Central America was expressed by the hundreds who came to the spirited rally and chanted, "Stop Reagan's Cold War! U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

Leon Davis Sabotages 1199 Strike

> "How would you like it, if in the middle of serious negotiations, the president of your union walked in with his hands in the air and said, 'I surrender'.... Well, your president, Leon Davis, surrendered...."

So began a leaflet handed out on February 12 by some of the 175 striking hospital workers who had traveled 100 miles from Sullivan County to demonstrate outside the New York City headquarters of their union, District 1199 of the National Hospital and Health Care Union. The strike at Community General Hospital in the Catskills began October 1 when service, maintenance and technical workers walked out over the issue of wages and benefits. Abandoned by District 1199's ever so "progressive" misleadership, these workers have withstood five months of vicious union-busting orchestrated by the politically well-connected hotel and department store owners of this wealthy, backwater resort county.

Twenty-four hours a day all winter long, even in sub-zero weather, the strikers picketed Community General. Two solitary women pickets had an arm and a finger broken in an unprovoked cop attack at 1 a.m. one freezing November night. Then 70 days into the strike, management imported 230 "permanent" scabs. Sitting safe and warm in his NYC office, 1199's president Leon Davis caved in, telling the strikers they had lost and to settle on the spot. Instead, the strikers responded by sitting down in the hospital corridors to keep the scabs from working! Their sit-in was broken when brutal sheriff's deputies came barreling in, making some 65 arrests. On two other occasions, the strikers have repeated their militant sit-ins. Another striker was critically injured when he was hit by a scab car at a rally January 17.

Facing cops, scabs and sellout by their own union leaders, the strike has taken on the character of a crusade. In early January the members voted down the hospital's offer (endorsed by 1199) to rehire *105 out of 384* strikers (the rest to be placed on a preferential hiring list). A second "compromise" was voted down February 4 on the hospital's new offer of 190 jobs back. The ranks weren't buying when Leon Davis came to the January 17 county AFL-CIO support rally. Disregarding an elected 25-man negotiating committee, Davis led a rump delegation into "bargaining"—there to make his infamous "I surrender" statement. And they still weren't buying when executive vice president Jessie Olson threatened *and carried out* the threat to cut off the $50/week strike benefits. All that is left now is to take away local organizer Reginald Fant's salary (he's already been fired once), pull out the phone and put a lock on the door of the rented hall. But the Community General workers are determined to stay out until they get guarantees that all the strikers will be rehired.

These embattled strikers need full support from the 45,000-strong District 1199 and the entire labor movement. If anyone has earned it, they have. But a statewide AFL-CIO convention scheduled for March 5-6 at the posh Concord Hotel (a Catskill resort whose owner is president of the hospital board of trustees) was only called off at the last minute after the strikers promised to throw up a picket line around the Concord and lined up the prior pledges of numerous local unions that they wouldn't cross. To date the strike has gotten almost no publicity in NYC.

At press time, picketing was continuing outside Community General Hospital. But the sheriffs were hardlining it, enforcing court injunctions limiting pickets at the gates. The scabbing at the hospital must be stopped. SEIU-organized nurses who have been working must join the strikers. And while Teamster drivers have been respecting the picket lines, *all* truck deliveries must be stopped. Militants in 1199 must demand their leadership stop the back-stabbing and come to the defense of their union brothers. Above all this means mobilizing the labor movement for mass picket lines to keep the scabs out and shut the facility down tight. Nobody works—no doctors, no nurses, no orderlies, no service workers, no management—nobody.

Of course the media will scream about how the strikers are "endangering the patients"—but that is the responsibility of management which provoked the strike and can end it any time it wishes, by simply acceding to the strikers' just demands. *Workers Vanguard* urges readers who wish to support the strike to contact Ms. Joyce Cappazoli at (914) 794-6742 or (914) 794-6596. Contributions may be made payable to STRIKING WORKERS EMERGENCY FUND and sent to Mrs. Marie Topolski, 6 Vicki Lane, Monticello, NY 12701. Victory to the Sullivan County hospital strikers! ■

French CP...

(continued from page 5)

vaunted by the PCF today to prove its so-called "anti-racism."

By its deep-going chauvinism, the Communist Party has always sought to provide guarantees to its "own" bourgeoisie in order to carry out its popular-front politics. This same function is fulfilled by its campaign to stop immigration, even today when it is isolated by the bourgeoisie's intransigence toward the Moscow-loyal parties and when the road to a new Union of the Left seems blocked by the virulent polemics between the PCF and the PS. In a similar situation in the early 1950s (with the PCF thrown into the "ghetto" and vomiting social democracy), on the basis of "anti-Kraut" chauvinism the Stalinists held popular-frontist meetings with the Gaullists against German rearmament.

The Communist Party inaugurated its electoral campaign with the "discovery" that the popular fronts of '36, '44 and '72 had led to a victory for the bourgeoisie and defeat for the proletariat. But with its outbursts of repulsive chauvinism, from "Produce French" to "Housing for the French" and "French Defense," the PCF leadership says loud and clear that it is always ready to defend the interests of French capitalists and, whenever the occasion arises, to constitute a popular-front coalition with bourgeois representatives.

"Far Left" Populism

Lutte Ouvrière (LO) denounces the anti-Communist campaign unleashed over Vitry and declares it will not participate at any price. This (very laudable) intention leaves room for skepticism if one recalls that this organization never hesitated a moment at participating in the violently anti-Communist Cold War campaign unleashed by imperialism over Afghanistan and Poland. But this is more understandable when it becomes clear that this sub-reformist group (which calls itself Trotskyist only through an unfortunate accident of history) basically approves of the PCF's municipal policy on immigration!

> "The French Communist Party complains of the fact that these towns house a far greater proportion of immigrant workers than the towns run by the right wing or, we might add, those administered by the Socialist Party.
> "The French Communist Party calls for a maximum quota of immigrant workers for all towns....
> "Obviously, the PCF is not a revolutionary party, it is a reformist party, and nationalist moreover, and its vocabulary, like its positions...could provide the opportunity for many criticisms.
> "However, at bottom, we cannot criticize it because what it is saying is valid and well-founded."
> —*Lutte de Classe* No. 81, 22 December 1980

A logical position on the part of a narrowly national group whose essential characteristic is capitulation to the most backward layers of the proletariat, and even to their racism.

All that LO can find to say about Vitry is that "the way the PCF presents the Malian and immigrant workers is certainly ambiguous," that it is "shocked" by these *methods* and that they are "questionable actions" (*Lutte Ouvrière* No. 657, 3 January). Questionable?! What's to discuss with the mayor of Vitry, how to expel the Malians—by hulldozer or mortar shell?

For the social democrats of the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste], there is no room for doubts: Vitry is nothing but the consequence of the Communist Party's policy of "refusing PC-PS unity to oust Giscard." But the article in [the OCI weekly] *Informations Ouvrières* reporting on Vitry carefully avoids any reminder of the OCI's position on immigration: "PCF-PS unity, a workers united front to defend the rights of immigrant workers, an integral part of the French working class, would immediately ban racist provocations, raids, etc." (*Informations Ouvrières* No. 978, 6-13 December 1980). Much as the OCI is a sect living outside the reality of the class struggle, it is more prudent, right after Vitry, not to trumpet that "PC-PS unity will defend the interests of immigrants," since such unity was achieved precisely to stop immigration!

"Let's make 1981 the year of hope" says *Rouge* [newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] No. 950, 3-9 January. This proclamation—headline of an editorial by Krivine (who explains how PCF-PS unity is the key to a better tomorrow)—was printed directly opposite an article on Vitry. What a beautiful example of cynicism and electoral cretinism! The opportunist illusions fostered by the LCR promise above all (and perpetually) "hope for the future" [the title of Marchais' campaign potboiler is *Hope for the Present*]! Its right-centrist program cannot offer the least alternative to the Communist Party's treacherous policies. Who can take seriously the LCR's litanies on PCF-PS unity and "désistement" [ceding to the "best-placed left candidate" in the second round of French elections] as an answer to the immigrant workers' situation? *Rouge* itself is forced to recognize that "the PC and PS are in agreement on demanding an end to all immigration, on sending the 300 Malians back to Saint-Maur, on refusing complete equality of political rights, especially the right to vote, for immigrants." So, comrades of the LCR, the unity of the reformist bureaucrats is directed *against* the workers, in this case the immigrant workers?

Vitry and the Presidential Elections

Unlike previous years with the Union of the Left, the PCF (for reasons of its own) decided to run independently of bourgeois partners in the 1981 presidential elections, while the PS is seeking to constitute a new popular front, particularly with the Gaullists. Under these conditions, we declared that we were prepared—if the PCF continued on this course—to vote for Marchais, a vote for Marchais being, albeit in a deformed fashion, a vote for the representative of the workers camp as against the bourgeoisie (see *Le Bolchévik* No. 20, November-December 1980). Without any illusions about the tactical and conjunctural character of the PCF's posture of independence and without illusions in its reformist program, just as class-collaborationist as that of the PS. The savagely critical aspect of our electoral support was aimed particularly at the PCF's social-chauvinist policies (see "PCF et immigrés: flagrant délit de chauvinisme," *Le Bolchévik* No. 21, January).

Vitry and the PCF's campaign around this raise the question of withdrawing critical electoral support to Marchais. Just as yesterday we said to the militants of the Communist Party: "We Trotskyists are for a class-against-class vote. If your party maintains its position of independence, we will call for a vote to it in April 1981," today we say to them: "If your party chooses to center its electoral campaign against immigrants, we will refuse to vote for it." To us a vote for Marchais can mean nothing other than a working-class vote. If, due to the wishes of the PCF leadership, it becomes above all a referendum on its chauvinist policies, we will call for no vote to Marchais. In the CGT, which is covering up the PCF's action in Vitry, trade-union fractions of a Trotskyist organization implanted in industry would in such a situation lead a fight for the union locals to take a position against the racist action in Vitry, against the stamp of approval given by the CGT federation leadership and for opening debate throughout the union on immigration, a decisive question for the proletarian struggle in France. Communist Party and CGT militants, demand an accounting from your leadership about Vitry!

What the workers need is not to reform Marchais, for the PCF and CGT bureaucrats are reformists totally wedded to the maintenance of the bourgeois order, whether they are independent or in a popular front. Only the Trotskyist program, the program of proletarian internationalism, can—by breaking the grip of social-democratic and Stalinist reformism on the proletariat—unite all workers in a consistent revolutionary struggle against capitalism. Workers of the world, unite!

- No deportations of foreign workers!
- No to immigration controls!
- Full citizenship rights for immigrants in France!
- Equal pay with French workers! Equal rights to social services!
- Jobs for all! For a sliding scale of wages and hours—divide the available work among all workers without reduction in pay!
- Shorter working hours with no loss in pay!
- For big pay boosts! For a sliding scale of wages!
- Against police and fascist repression, for worker/immigrant ~~self-defense~~ guards!
- French troops out of Africa! Independence for French colonial possessions!
- For real international workers solidarity, the unions must fight for:
  —the right to organize trade unions in the backward capitalist countries
  —the formation of international unions in certain industries!
- No to protectionism and French chauvinism! No to the PCF's chauvinist policies! PCF members, demand an accounting from your leadership about Vitry! ■

Miners...

(continued from page 12)

the "no contract, no work" tradition of the union.

Even the official union demands are inadequate and have already been eroded. UMWA negotiators are demanding a catch-up raise, a cost-of-living escalator (bargained away by Miller and Church in '77), improvements in pension and health coverage and reduced work time. Missing is the key issue of the right to strike, which Church does not even pay lip service to, although he does claim to be for elimination of the unpopular Arbitration Review Board. (This "neutral" body ruled in 1977 that participants in so-called "unauthorized" strikes can be fired for picketing or even leafletting in support of such a walkout.) In the Western states, the UMWA leaders have already signed an agreement with Pittsburg & Midway which doesn't include a COLA. This deal then became the pattern for a contract with Peabody, ending a one-month walkout of 900 workers who were forced to strike against the top coal producer while the rest of the union miners, East and West, remained on the job.

For a Fighting Program!

Various phony leftists have repeatedly acted as waterboys for the Millers and Churches. Most notable is the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), now building an "anti-nuke" March on Harrisburg for March 28 in conjunction with the Mine Workers and other unions. This is intended to bring together ecology faddists with "America firsters" (U.S. coal, not Arab oil) and provide a platform for Church to sound militant the day after the strike deadline. In the middle of the 1977-78 strike, as coal miners turned down two rotten contracts negotiated by the Bargaining Council and voted heavily against the third, the SWP acted as cynical cheerleaders for Arnold Miller. When the UMWA chief couldn't show his face in the coalfields, the SWP erased anti-Miller slogans from pictures of miners' picket signs. Even after the strike was over, their misnamed *Militant* newspaper had the gall to label the settlement a "victory." How many UMWA miners today think the speed-up and wage losses caused by the '78 contract are a victory?

The fake-socialist SWP also makes a practice of crossing picket lines, claiming they are only "informational," and even ran a scab, Andrew Pulley, for U.S. president in 1980. But *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League, defends the basic union principle that "picket lines mean don't cross." Where the SWP and other opportunists supported Labor Department intervention in the 1972 UMWA elections, the Spartacist League demanded: bosses government out of the labor movement! In the crucial 1977-78 coal strike *WV* not only provided hard-hitting, on-the-scene coverage but also a class-struggle program for victory. Thus we warned of the need to fight Taft-Hartley and the

Workers Vanguard Pamphlet

Here is the true story of the Great Coal Strike of 1978—from the miners' side of the barricades. Not just reporting but hard analysis...and a program for victory! Price: $1.50

Order from/make checks payable to

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WV Photo

UMWA president Church holds ex-Klansman Sen. Byrd's hand.

Democrats while the reformists were tailing after the traitor Miller and the sellout Church. The vital lessons of this struggle are brought together in the *WV* pamphlet, *The Great Coal Strike of 1978*, which is must reading for every UMWA militant today.

- Shut down all coal operations, union and non-union! No extensions—No contract, no work—All out on March 27!
- For the unlimited right to strike! Sweep away the pro-company Arbitration Review Board!
- Not continuous operations and a seven-day workweek, but a *shorter* workweek at no loss in pay! Jobs for the unemployed! No to the BCOA's killer "productivity" schemes! A full COLA and a big wage boost!
- No to Reagan's anti-labor "austerity" cuts against the workers and the poor! No Black Lung benefits means no coal! We can't live on jelly beans and the bosses can't live without coal!
- Restore the UMWA health card and cradle-to-grave medical coverage, controlled by the union! A big boost for an industry-wide pension, equalized at the highest level!
- Organize the unorganized! A big settlement here is key to winning Western miners!
- End racial and sexual discrimination! For union control of hiring and upgrading! Defend the union seniority system!
- Smash the parasite energy conglomerates! Expropriate oil and coal barons without compensation!
- Break with the Democratic and Republican parties! Build a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government! ■

ILWU...

(continued from page 3)

that continually find fault" and "a lack of discipline among those people who call themselves activists" and also "arguments about why the union didn't go far enough or why the union isn't doing enough or the things that the union should do in their point of view." He company-baited his unnamed opponents and thundered, "A condition of preserving this union is...everybody in the union [must] march to the same orders!" And further, "The time has come for people who have already demonstrated by their conduct a determination to harm the union...[to] take a hike!"

The Rank and File Coalition in Power

While Herman, Eickman & Co. do not have great popular support, they were able to find protection against left-wing attack with the help of the "Rank and File Coalition." The Coalition consists of ex-Maoist "Trend" supporters, long-time backers of the Communist Party (CP) West Coast weekly, *People's World*, and various would-be "progressives" who formed a reformist electoral bloc at the time of last year's election. Constituting one-third of the new GEB, the Coalition and its supporters fell to their knees at this convention to ingratiate themselves with the Eickman regime. With union posts in hand and no programmatic scruples, they now grab at the chance to become (or remain) part of the bureaucracy.

For some of them such as well-known Stalinist hacks like Joe Figuereido and Joe Lindsay, being junior partners in the bureaucracy is an old game, but others in the Coalition like Roberto Flotte are still learning the bureaucratic tricks of selling out. Their bankruptcy is glaring at Colgate, where virtually the entire house committee are Coalition members. Assistant chief steward and Coalition member Rich DeGolia was so ready to abandon even his pathetic call for an impotent consumer boycott when the bureaucrats called it "premature" that it caused uneasy stirrings among some Coalition members. DeGolia is dead-set against the Militant Caucus call for a sit-down, and resigned to the plant closure. At the convention he could only advocate casting a vote against the shut-down in a Berkeley city referendum!

Sensing their fundamental reformist "unity," the Coalition and the Herman/Eickman leadership blocked on their resolutions and repeatedly counter-posed them to those of the Militant Caucus. And whenever Eickman looked about for a motion to close debate on a Caucus resolution, some Coalition spokesman was always ready to leap to the microphone to oblige him.

When MC member and delegate Tim Chapman motivated a resolution to lift the ban on candidates' own literature—an undemocratic prohibition, peculiar to Local 6, which benefits the incumbents—*People's World* supporter Vicky Mercado, a business agent elected on the Coalition ticket, opposed it because then "only people that have money and lots of advertisements can get elected"! This statement was really a slanderous accusation that the membership can't think on its own. Her real political purposes (and dead-end opposition to workers democracy) were revealed last year when she moved to close debate on anti-Klan/Nazi activity to prevent discussion on union participation in the April 19 demonstration that stopped the Nazis!

The bureaucrats/Coalition resolution on El Salvador called for a telegram to the State Department to stop U.S. aid to the junta "so that people of that nation may decide their own destiny." MC and GEB member delegate Mike Kasian argued, "We should be calling for victory to the left-wing insurgents against the right-wing military dictatorship!" When Kasian went on to call for a workers and peasants government, apoplectic Coalition leader Jim Ryder called it "absurd if not obscene that we should tell the people of El Salvador what kind of government they should form!" Ryder then pulled out his "friendly amendment," a petition sponsored by Walter Johnson's Bay Area Trade Union Committee for an "open letter to Reagan to explain...our position on El Salvador."

Needless to say, Reagan is not interested in a debate, and he's going to arm *his* "El Salvadoran people" to the teeth to make sure they win. The counterposed MC resolution called for hot cargoing of military goods to El Salvador by American and other unions, military victory to the insurgents, a workers and peasants government and U.S./OAS hands off El Salvador! Predictably, the bureaucrats/Coalition resolution for an "independent labor party" was in fact neither for an independent nor a labor party, but rather for a coalition with "progressive forces" (Democrat Ron Dellums was cited as an example). Again the Coalition blocked the Militant Caucus resolution, which called for a break from the Democrats and Republicans and the forging of a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government.

While the Militant Caucus failed to win the resolution votes, it was clear that the bureaucrats' attempt to isolate the Caucus failed: With six delegates, the MC was the effective left-wing pole at the convention and they received a hearing each time they spoke. And that evening some 34 ILWU members attended a victory party hosted by the Militant Caucus to celebrate a string of recent Caucus victories, including the recent election of Clark and Kasian to the GEB, the reinstatement of Chapman to his job with full back pay and gains in the Longshore division as well. More and more, despite McCarthy-style baiting by Herman & Co., ILWUers are coming to understand that on every vital issue—from runaway houses to defending the union hiring hall to Klan terror to El Salvador—the Militant Caucus is the only force in the union with a program for the workers to win. ■

El Salvador Refugees...

(continued from page 1)

many reports of mistreatment or killing of Salvadorans returned from the United States...." When asked for addresses of those refugees returned on Christmas Day, the INS refused, "saying it was concerned that any inquiries in El Salvador about their well-being might jeopardize their lives."

The deportations to El Salvador are deliberate *murder*. In contrast to the fate of refugees from the terror of the Reagan-backed, U.S.-armed junta, the United States has always welcomed the scum of the earth: Nazi war criminals, Croatian fascists, Cuban gusanos, Vietnamese torturers and, under Jimmy "Human Rights" Carter, Nicaraguan mercenaries. The Spartacus Youth League calls for militant protests against this bloody trafficking in butchery. Asylum for the refugees from junta terror! Stop deportations to El Salvador! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop Reagan's Black Lung Cutbacks, Coal Company Takeaways

Miners: Don't Beg, Strike!

WASHINGTON, March 9—Thousands of miners marched shouting and singing through the streets of the capital today to protest President Reagan's vicious cutbacks in Black Lung (pneumoconiosis) benefits for disabled miners. "Coal Dust KILLS Coal Miners" said many of the union signs. Others bitterly challenged Reagan's "welfare bum" mythology, asking "If 88 Percent Don't Have Black Lung, Why Can't They Breathe?" Ten thousand members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) participated in the Washington demonstration as part of a two-day "memorial" work stoppage in the coalfields. It was the first labor protest against the Republican administration's massive anti-working-class, anti-minority budget cuts. And it comes as bargaining reaches the critical point in company-union negotiations on the national bituminous coal contract that expires March 27.

But in the face of the joint government/employer offensive a powerful protest was urgently needed to serve notice on the bosses, from the coal operators to the capitalist politicians, that the miners are ready and willing to launch a *solid national strike*. The UMWA contract allows for up to ten days of "memorial" shutdowns to *mourn* those murdered by the companies through the most dangerous working conditions in American industry. But instead of using this opportunity to *organize* a powerful strike, by drawing down the companies' huge coal stockpiles, union president Sam Church took only two days—a gesture. And with his "I love America" speech, Church fell to his knees before the bosses. To no avail. Everything that has been won so far in the Black Lung struggle was won through struggle, not begging. It's no different now.

In an all-out coal strike, there's no doubt what side Reagan will take—the same side as that phony "friend of labor" Democrat Jimmy Carter. But the UMWA leadership tried to dress up the Washington demonstration in Reaganite super-patriotism: union headquarters decked out with a three-story-high stars and stripes, and hundreds of American flags passed out to marchers. So eager were Church & Co. to avoid even a hint of confrontation with the administration that the march almost sprinted past the White House. And this from the union that twice dared to strike during World War II, braving all the capitalist "war effort" propaganda and slanders about a "pro-Nazi fifth column"! Where is the combative spirit that built the UMWA, that said "you can't dig coal with bayonets"? That's what kept the 1978-79 coal strike going through 110 days of bitter struggle, and that's the spirit needed today.

Instead, Church brought onto the union balcony endless Democratic Party politicians, ranging from "scab Republican" Jay Rockefeller to former Klansman Robert Byrd. But the crowd was not moved by the two hours of long-winded flag-waving about "American energy security." They sang "Solidarity Forever" with gusto, and the emotional high point came when a young miner mounted the podium to speak of his father who died this morning of Black Lung. The killer respiratory disease is a fighting matter in the coalfields. It was the Black Lung movement, beginning with mass demonstrations of tens of thousands at the West Virginia capital back in 1969, which set off a wave of political strikes and wildcats, sparking the reform movement which toppled corrupt, murderous union chief Tony Boyle. Sam Church is sitting on a volcano.

"Black lung kills!" 10,000 miners protest Reagan's cutbacks in Washington, March 9. WV Photo

Militant UMWA members must demand a no-holds-barred strike, beginning March 27! District-wide meetings (which began to take place midway through the last strike) must be held *now* to hammer out demands, strategy and tactics. A national strike committee must be elected so the membership can control negotiations and block a sellout. Stop the flow of coal through union solidarity actions—"hot cargoing"! All U.S. labor must rally to the UMWA's defense! If the energy conglomerates and a violently anti-labor government can crush the miners in this battle, it will be the opening salvo of a bigger offensive against the unions across the country. But if a militant coal strike, backed up by inter-union solidarity, brings the coal bosses to their knees it would tremendously aid labor struggles coast-to-coast!

Company/Government Offensive

In Reagan's Cold War drive the domestic targets are labor, minorities and the poor. In this atmosphere the coal bosses are in no mood for deals with the unions. With wildcat strikes down by 85 percent from the tumultuous years of the 1974-77 contract, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) sees 1981 as the year to tame the combative miners for good. Seeking to make UMWA mines more "competitive" with non-union pits—especially surface mines in the Western states—industry bargainers are pressing for continuous, seven-day operations and the institution of rotating shifts. Other BCOA takeaway demands are to weaken the seniority system, for mandatory overtime, extension of probation for new hires and elimination of the industry-wide pension in favor of company-by-company plans. And the bosses are perfectly candid about their desire to bloody and break the power of the union. Without "productivity," said BCOA chief Bobby Brown, "there will be no future for UMW-represented coal" (*Wall Street Journal*, 22 December 1980).

Capitalist spokesmen like *Business Week* are optimistic about reaching a national settlement without a strike for the first time since 1964. Since the bitterly fought strike three years ago, the UMWA's share of U.S. coal production mined under BCOA contract has shrunk to 44 percent of the total (down from 70 percent in 1974). What's more, the operators have stockpiled close to 200 million tons of coal—one-third more than in 1977—in order to blackmail, and if necessary starve, the miners into submission. On top of this, while productivity rose by 7.7 percent last year, for a record production of 825 million tons (at a cost of 124 miners' lives), there are currently 25,000 UMWA miners on layoff. In addition the bosses are united in a way they weren't last time. Brown is from Consolidation Coal, one of the most vicious anti-union outfits in the industry and the biggest coal mine employer in the U.S. Consol quit the BCOA in 1979 complaining that smaller companies had a disproportionately large voice in the bargaining and were too soft on the union. They returned only when the large energy trusts were given exclusive control of negotiations.

UMWA Leaders Retreat

But the miners have not forgotten the militant tactics which kept the 1977-78 strike solid for almost four months. In February roving pickets in southern West Virginia donned ski masks and pulled 5,000 miners out of the pits, in defiance of arbitrators' no-strike rulings, to resolve unsettled local grievances. The danger comes from the International leadership under Sam Church, which is actually a continuation of the hated sellout Arnold Miller regime. Church was vice-president in 1977-78 and actually ran the show while Miller was holed up in hospital beds and Charleston hotel rooms to escape angry miners. Since becoming president he has continued wooing the Democratic Party enemies of labor (West Virginia was one of the few states which voted for Jimmy "Taft-Hartley" Carter in 1980) and has repeated dropped hints of violating

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 277 27 March 1981

EL SALVADOR:

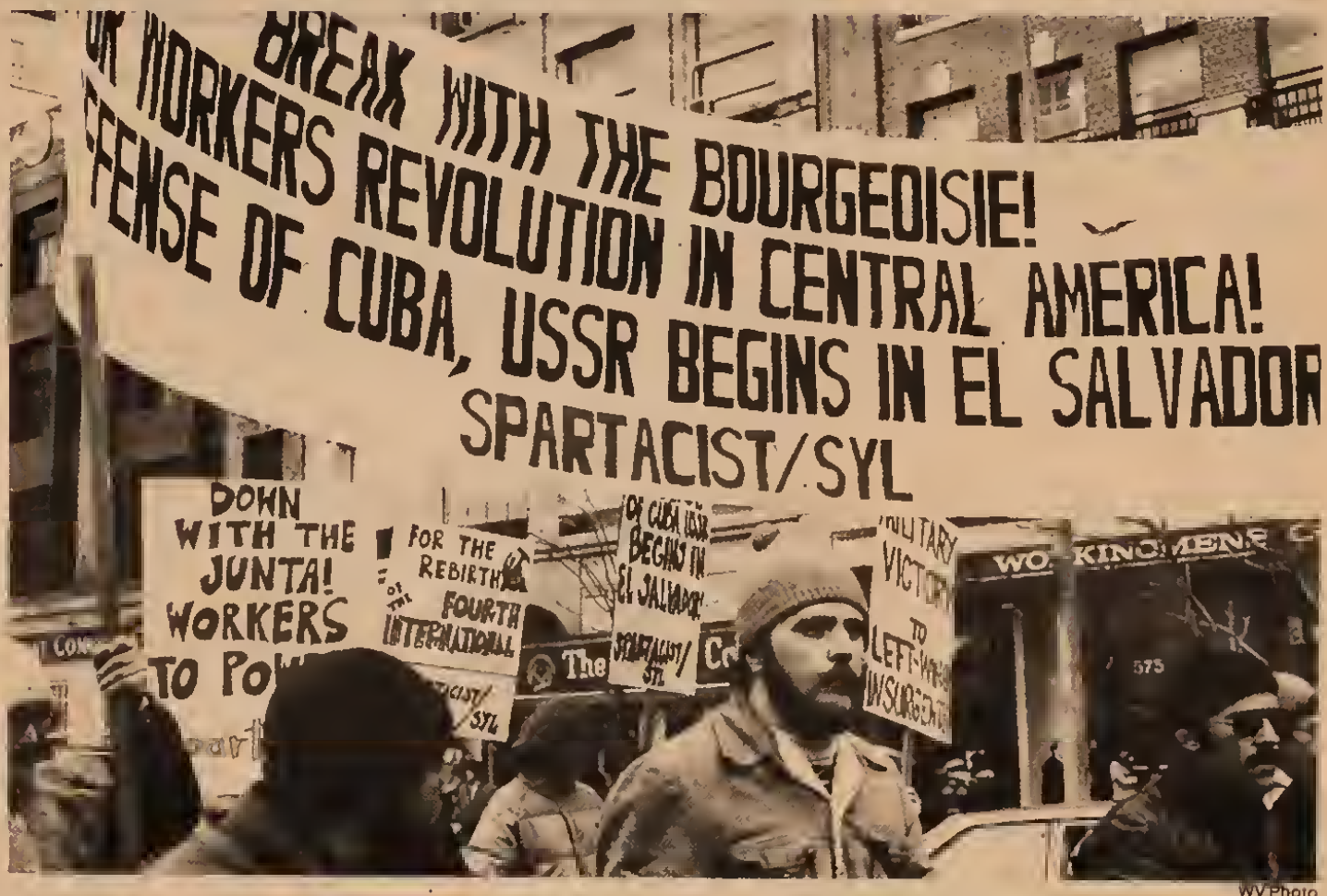
Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents!

Imperialist "Doves" Enemies of Revolution

El Salvador, a Central American Vietnam? The Reagan administration, throwing down the gauntlet to the Soviet Union, is bent on making a demonstration of American power in a way that hasn't been possible since its humiliating defeat by the workers and peasants of Southeast Asia half a decade ago. With rhetoric harking back to the Eisenhower/Dulles era of American nuclear blackmail, it vows to "draw the line" against "Communist subversion" well south of the Rio Grande. Liberals, to whom "Vietnam" meant above all a *losing* war for U.S. imperialism, worry about the "light at the end of the tunnel" and introduce legislation in Congress to cut off military aid to the murderous Salvadoran junta. And around the country in recent weeks a protest movement has sprung up recalling, though on a far smaller scale, the Vietnam antiwar movement.

Once again it is the coalition between Democratic Party "doves" and reformist leftists which dominated the Vietnam antiwar movement with their liberal politics of pressuring Washington rather than *defeating* imperialism. Meanwhile, Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Salvadoran left-wing leaders lock the insurgent masses, intended victims of the U.S.' Cold War onslaught, in the same popular-front trap. They are now seeking not a battlefield victory, much less workers revolution, but a "political solution" with a section of the Christian Democratic/military junta, arranged through international pressure. But Reagan has no intention of negotiating any such deals. Intent on sending a bloody message to the Kremlin, as we have pointed out before, the only solution he has in mind for Central American leftists is a "final solution."

Because they seek to avoid challenging the vital interests of imperialism, liberal/radical misleaders must ignore the real target of Reagan and his four-star secretary of state Haig: the USSR and the other bureaucratically deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc, particularly Cuba. But administration spokesmen have repeatedly stressed that the uproar over El Salvador is an integral part of their anti-Soviet war drive. Testifying in Congress, the general accused Russia of having a "hit list for the ultimate takeover of Central America." Accusing Cuba of supplying arms to Salvadoran rebels, Haig threatened that "a military option should not be excluded." And National Security Council official Richard Pipes blurted out Reagan's real policy when he told Reuters the Soviets face a choice of "changing their Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war. There is no alternative." As the Spartacist League has underlined, "Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union Begins in El Salvador!"



WV Photo

7,000 protest U.S. support to El Salvador junta in Boston, March 21. Spartacist contingent fights illusions in liberal imperialism.

And it's not just a question of "wolf howls," as Cuban defense minister Raúl Castro called them. Green Berets have been dispatched to El Salvador, and the *New York Times* now admits what has been known for some time: former National Guardsmen of the Somoza dictatorship are training with Cuban gusanos inside the U.S. preparing to overthrow the left-wing Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. Shades of the Bay of Pigs! As for large-scale intervention, Pentagon officials trying to jack up their war budget say they can't make a show of force without withdrawing an aircraft carrier from the Indian Ocean or the Mediterranean (*New York Times*, 15 March). Yet at the moment the U.S. is conducting a large-scale naval war maneuver (Readex 1-81) involving 41 ships in the Caribbean, and the nuclear carrier *Nimitz* has been stationed off Cuba (UPI dispatch, 3 March)! No one should doubt, then, that Reagan is prepared to stage some sort of military provocation if he figures the Soviets won't react.

In his Congressional testimony Haig claimed that "Phase One [of a Soviet 'four-phase operation' in Central America] has been completed—the seizure of Nicaragua." But even though Reagan writes them off, for the FSLN hopes of a *modus vivendi* with Yankee imperialism seem to spring eternal. After the Washington *diktat* denouncing the Sandinistas for supplying arms to Salvadoran leftists, *the response from Managua has been to slash the already meager flow of guns.* Though American leftists are silent on this betrayal, the numerous reports cannot be doubted: not only calls by FSLN "hard" Borge for a "political solution" in El Salvador, but information from American intelligence indicating a sharp cutback in arms coming through Nicaragua. As for leftists in El Salvador, following their failed January "final offensive" a leader of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation front (FMLN), Ana Guadalupe Martinez, announced: "Our main task is rather to organize a bloc of states that will oppose an intervention in El Salvador."

In the United States, meanwhile, El Salvador protests have mushroomed: teach-ins coast to coast, 5,000 marching in the Bay Area in mid-January, 7,000 in Boston March 21 and major demonstrations against U.S. intervention scheduled for Washington, D.C. in early May. Their political axis is unambiguously that of the imperialist "doves."

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Nicaragua on the Razor's Edge.....6

SL/ANZ Conference Marks Rapid Growth

ADAPTED FROM AUSTRALASIAN SPARTACIST, MARCH 1981

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL), Australian section of the international Spartacist tendency, held its 12th National Conference in January. The central task posed was the consolidation of the gains of the preceding year of rapid growth (one-third of the comrades attending the conference were new recruits since January 1980): the integration of the new comrades as cadres through Marxist education and involvement in struggle and the deepening of the organization's roots through the forging of new industrial and campus fractions.

The conference stressed the opportunities for continued growth. The national report noted that while all sections of the international tendency confront "Cold War II" and the heightened danger of nuclear world war, on the domestic front "it's not the Reagan years in Australia," as indicated by the growing unpopularity of Malcolm Fraser's arrogantly anti-working-class Tory government and the general public disdain for his backing of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet Olympic boycott (a hit record in Australia was the "anthem" of the Moscow Olympics, sung in German and English by a West German disco group).

The new comrades were won from a variety of political backgrounds. The most sizable success story was a wave of recruits out of a non-party extended-family collective in Melbourne around Joan Bray and her husband, trade unionists and ex-members of the Communist Party of Australia (CPA). Over the course of years, Joan Bray had moved left from the CPA orbit in a generally feminist/New Leftist direction. Although not a Trotskyist, she encouraged her entourage to "check out" the Spartacist League, and they marched with our contingent on May Day 1980 under our slogan of "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan—Extend Social Gains of October Revolution to Afghan Peoples!" Joan Bray died of cancer last year, but several young workers from this heterogeneous, fuzzily pro-communist milieu were won to our program on women's liberation, the picket line, the "Russian question." Their recruitment shows the power of our Trotskyist program as a class-struggle break from the craft-unionist, social-chauvinist backwardness of the Australian Laborite leadership.

Other new recruits this year came from the Socialist Workers Party, the stillborn centrist "Trotskyist Study Group" and elsewhere. They were won to Trotskyism on key questions of the international class struggle, in particular our Trotskyist defense of the USSR against imperialism, which sets us off sharply from the social-patriotic left. One comrade joining the SL at the conference noted:

> "I first came into contact with the SL because of the 'Victory to the Red Army' headline in the February/March [1980] issue [of *Australasian Spartacist*]. Due to my uninformed, Stalinist, anti-Trotskyist upbringing, I was under the impression that Trotskyism meant anti-Soviet Union. I had some doubts about the USSR.... The SL's line on the USSR made me quite excited. At last I could criticize the Soviet Union from the left. The SL calls for the defense of the gains of the October Revolution, i.e. collectivized property and planned economy, but calls for political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucrats who are hindering the advance of Bolshevism both in the USSR and throughout the world...."

The SL's intervention into a "Stop the Carter/Fraser War Drive" campaign briefly waged by a lash-up between the so-called Trotskyist Study Group in Sydney and the clique around Paul White in Melbourne exposed the bloc's contradictions over Afghanistan, laying the basis for a struggle within the Melbourne group over the SL's angular "Hail Red Army" slogan. Four new comrades were won to the SL through this aggressive polemical work.

Australasian Spartacist

May Day 1980 in Sydney.

New supporters were also won through the SL's interventions into the Socialist Workers Party-sponsored Australian tour by "*chador* socialist" Fatima Fallahi of the Iranian HKE last July. In Melbourne a militant picket of 50 people denounced Fallahi's kowtowing to Khomeini's anti-communist, anti-Kurd, anti-woman regime. At LaTrobe and Sydney University campuses, our comrades intervened to expose Fallahi's apologias for the enforced veiling of women, stoning of homosexuals and "adulterers," genocidal campaigns against national minorities, etc. in Iran.

More recently, the Polish events have provided new opportunities to regroup subjectively revolutionary militants to the Trotskyist program. When the Polish crisis broke last August, most of the left rushed to uncritically acclaim the nationalist Solidarity union leadership, cynically ignoring its ties to the Catholic church whose capitalist-restorationist appetites make it the rallying point for potential social

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SWP Welcomes KKK, Excludes Trotskyists

BERKELEY—"We'd let the Klan in, but we're not going to let *you* in," blustered Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) spokesman Bill Baker to supporters of the Spartacist League, as he barred their way to a workshop of the SWP/YSA's "Socialist Education Conference" here March 14. If the all-too-real Ku Klux Klan from nearby Contra Costa County ever took up this offer, the SWP could get its own supporters *wasted* with "socialist education" like this!

This obscene statement, repeated and defended by Baker, is the logical application of the SWP's position for "free speech" for fascists while excluding the revolutionary communists of the SL. Spartacists were again excluded from a forum that same evening by SWP national chairman Barry Sheppard on their "socialist Watersuit," showing that in order to seal their own supporters off from political criticism, they are even willing to risk alienating the liberal/ACLU milieu they are courting.

In spite of this cowardly exclusion, and lest anyone mistake the SWP for revolutionary Trotskyists, the SL/SYL kept up an aggressive political presence throughout the two-day conference. Our comrades passed out a leaflet titled, "Does the SWP Have Anything in Common with Marxism? Nope! Not For a Long Time!" which explained in part, "The SWP like the ACLU wants 'free speech for fascists.' But the fascists don't talk—they shoot! Like in Greensboro, North Carolina. The SWP actually boasts about its 'debate' on television with California KKK leader Tom Metzger."

In San Francisco the night before, 15 SWPers blocked four SL supporters at the entrance to their forum on Central America trying to justify their cowardly action by slandering the Spartacist League as "disrupters." Black supporters of the SL confronted SWP leader Tony Thomas for excluding them and opposing a program to fight the Klan. One comrade told Thomas that with politics like these, "you're either dumb, or you don't care, or you're cowards." Tony Thomas grinned, held up three fingers, and said, "All three!" This is the same Tony Thomas who at a meeting last December 13 of the Contra Costa Coalition (formed on an explicit basis of reliance on the cops against KKK terror and opposed to labor/black defense of the black homes under attack) opined that physical defense of the black families under siege was "not the issue"!

What is it that the SWP doesn't want people to hear at their forums? Trotskyist politics. They would like to avoid a repeat of the embarrassing moment at a Laney College forum on El Salvador two weeks earlier where hissing and booing YSAers were forced to shut up when the mainly Latin and minority audience of over 100 students cheered the SL's call for "military victory to the left-wing insurgents." While the SWP refuses to take sides in the civil war in El Salvador, supports the capitalist program of the popular-front FDR and won't defend the USSR, the Spartacists got an enthusiastic response to our call for workers revolution in El Salvador.

NYC Doc Strike

Koch's Cuts Kill Patients

NEW YORK CITY—Two thousand five hundred doctors in the Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR) walked picket lines for a week at seven NYC public and two private hospitals in a protest strike against the atrocious conditions in the city's hospital system. Demanding that patient care standards be written into their contract, the CIR denounced NYC mayor Koch's closing of Harlem's Sydenham Hospital and Reagan's slated drastic cuts in Medicaid benefits. The doctors charged that city cutbacks, causing drastic shortages of personnel, vital life-saving equipment and even sheets and blankets, have made public hospitals houses of horror for their largely poor and minority patients.

From Harlem to the South Bronx to Brooklyn's Crown Heights, NYC's hard-pressed ghetto residents backed the CIR strike against racist Koch's cutbacks. But Koch tried to break the CIR with a barrage of threats: CIR head Dr. Jonathan House was fired after he announced strike plans. 2,000 CIR members were threatened with firings. A judge ordered $100,000 a day fines against the CIR and threatened further penalties under New York's notorious anti-strike Taylor Law.

Faced with the threat of losing their medical certification, CIR doctors returned to work at city hospitals March 23. The walkout was broken because the city labor movement did not actively support it (hospital workers in District 1199 and AFSCME Local 420 were even told to cross picket lines). It will take a powerful working-class offensive to win the battle against Koch's killer cuts and Reagan's reactionary budget ax-murders. ■

WV Photo

NYC Interns and residents defy Taylor Law, March 13.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 277 27 March 1981

Cops Are Racist Killers, Not Protectors

Black Anger from Atlanta to Harlem

Some 20,000 people marched through the streets of Harlem Friday evening March 13 to protest the succession of grisly murders and unexplained disappearances of black children in Atlanta. In a candlelight vigil the procession moved up Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard, then listened to speeches from two mothers of the murdered children and joined local religious leaders in prayer. "Wear a ribbon, light a candle and march for the lives of our children" was the evening's ceremonial theme. In Atlanta that same weekend 3,000 marched in a "Moratorium on Murder—Save the Youth" demonstration which culminated in a rally at Morehouse College.

The number of murdered black ghetto children—their bodies found mutilated in overgrown fields outside of town—now numbers 20 since July of 1979. And given the climate of racist America, no wonder they are perceived as racially motivated killings of blacks by whites. Speculations about the murderers range from racist crazies to Ku Klux Klan plots to theories that the killers are within the police force itself. Across the country the wearing of green ribbons has been called for as a "show of concern" for the terrorized Atlanta black population. It began with Philadelphia grandmother Georgia Dean, who said, "Everybody was putting out yellow ribbons in honor of the hostages [but] the missing children in Atlanta... can't come home." The protests over the Atlanta children have become a focus for the anger and suffering of black people all over Reagan's America.

Nationwide, blacks are the targets of mounting race terror and government policy which says that ghetto populations are expendable. Social programs killed by Reagan's budget ax, across-the-board attacks on every limited gain of the civil rights movement. Who can estimate the rise in infant mortality rates due to slashing of such programs as prenatal care, food stamps, school lunches? The black masses in Reagan's America feel themselves under the gun in the most literal sense. And these

Bill Greene

20,000 hold candlelight march in Harlem, March 13, to protest Atlanta child killings.

vicious attacks will not be stopped with liberal concern and green ribbons, but hard class struggle.

The large protests that have sprung up around the Atlanta murders, however, do not confront the threat of growing racism in the U.S. *politically*. That is precisely why Atlanta is such a popular cause with the liberals, the black misleaders and the reformists who tail them. They channel deeply felt outrage and fear into harmless apolitical activity that challenges not one brick or pillar of the racist status quo. *Ironically, the Atlanta killings have become a focus of mass protest because they have the least political content.* A movement organized to integrate schools, for instance, immediately engages the racist forces of segregation. A fight against the killer cops—who have murdered and terrorized far, far more blacks than have been victimized in Atlanta—must confront the armed thugs of the capitalist state. A struggle to stop the KKK/Nazi race terrorists—a real threat to blacks now and in the future—must pose necessary political and military questions for the defense of blacks from fascist attack. But who can be against a "show of concern" for the tragedy of Atlanta? Well, who can be *for* the murder of Atlanta schoolchildren? Not even the KKK wants to take "credit" for these acts. Ronald Reagan can "show concern" for the dead children of Atlanta even as he closes the school cafeterias for the living. Even Frank Sinatra and Sammy Davis, Jr. tried to clean up their acts with an Atlanta fundraiser.

To the extent that the Atlanta protests raise any demands at all, they are for more police protection, for a federal investigation... and ultimately a call for federal troops or marshals. But the balance sheet of the black struggle—from the murder of Black Panther leader Fred Hampton, to the murder of civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo—has shown that the cops, G-men, FBI and federal troops are no protectors of black people, but their *racist killers!* And when Atlanta blacks took steps to organize black patrols in the housing projects they were arrested.

Meanwhile the reformist left steps forward once more to preach reliance on the bourgeois state as the "protectors" of the black masses. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) Atlanta mayoral candidate Andre Khalmorgan calls for blacks to "force the government at all levels to fulfill its stated purposes of protecting all citizens." The SWP newspaper the *Militant* devotes endless pages to the calls of Atlanta moms for more police activity. Yet the *Militant* (6 March) banner headline asks, "Atlanta: Are Cops Covering For Child Killers?" These hustlers do everything to suggest that the cops are the killers, then demand... more cops! The Communist Party has a front-page editorial box in the 19 March *Daily World* proclaiming "The federal government must play a more aggressive role in halting these murders." So now they must be celebrating as Reagan has fulfilled their program—announcing he will send $1.5 million to Atlanta for the investigation. But blacks from Atlanta to Harlem have nothing to celebrate.

Ronald Reagan has declared war on black America. There are even serious moves now afoot to repeal the 1965 Voting Rights Act. On March 11 the California courts upheld Proposition I and ordered the dismantling of the Los Angeles busing program. Thus they hammered in the last nails in the coffin of school integration, already killed half a decade ago when the Democrats buckled under racist pressure in the streets of Boston. And while the Reagan administration can't do anything much about the economy, it will make black people the scapegoats for the failures of this racist capitalist system. But there is a basis for struggle, and not just by blacks alone. Miners facing cuts of "Black Lung" benefits are threatened; hundreds of thousands of laid-off auto workers have been cut off unemployment insurance. But a vague "sense of concern" won't do it. Appealing to bourgeois congressmen on either side of the aisle won't do it—far from opposing Reagan's $30 million in budget cuts, the Democrats have actually been speeding them through Congress. What is needed is a workers party, to unite all the victims of Reagan's killer cuts into a struggle for socialist revolution, which for the first time will make America safe for black people. ■

Klan Gets Bloody Nose

On March 21 a pack of KKK fascists who tried to hold a race-hate provocation in Meriden, Connecticut were driven off the streets by approximately 200 outraged demonstrators. The Klan had come to city hall to support the killer cops who last month shot two blacks, murdering one. After hiding in the city hall for over an hour, the white-sheeted scum tried to escape out the back door with the help of local cops in riot gear. But they were met by a barrage of rocks and sticks. According to press reports, eight Klansmen and 19 cops were bloodied. The cops charged the crowd with nightsticks and arrested two protesters. Now the leading race terrorist in the U.S., "Imperial Wizard" Bill Wilkinson, is calling for the help of the federal Justice Department, claiming his "civil rights have been violated." Charges against these anti-Klan demonstrators must be dropped at once!

We are glad to see these KKK thugs get a taste of justice for their murderous terror attacks on blacks, leftists, Jews and other minorities. But the tactics of the International Committee Against Racism (InCAR) which organized the anti-Klan confrontation can be no model for fighting the fascists successfully. InCAR is a creature of the Progressive Labor Party (PL), known for its wild gyrations between liberal reformism and adventurism. Their strategy depends on the cops' failing to crush their protests. But even as PL chanted "Cops and Klan work hand-in-hand," 100 state police were waiting a few blocks away, according to the *Boston Globe*. Later the president of the state police union apologized for not sending in his cops to bash the demonstrators.

This time PL was lucky. But a strategy to stop the fascists which banks on the supposed incompetence of the state—or worse, the illusion that it would protect anti-fascist protests—is suicidal. Last time PL/InCAR rallied in Scotland, Connecticut to protest a cross-burning they nearly got shot and the totally unprepared demonstrators took to the fields in confusion. What is needed to drive the fascists back into their holes is neither liberal/reformist reliance on the government to "ban the Klan" nor the substitutionist adventures of PL/InCAR. What's needed is the social power of the union movement, backed by black and other minority organizations. The SL says: For labor/black mobilization to stop fascist terror attacks!

AP

KKK runs for cop protection in Meriden, Connecticut.

SL vs. Feminism on International Women's Day

"Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution"

Diana Coleman — Young Spartacus

D.L. Reissner — WV Photo

Diane Gilpen — WV Photo

Mary Jo McAllister — WV Photo

The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League celebrated International Women's Day, March 8, this year with a series of forums around the country. Topics ranged from feminism and reaction in the U.S. to women in Khomeini's Islamic dictatorship to how the Bolshevik Revolution liberated women. The clash between the SL/SYL's proletarian defense of democratic rights and petty-bourgeois feminists' turn toward "pro-family" reaction was most heated over the anti-porn crusade. D.L. Reissner's talk, "From Bra-Burning to Book-Burning: Feminists Join 'Moral Majority' Anti-Pornography Campaign," drew large audiences and heated polemics on several campuses. (*Young Spartacus* No. 89, March 1981, reprints extensive parts of her forum.) Against the reactionary feminist campaign and the despairing reformism of most of the left, the Spartacist League counterposed our fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution. We print below brief excerpts from several of the talks:

SAN FRANCISCO

DIANA COLEMAN, Spartacist Party-endorsed candidate for SF Board of Supervisors last fall, spoke at UC Extension and UC Berkeley.

Feminists view the future with pessimism. At best they want to ward off the things which they see coming down on them. At worst they are in a bloc with the right wing. Someone from the Freedom Socialist Party [a "feminist-socialist" group] said, "We don't want the government to censor pornography. We want a mass movement to do it." And we said, well, there is a mass movement doing it. It's called the Moral Majority. So they can join right up.

BERKELEY

DIANE GILPEN, laid-off auto worker, spoke at an SYL noon rally at the University of California's Sproul Plaza.

I'd like to share with you a lesson I learned from a strike at the General Motors plant in Fremont four years ago.... A woman was injured on the job and was being harassed by a foreman, who was trying to force her to do a job she physically could not do any more. The woman called the union for help, and in the process of defending her, the union steward was brutally abused and physically thrown out of the office by this racist foreman. The union leadership supported a walkout which stopped production and shut down the plant of 7,000 workers for a whole week, costing GM over $5,000 a minute. The woman was awarded an easier job and the union members were given back the jobs that they had lost during the dispute.

I learned from this that the man next to me on the assembly line is not my natural enemy; he is my natural ally, and together we, the working class, have the power to fight against women's oppression and racial discrimination.... I don't know of any feminist consciousness-raising group that could close down a plant of 7,000 workers and produce the gains that have been won by organized class struggle.

CHICAGO

D.L. REISSNER, a member of the editorial board of Women and Revolution, *the journal of the Women's Commission of the SL, spoke at the radical club Cross Currents.*

At the height of Khomeini's popularity in Iran, the Spartacist League stood alone on the left in calling for his downfall, explaining that his program meant the enforced brutalization and slavery of women. In the fighting over Afghanistan, fighting which broke out specifically over the question of women's liberation, the Spartacist League again stood alone, and stands alone, hailing the victory of the Red Army over the reactionary rule of the mullahs. The feminists were so worried that women might be photographed in black garter belts, but they had nothing to say about women who are forced to spend their whole lives suffocating under black chadors, veils.

NEW YORK

MARY JO McALLISTER, a spokesman for the SYL, participated in a panel discussion on "Feminism and Marxism" at the Old Westbury campus of SUNY.

For us the Russian Revolution was a model. It opened up the greatest possibilities for human liberation at any time in history, promising freedom for women, an end to women's subjugation to the family and real integration in terms of work.... What's needed now is a political revolution, to put power back in the hands of the Soviet working people. But as part of that, one has to defend the gains of that revolution against the drive of the U.S. capitalists to roll that back.

Women must be organized as part of a revolutionary party that is rooted in the working class, and not an "autonomous" women's movement or a separate gay liberation movement. The liberation of women is going to be a historical act, not a mental act. You're not going to get it through alternative lifestyles; you're not going to get it through consciousness-raising; you're not going to get it through single-issue reform movements. You've got to take it all on. And that's why ultimately the liberation of women has to come through socialist revolution. ■

SL/ANZ...

(continued from page 2)

counterrevolution in Poland. (The pro-Moscow Socialist Party, of course, remained apologists for the Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, which has disorganized the economy, demoralized the workers and alienated every section of Polish society from "Communism.") Only the SL stood for the Trotskyist program of internationalist solidarity with the Russian proletariat and defense of Poland's socialized means of production through workers' political revolution.

Side by side with our polemical work for revolutionary regroupments has been our activism in the Australian class struggle. Rejecting the fake-"mass" work cynicism of our opponents, the SL has aggressively pursued opportunities for exemplary trade-union work. For example, at the Redfern Mail Exchange, SL supporters stood out, in the words of one militant won to our politics, as "the only people to say what was really needed—an indefinite statewide [work] stoppage to smash the bosses' union-busting plans." And at Fairfax printing plant in Sydney, SL supporters fought to uphold the basic principle that "picket lines mean don't cross." PKIU member Ron Rees refused to go to work during a three-month strike by metal workers, who later helped him beat back management's attempts to sack him for his principled solidarity with their struggle.

Our membership growth, the expansion of our press and the re-establishment of effective presence in Melbourne are elements in our continuing struggle to transform the SL into the nucleus of a bolshevist vanguard party of the working class, section of a reforged Fourth International. Our communist class-struggle line, the Leninist alternative to social-chauvinist Laborite reformism and cringing centrist opportunism, must become rooted in the consciousness of the working class in order for our class to take state power and transform society. If you agree with us, join us: we have a world to win. ■

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Support for Sitdown at Ford's River Rouge

"Not a Nickel, Not a Layoff!"

DETROIT, March 21—Big Three auto workers are locked in a battle for their jobs where defeat means disaster. The ink was barely dry on the Chrysler "bail-out" contract when Ford Motor Company opened up its drive for wage concessions from the United Auto Workers (UAW): 5,000 workers at Ford's steel plant at the giant Rouge auto complex were told to accept a 20 percent cut (averaging 84 cents per hour) in their incentive pay or lose 3,200 jobs by mid-year. With the union leadership parroting company threats, the steel workers reluctantly voted to accept the cuts, although some 2,000 didn't cast a ballot and a quarter voted "no." Meanwhile GM is dropping hints that it too will demand concessions to remain "competitive." UAW president Doug Fraser has opened a breach in the industrywide union contract, a historic union gain, and now the breach is turning into a flood of takeaways. Auto workers must prepare for the kind of militant action that built this union into a labor powerhouse. Their livelihoods and the whole future of the UAW are at stake!

The opening shot in Ford's attack actually was at the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) in February with the layoff of 551 workers. This came on the heels of the announced future closing of the Michigan Casting Center, another unit covered by the giant UAW Local 600. The class-struggle Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) put forward the only realistic workers' defense—sit-down strikes against the layoffs and pay cuts, and for jobs for all. As the steel workers voted, the conservative *Detroit News* (12 March) quoted an RMC leaflet as the main opposition to Ford:

> "'Not one nickel, not one layoff,' said one leaflet. 'The UAW's surrender at Chrysler (where workers have ratified more than $1 billion in contract concessions to keep the company alive) shows that 'pay cuts or layoffs' always means pay cuts *and* layoffs'."

Of course, the newspaper carefully cut out the leaflet headline which read, "FOR SITDOWN STRIKES TO FIGHT FOR OUR JOBS!" At DAP, the RMC had circulated a petition signed by over 600 workers demanding that the union leaders hold an in-plant meeting before the layoffs so that Local 600 could act. RMC spokesman Frank Hicks explained the sit-down perspective in an interview with *WV*:

> "We know that with parking lots full of cars all over Detroit, a regular strike isn't going to work—that's obvious. What we have fought for and what we have gotten a good reception for in the plant is the conception that when Ford says we are going to throw another five, ten thousand workers out on the street—from steel, assembly, from stamping, any of these buildings out here at Rouge—that what has to be done is that people say no, our sweat and blood built the plants, people died for the gains we have in our contract and we're not going. And the idea of a sitdown would be enormously powerful in the auto industry."

Another RMCer reported that "all over the plant people were arguing and talking about the question of a sit-down strike. People were coming up and asking caucus members about what really did happen in Flint... What is a plant occupation?... What do you do about the cops?" The sitdown was becoming the issue of the day.

Treachery at the Top

Just three weeks before the steel division concessions were announced, Local 600 president Mike Rinaldi ran a half-page headline in the local's newspaper, *Ford Facts*, proclaiming "NO CONTRACT REOPENING CONCESSIONS!" Yet it was Rinaldi himself who proposed the 20 percent cut in incentive pay after negotiating the issue behind workers' backs *for over a year!* Typically, the local bureaucracy closed ranks to sell it to the membership, giving them only a week's notice before the vote. On March 11, steel workers packed Local 600 meeting rooms throughout the day for "informational" meetings where they were told that each one who voted against the concessions would be personally responsible for the layoffs. Nick Nestico, chairman of the Rolling Mills unit, personally vowed to ensure the layoff of one unionist if he voted against the pay cuts!

Militant Frank Hicks at UAW Local 600 hall calls for sit-down strike against pay cut for workers at River Rouge steel plant (above).

WV Photos

The chairman of the Coke Ovens/Blast Furnace (COBF) unit, Rick Martin, specifically attacked the RMC's sit-down proposal in his own leaflet, trying to exacerbate the divisions in the union by baiting one RMCer as an outsider from "another unit" of the Rouge complex! Other Rouge workers, he claimed, would not fight for the higher paid steel workers. But the RMC leaflet noted that, although "piece work and incentive are designed to divide and weaken the union" and are racially discriminatory, to move forward workers must defend what has already been won while fighting to "roll the incentive into the base rate, with a pay boost and more equal wages for all workers." Martin was not really looking for a fighting strategy, of course, so he called for giving up by voting "yes." Nevertheless, in the COBF meeting a few independent militants did try to call for a sitdown from the floor, indicating that there was a will to fight.

At DAP unit president "Big" Johnny Vawters refused even to receive the petition demanding a union meeting before the layoff and instead called an "informational" meeting on the day *after* the layoff. In an arrogant leaflet, Vawters claimed the sole right to call meetings and baited the militants:

> "Membership meetings are held to inform the membership about what has happened and to collect complaints... and not just because some outside organization wants to use our union halls to complain about nothing on a monthly basis."

Vawters outrageously claimed to have "saved" jobs because the original layoff plan was for much more than the 551 actually laid off! And at the union meeting, he told the membership what "has happened" to fight layoffs—nothing.

The UAW Ford and GM councils, meeting this week in Washington, took a vote against reopening the national contracts, but this vote was as worthless as Mike Rinaldi's "No Concessions" headline in *Ford Facts*. As Doug Fraser cynically noted to a reporter, this is the time for local union officer elections and have you "ever heard of a Congressman running for reelection on a platform that said, 'If you vote for me, I'll lower your standard of living'" (*Detroit Free Press*, 20 March). Even lower-level executive board "oppositionists" like William Brown and Larry Bronson in Local 600 are already preparing to capitulate—Bronson only stated that he was against concessions until they received "assurances" from Ford that there would be no layoffs.

Fake Oppositionists Only Sit Down at Home

Even more adamant than the bureaucracy in opposition to a sit-down strike were the fake oppositionists in the plants. Liz Ziers, who is running on the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) ticket for Congress against the fascist Gerald Carlson, smugly told the RMC that "I only do my sitting down at home." Even after her home was firebombed by Klan/Nazis, Ziers went to Coldwater to *debate* her pro-Nazi opponent! Seeking to be the "left" advisers for the union bureaucracy, the SWP opposes any class-struggle action. In contrast, the RMC has been in the forefront in pushing for union/black defense guards to defeat fascist terror.

The cringing Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW), supported by a cult group that currently calls itself the Revolutionary Workers League, are horrified by militant action, whether it be a sit-down strike or a simple picket line—so they joined the bureaucrats' chorus labeling the sitdown as a "gimmick...just a wildcat in out of the blue" ("Local 600 Fighter," 5 March). Instead, CMDUAW defended Vawter's bureaucratic move for a union meeting *after* the layoffs had taken place, and then they submitted a motion for an elected strike committee! In reaction to the steel division concessions, CMDUAW made a lash-up with the workerist Jim Rothe, publisher of the "Organizer" newsletter, to call for a sitdown...authorized by the International. So they oppose any action without the approval of Doug Fraser—which means never! The real politics behind the CMDUAW were clearly revealed when they repeated to workers in the assembly plant that an in-plant union meeting and a sit-down strike would only finger militants to management. (They even complained that 1,000 unionists occupying the plant would still be an "unauthorized strike"!) This argument is not new: their guru Peter Sollenberger used the same argument to justify scabbing on an AFSCME workers strike in Ann Arbor in 1977! These cowards who still defend that scabbing deserve nothing but contempt from auto workers.

Not Protectionism But Class Struggle!

U.S. auto makers lost more than $4 billion last year. As a leading spokesman for the American companies noted, "It's World War III in the auto industry." This was not merely a turn of phrase—Fraser and his social-democratic friends are beating the drums for anti-Japanese protectionism with a virulence reminiscent of World War II. But Fraser's appeal to the capitalist government for "help" has only backfired against the workers—U.S. Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis wants the Reagan government to move to cut Japanese imports, but emphasizes "there has got to be certain concessions" by the UAW—meaning pay cuts and layoffs. The only real solution for American and Japanese auto workers is international class struggle against *all* the auto barons—not chauvinist protectionism!

Mass sit-down strikes were the key to organizing the auto industry at the height of the Great Depression. As recently as 1973, workers at Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant got rid of a hated, racist foreman through a sit-down. With a class-struggle leadership, a sit-down strike could be a powerful tactic to break through Fraser's stranglehold and launch a real counter-offensive against the bosses. The only alternative to class struggle is the agonizing decay of the working class. Eight thousand have already been laid off in the Rouge complex, there are 200,000 jobless auto workers in Detroit alone, and according to the Michigan Manufacturing Association 600,000 are out of work in the industry when suppliers are included. Meanwhile, the SUB funds at Chrysler and Ford are just about on empty, and Reagan's cutbacks to unemployment insurance and TRA benefits will force many thousands onto the welfare rolls, or worse. Last week suburban police shot a former Rouge worker in the back of the head for allegedly attempting to steal a steak from a supermarket!

It's time to face facts: there are no clever compromises here. Sharp class struggle is the only answer, culminating in a workers government to junk the whole damn capitalist system. Replace the murderous boom-bust cycle of production for Henry Ford's profits with socialist planning for human use! ■

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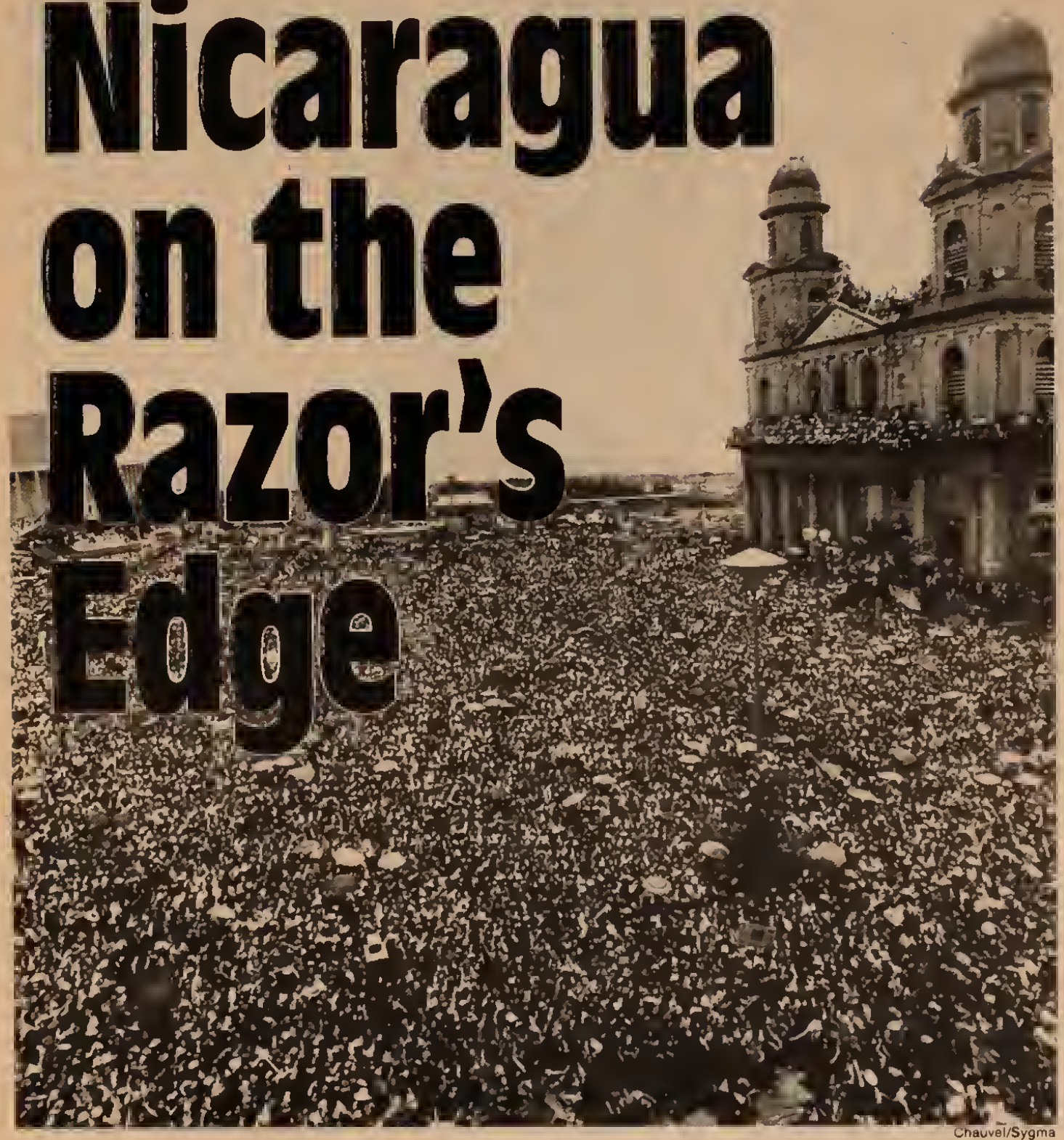
Sandinistas' "Middle Way" a Dead End

Nicaragua on the Razor's Edge



Chauvel/Sygma

Social Revolution or Bloody Counterrevolution

We print below an expanded and edited version of the second half of a speech by Jan Norden, editor of Workers Vanguard *and member of the Spartacist League Central Committee, recently delivered in Boston and New York under the title, "For Workers Revolution in Central America." The first half was printed in our last issue (WV No. 276, 13 March).*

In Nicaragua, the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional, the FSLN, took power in July 1979 by overthrowing the dictator Anastasio Somoza. And if El Salvador is the classic oligarchy-run country, Nicaragua was a classic puppet regime. It sounds like left-wing rhetoric, perhaps, but Somoza No. 1 was put in by Franklin Roosevelt—it was the product of his so-called "Good Neighbor" policy, by the way. You recall that FDR's secretary of state Cordell Hull made the famous comment that Somoza may be a son of a bitch, "but he's our son of a bitch." And when Jimmy Carter began talking about "human rights" and let it be known that the U.S. was not going to intervene, Somoza No. 3 was gone. It took only a few months and he was out. So he was a genuine puppet and the puppeteer is Washington. And it wasn't just the Somozas. The Salvadoran bourgeoisie is proud of the fact that they've never called on the Marines to aid them. But since 1855 Nicaragua has been invaded four times by U.S. forces. Somoza III was just the last in a long line.

He was also a bloodsucking dictator, in an almost literal sense. After the 1972 earthquake in Managua, Somoza decided that this was his big opportunity to get one up on the traditional Nicaraguan bourgeoisie. So he expropriated all the U.S. humanitarian aid and instead forced them to buy up Somoza-owned properties around the cities, for the purpose of reconstruction. And by every other means he sought to enrich his clan at the expense not only of the working class but of the landowners, factory owners and the like. One of his enterprises was a company called Plasmaféresis, which was going to solve Nicaragua's foreign exchange problem by adding an additional export to their coffee and cotton, and that was blood. So he started mass exports of blood to the United States. Then there was Howard Hughes, who spent his last years on the top floor of the Managua Intercontinental Hotel, his fingernails growing ever longer. The U.S. ambassador would have been more accurately described as a proconsul. Nixon's appointee, a friend of Bebe Rebozo, was Shelton Turner. He got to be such good buddies with Somoza that the tyrant put Turner's picture on their $3 bill. So if you want a place that's a classic U.S. puppet, bloodsucking dictatorship, phony as a three-dollar bill, Somoza's Nicaragua was it.

The Sandinistas got in power by mobilizing a genuine national uprising, including virtually the entire bourgeoisie outside of the Somoza family and its own private army, the National Guard. But the real power in this insurrection was in the hands of the petty-bourgeois FSLN, the Sandinista National Liberation Front, a movement which in its broad outlines is similar to Fidel Castro's July 26th Movement. That is to say, it is a bonapartist force, a guerrilla army in power, but it is not firmly wed to any particular property forms. As Marxism teaches, capitalism is based on the private ownership of the means of production, and the working class can only rule on the basis of collectivized property. But the petty bourgeoisie does not have a characteristic mode of production. As a result, when they get into power they frequently either don't know where to go or are quickly driven out. As an intermediate class without a clear class interest, the highly contradictory and disorganized petty bourgeoisie is usually prevented from being a leading force in political struggles. It usually comes down to the working class or bourgeois forces.

However, in certain exceptional circumstances, the petty bourgeoisie can come to power at the head of radical-democratic movements. In this case there was the weakness of the local bourgeoisie, the absence of the proletariat as an independent factor, and the combination of hostility and abstention on the part of imperialism. But what happens then is not predetermined; it can go in one of two directions. For example, we have the Algerian case where a petty-bourgeois-led national independence movement took power. Here the former colonial metropole sought to buy them off. De Gaulle offered to pay off all of the former *colon* landlords, to buy up all of Algeria's wine, setting long-term contracts for Algerian gas and oil. And at the end of it all, Algeria was a French neo-colony. At first they had a left-talking government under Ben Bella, but after a few years he was replaced by the more pliant Boumediene. So that's one route it can go.

There's also the Cuban road, where it went forward to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie, laying the basis for a deformed workers state. That is to say, since late 1960 Cuba has the property forms of a workers state, but atop this sits a ruling stratum, a ruling "caste," analogous to the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union which politically expropriated the Russian workers while resting on the social-economic conquests of the October Revolution. And in this case, U.S. imperialism took a different, less accommodating tack. It forced Castro to the wall, made him choose between self-destruction, on the one hand, or the revolutionary obliteration of the Cuban capitalist class and not just of those people who were most compromised by the Batista dictatorship. So that is a second road. It is certainly not the road Castro is counseling to the Sandinistas: remember his statement right after the FSLN took power that Nicaragua would not be a "second Cuba." It isn't the only alternative, either. There is a very real possibility of imperialist-sponsored counterrevolution to put back a pliant puppet regime. And there is our road, not of a bureaucratic overturn of capitalist property relations but a genuine workers revolution led by a Trotskyist party.

Reagan has said that Nicaragua is already "lost to Marxism." If he tries to pull an Eisenhower, it could force the petty-bourgeois Sandinista leadership to go further than they intended and expropriate the bourgeoisie. It could also lead to a split in the FSLN. The dominant faction at the time of their victory, the so-called *terceristas* [Third Roaders] were for a strategic alliance with the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie." But why would the Reagan administration do this, why don't they conciliate? Well, clearly they don't intend to give up any territory to proletarian revolution. They evidently intend to deal with the Sandinistas militarily, in the aftermath of smashing the more radical left-wing and worker-peasant forces in El Salvador. And if in the case of Cuba there was a certain element of bourgeois miscalculation involved, in this case Washington has embarked on a large-scale and globally conceived campaign aimed at its main target—Russia. So don't think it can't happen here. It's not impossible by any means that a CIA-backed invasion force could come barreling through there. And the only real preparation to meet it is revolutionary mobilization.

Sandinista/Bourgeois "Government"

Nicaragua, then, is set in a context where it's similar to the Cuban situation beginning in 1959, but it's not clear

necessarily where it's going to end up. So I'd like to go over the history of the last year and a half, since July 19, 1979, to see what the Sandinista Liberation Front has attempted to do. First of all, in the period just before the overthrow of Somoza, in early July 1979, there was an agreement that was worked out in San José, Costa Rica with the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie. It was essentially a program to preserve capitalism without Somoza, so that it included a Council of State with a bourgeois majority on it and it included an agreement that the army would be maintained in some form. Specifically, that "honest" officers and soldiers of the National Guard who had not engaged in any kind of massacres would be integrated into the new army. And finally it included provisions for a "mixed" economy, that is, guarantees for the preservation of private ownership of the means of production. Only the properties of the dictator and his henchmen were to be nationalized.

That was the agreement that they had as they were on the verge of taking power. However, in the aftermath there was one important and immediate modification. The National Guard disintegrated as soon as Somoza left the country. They did a very simple calculation: 50,000 people died in this war, and there were only 5,000 in the army. That means for every National Guardsman there were ten widows or mothers who wanted to see him dead. So they high-tailed it across the border into Honduras. That was the first, and fundamental, thing that happened: from that point on the effective power was in the hands of the Sandinista army, and the agreement with the bourgeoisie was not kept at that level.

However, there was from the very beginning a coalition at the level of the junta and the Government of National Reconstruction. So that the junta has five members, of whom two are bourgeois and not members of the Sandinista Liberation Front. Originally, one of these two was Alfonso Robelo, who is the cooking oil king of Nicaragua, and the other was Violeta Chamorro, the widow of the publisher of an anti-Somoza bourgeois newspaper, *La Prensa*. Pedro Joaquin Chamorro was assassinated in early 1978, by gusano killers trained by the CIA and in the pay of Somoza. In addition there are a number of bourgeois forces in the government itself. There are no less than nine priests who are members of the government. Ernesto Cardenal, for example, is minister of culture, and Miguel D'Escoto, a Maryknoll priest, is the foreign minister. In addition there are a number of bourgeois technicians of one sort or another, particularly in the economic ministries. So that at the level of the government, in the implementation of policy, we have referred to this as a Sandinista/bourgeois government.

However, there is no real bourgeois *state* in Nicaragua at this moment, in the Marxist sense—that is, a class formation committed to the protection of private property. There is a petty-bourgeois regime, which is essentially the Sandinista army, and you almost have to use the term "government" in quotes because it doesn't have the real power. But it does represent a commitment by the Sandinistas to attempt to follow what they see as a "middle road." So this was the situation as it stood in August 1979, and it continued in this way essentially up until May of last year. At that point the bourgeois forces threatened a walkout from the Council of State. As I said, this council was to have a bourgeois majority, but in the meantime the Sandinistas had redefined the rules of the game and now it had a majority of FSLN-led or -dominated organizations plus most of the independent unions and so on. As a result the two bourgeois members of the Junta, Chamorro and Robelo, resigned and the capitalist representatives threatened to walk out of the first meeting of the Council of State.

There was a fairly tense period at that time in which the regime was essentially reduced to its core, a Sandinista government. But the response of the FSLN was to choose two more bourgeois figures, Arturo Cruz and Rafael Córdova. Cruz was director of the Central Bank and a former official of the U.S.' Inter-American Development Bank; Córdova was a member of the Supreme Court. And both are members of the Democratic Conservative Party, a spokesman for landowner interests whose symbol is a triangle with the inscription "God-Order-Fatherland." So at the political level the FSLN has tried to maintain the same situation that they had before. Then last November the bourgeois forces actually walked out from the Council of State (but not Cruz and Córdova). Their ostensible reason for the boycott was that the government had announced (in August) that elections would be postponed until 1985. Meanwhile, the capitalist parties were calling for immediate elections to a constituent assembly, as a way of dislodging the Sandinistas from power.

There were more ominous aspects, as well. The boycott was linked with a large anti-government meeting planned by the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, or MDN, of Robelo, who always checks first with the State Department before making a move. And it came in conjunction with conspiracies inside the country, focusing on the Sandinista army, and armed attacks from across the Honduran border. Two days before the MDN rally, the vice president of the employers association, COSEP, Jorge Salazar, was killed while resisting arrest by government forces on charges of counterrevolutionary plotting. At the same time, ex-Somoza Guardsmen staged a raid on a Nicaraguan border post. About a month before, in early October, there had been reactionary-led mass protests of more than a thousand people that for several days paralyzed Bluefields, the largest town of the English-speaking, overwhelmingly black and Indian Caribbean coastal region of Nicaragua. The demonstrators were led by a local separatist movement and protested the presence of several score Cuban teachers and doctors.

WV Photo

Sandinista minister, Jaime Wheelock.

Reininger/Colorific

July 19, 1979: Celebrating the overthrow of butcher Somoza in Managua.

No Middle Way!

So politically the FSLN is still trying to strike a balance, but at the same time the bourgeoisie has been pulling away from it, leading to a precarious situation where the Sandinistas' hand may be forced. Meanwhile Nicaragua's economy is overwhelmingly in private hands. The figures that are given are that 60 to 70 percent of the economy is in the private capitalist domain, while in key sectors it is even higher: 75 percent in manufacturing and 80 percent in agriculture. That was in 1980, the "Year of Economic Reactivation," when the argument was you had to get the economy moving again even by reinforcing the capitalists. This is supposed to be the "Year of Production and Defense," as Nicaragua gears up to resist a possible counterrevolutionary invasion. And yet, in a recent report on the economy, agriculture minister Comandante Jaime Wheelock says straight out that the basic ownership of the means of production will stay the same in '81.

Wheelock called this in his speech "national unity of a new type." This is the axis of the FSLN's policies. There's a sense of "we're all patriotic Nicaraguans, we all fought against Somoza," right? One example which I think catches the quality of the "new Nicaragua" at present is that of the newspapers. There are three dailies in the country. *La Prensa* is the organ of the bourgeois opposition; its director is another Pedro Chamorro. Then there is *El Nuevo Diario*, which gives critical support to the Sandinista regime; its director is Xavier Chamorro. And finally we have the FSLN paper, *Barricada*, whose director is... Carlos Chamorro. It's sort of "all in the family." But not for long.

Now, economically in the past year Nicaragua did extremely well. Unemployment dropped from one-third of the entire working population to 17 percent. Output grew by 19 percent. The plan was 99 percent fulfilled—pretty good for a country just climbing back from the devastation of a civil war. In agriculture, both coffee and cotton exports were in the neighborhood of the planned goals, and as for the production of basic foodstuffs it was the biggest harvest in the country's history. That's quite remarkable. How come? Well, the reason that the Nicaraguan government has been able to maintain itself, economically, over the last period is that they have gotten a tremendous amount of foreign aid. While Washington was turning on and off its $75 million, Cuba, the Soviet Union and European countries like Germany and Sweden brought the total up to almost $500 million last year. And they had "friendly" bankers. Last September a 13-bank cartel renegotiated more than half a billion dollars of Nicaragua's foreign debt, granting low interest rates and a five-year moratorium as long as Managua agreed to repay on a commercial basis the loans contracted by the corrupt Somoza dictatorship.

Conclusion: while Reagan has taken a hard line toward the Sandinistas, not only the Carter administration, the Soviets and pro-"détente" social democrats but also the multinationals and big imperialist banks have been pointing down the Algerian road. This is, of course, what the FSLN leaders were counting on, the basis for their hoped-for "middle road." But if anything it only shows what a thin thread their hopes are hanging on. Such an unambiguously capitalist economy is, of course, a tremendous weapon in the hands of the imperialists, despite all the Sandinistas' talk about "national unity." For in a showdown, the domestic bourgeoisie cannot resist the pressures from its Yankee masters, and it will obey a common capitalist class interest. You see, that's what's wrong with the Stalinist myth of revolution by stages—in this epoch there's no such thing as an "anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie," as the FSLN will soon discover, so there can't be an "anti-imperialist stage." And by leaving the economic power of the bourgeoisie intact, the Sandinistas have been helping the prospects of eventually restabilizing capitalist rule.

Furthermore, they're not only maintaining the capitalist "mixed economy," they're defending it against any challenge from the left. Here's what Jaime Wheelock, the FSLN leader, said speaking to a mass rally of 100,000 at the Sandino Plaza in Managua at the time of the attempted right-wing pressure attack last November:

> "If we wanted to demonstrate to them how popular the idea of Sandinismo and of the revolution is, it would be very simple to say to the workers and peasants, 'From this day on, the haciendas and the factories of this country are yours. Put them to work.' And you will know how to put them to work with your hands, with your experience and your patriotic fervor."

Good idea, huh? That's what the audience thought, because a Chilean journalist writing in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* [1 February] reported, "At that point he was interrupted by a tremendous ovation, and he had to add hastily":

> "But that is not the position of a revolutionary leader who has to understand things from the national point of view, above and beyond party banners and maneuvers."
>
> —*El futuro es del pueblo, La burguesia reaccionaria jamás retornará al poder*, 19 November 1980

So in the interests of "national unity" and the *patria*, they are *not* going to take over all of the factories and the haciendas and put them in the hands of the workers. They're very conscious about this policy.

Workers Against Sandinistas

So this has led to a number of incidents over the last couple of years. One occurred immediately after the Sandinistas took over, and this was the clash with the so-called Simón Bolivar Brigade, which was led by a pseudo-Trotskyist named Nahuel Moreno. We've named him the Cantinflas of the Trotskyist movement because he's always changing his disguises. You know, sometimes he appears as a Peronist, and sometimes he's a Maoist and so on, and in this particular case he tried to pass himself off as a Sandinista. Actually, it was a sort of combination adventurist maneuver and reformist pressure tactic, but they organized

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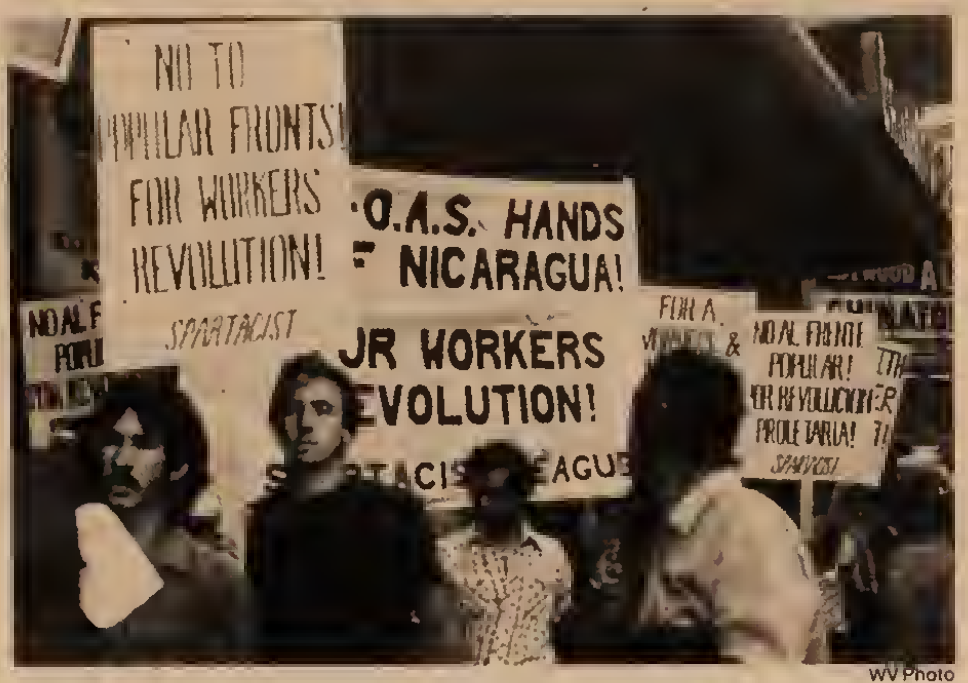
The Spectre of Trotskyism in Nicaragua

Trotskyism stands for permanent revolution, for workers and peasants governments instead of popular-front class collaboration, for independent Bolshevik-Leninist parties as the indispensable vanguard of proletarian revolution. But that is *not* the program of many people who are passing themselves off as Trotskyists over Nicaragua. The biggest outfit, the so-called United Secretariat (USec), swears on a stack of Second Declarations of Havana that they are nothing but true-blue, red-and-black Sandinistas. According to the majority resolution of their 11th World Congress, USec supporters "will defend their program by working loyally to build this party," that is, the FSLN. A year later it repeated: "The recognized vanguard of the Nicaraguan revolution has been forged in the Sandinista Front" (*Intercontinental Press*, 24 November 1980). So if that's true, who needs Trotskyists?

It's hardly an abstract question. When the FSLN arrested the Simón Bolivar Brigade, whose ostensibly Trotskyist leaders were then part of the United Secretariat, a delegation of USec spokesmen formally told the Sandinista government that they approved of this expulsion *of their own "comrades"!* And recall the letter from USec dissidents in Nicaragua who accused American SWP honcho Peter Camejo of instructing the United Secretariat's delegate there to turn in the Bolivar brigadistas to the FSLN police. We published this letter (*WV* No. 242, 26 November 1979), and neither Camejo nor the SWP has ever denied it, so we have to assume their charge is true. So that's where opportunist tailism leads to. The Trotskyist movement has had to fight against capitulators who bow to the pressure of the bourgeoisie or the Stalinist bureaucracies. *But these people aren't capitulators, they're stoolpigeons!*

As usual with the dis-United Secretariat, there were differences between the majority around Ernest Mandel—we used to call him Comandante Ernesto because he was such a gung-ho Guevarist in the early '70s—and a minority led by the SWP. Thus the SWP resolution at the USec world congress called the Sandinista/bourgeois "government" of Nicaragua a workers and peasants government, a term first used by the Communist International as a popular designation for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Some proletarian dictatorship, where bankers and landowner representatives sit in the ruling junta and key government ministries! But the Mandelites also wanted to tail after the Sandinistas—they just weren't as shameless as the Peter Camejos and Jack Barnes. And in their latest resolution the USec majority says that since May 1980 Nicaragua has been run by a workers and peasants government. They were just looking for an excuse.

There's also the Nahuel Moreno grouping and its Bolivar Brigade. Hardly a revolutionary opposition, they tried to wrap themselves in the Sandinista colors just like the USec. But they claimed to be pushing things to the left. Internationally they're part of a lash-up with the French OCI of Pierre Lambert, and they just changed their name from the Parity Committee to the "Fourth International (International Committee)." Their quotation marks, by the way. They have a tiny nucleus in Nicaragua called the LMR, which the little clot called Sandinistas for Socialism in Los Angeles linked up with when their international battalion flew into Managua the day after the FSLN victory. (We call them "day-late Sandinistas.") Up until recently the Parity Committee had another group in Nicaragua as well, the GRS, whose mentor was one Fausto Amador, a deserter from the FSLN who went on Somoza's TV urging the guerrillas to give up. But after first exiting from the USec, Amador now decided to part company with Lambert and Moreno.



WV Photo

Los Angeles, July 1979: SL-initiated demonstration called for "U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua."

The Parity Committee put out a declaration last spring saying it had always fought for "an FSLN government without representatives of the bourgeoisie" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 3 May 1980). What would such a Sandinista-only government mean? It's like calling for a government of the July 26th Movement in the early days of the Cuban Revolution. And there was one, beginning in August 1959 after the resignation of President Urrutia and the flight of air force commander Diaz Lanz, Castro's erstwhile bourgeois allies. But it didn't mean the overthrow of capitalism, which didn't come until the summer and fall of 1960 when the bulk of the capitalist properties were taken over. Moreover, such a regime could still lead back to direct capitalist rule. Remember that Castro is telling the Sandinistas to avoid his "mistakes," not to be in a hurry to break with the Yankees or the "business sector."

Even if under Reagan's pressure, the FSLN proceeds along the "Cuban path," what would result is not a Bolshevik internationalist regime but another nationalist bureaucracy patterned on the Russian degenerated workers state of Stalin and his heirs. But what can one expect from a pseudo-Fourth International which took until 1979 to discover that Cuba is what they call a "bureaucratized workers state." Now, to excuse their tardiness, the Morenoites and Lambertists claim that no one knew what to make of the Cuban question when it first arose. Yet the Spartacist tendency, from our inception as the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, has held since 1961 that Castro's Cuba had become a deformed workers state. So the impostors are also liars. And today they raise a demand which amounts to political confidence in the Sandinistas.

But even this isn't the worst. The heart of the Moreno/Lambert program for Nicaragua is their call for a "democratic and sovereign constituent assembly." Now immediately following Somoza's ouster the call for a constituent assembly was in order, as a means of mobilizing the revolutionary aspirations of the masses for freedom from the reactionary tyranny which had oppressed them for decades. But the capitalist elements of the anti-Somoza coalition were just as opposed to this demand as the Sandinista guerrilla army was. They feared that in the midst of a revolutionary upheaval any kind of democratically elected body might "get out of hand" and start demanding immediate trial and execution of Somoza's torturers, or expropriation of *all* the large estates, and so on. But as the FSLN consolidated its power, bourgeois forces began calling for elections to a constituent assembly. *Under these circumstances this can only be a call for a capitalist parliamentary power to carry out a "democratic" counterrevolution.* So due to their visceral Stalinophobia, Moreno/Lambert's program amounts to classical social democracy. Genuine Trotskyists call instead for organs of *workers* democracy, namely soviets.

Sandinistas Against Trotskyism

So what goes under the name of the Fourth International in Nicaragua is pretty pathetic: a "Parody" Committee that crawls after the bourgeois opposition, and a not-very-United Secretariat which wants to be the caboose on the Sandinista Express. In fact, they go against everything Trotsky ever stood for. Yet there's a highly revealing fact: that despite this perversion of Trotskyism, the FSLN leaders have a pretty good idea of what it is and start foaming at the mouth whenever they see the slightest hint of it.

According to an SWP internal bulletin: "There have been occasional reports of attacks on Trotskyism by FSLN leaders. Recently, right here in New York, Commander Victor Tirado of the FSLN National Directorate—when egged on by a questioner from one of the sectarian outfits—referred to Trotskyism in derogatory terms at a news conference" ([SWP] *International Internal Information Bulletin*, September 1980). What they don't say is that Tirado's tirade was directed against the Spartacist League. And what set the *comandante* off was our question, "How do you justify jailing militants and leftists who are trying to extend the revolution in Nicaragua?"

Back in Managua, on March 6 of last year a demonstration of several thousands led by the Sandinista Labor Federation (CST) was called to protest CIA "destabilization." But instead of marching on the U.S. embassy as originally planned, the demonstration headed to the offices of CAUS, the labor group of the dissident pro-Kremlin PCN. The union offices were sacked, documents burned and the occupants driven out. The SWP's *Intercontinental Press* reported that the demonstrators chanted "Death to the CIA!" It didn't report the CST's other major slogan, however, which was "Death to Trotskyism!"

Now the heterodox Brezhnevites of the PCN are not Trotskyists any more than is the pro-Albanian Frente Obrero. But in the strikes during January and February 1980 at Managua construction sites, textile factories and sugar mills it was not just a fight over higher wages. A slogan that was frequently reported was "Workers and Peasants to Power! Down with the Bourgeoisie!" And regardless of who raised them, Sandinista leaders know full well that such slogans aren't part of the "national-democratic" or "anti-imperialist revolution." Only the Trotskyists have a coherent program which would give meaning to demands for a break with the bourgeoisie and a workers and peasants government. Only the Trotskyists, and not the SWP impostors who denounce such demands as "deliberately provok[ing] a premature confrontation with the bourgeoisie" (SWP resolution on Nicaragua at the USec 1979 world congress).

And the FSLN's Stalinist fellow-traveler cheerleaders also see the threat clearly. Last summer the rad-lib *Guardian* (18 June 1980) published an article entitled "Nicaragua's Delicate Alliance Holds," justifying the refusal to take over the three-quarters of the economy in private capitalist hands: "Bourgeois participation has given rise to criticism from left and ultra-'left' forces both inside and outside Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan Workers' Front [the FO] and small sects such as the Spartacus Youth League in the U.S. have condemned what they call the 'bourgeois Sandinista government.' They charge the Sandinistas are helping to revitalize Nicaraguan capitalism. Such criticism, Sandinista sources reply, fails to comprehend that national liberation and social liberation are not the same thing, although they are clearly intimately related." What such criticism comprehends is that there will be no national liberation without proletarian revolution. That is what all the brands of Stalinism and nationalism ignore, and the result can be fatal. ■

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Nicaragua...

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several thousand workers in the Managua area to come down to the FSLN headquarters with big signs saying "Power to the Proletariat." And the fact that something like that could happen is significant. The response by the Sandinistas was to arrest the people, to interrogate them and ship them off to Panama where they were beat up by the bourgeois police of General Torrijos. So this was the first response by the Sandinistas to left-wing opposition to them.

At about the same time they briefly shut down a paper run by an ex-Maoist group called Frente Obrero [Workers Front (FO)]. The newspaper was called *El Pueblo*, and it was shut down for calling for land occupations. Then they allowed it to reopen, but that fall [of 1979] the editor of *El Pueblo* was arrested, as well as members of a small Nicaraguan group which claimed to be Trotskyist. The Spartacist League in this country protested these arrests. After a few weeks in jail they were released, and then again in January the leadership of Frente Obrero and the editor of *El Pueblo* were again arrested, the newspaper shut down, this time seemingly for good. The charges were "unauthorized possession of arms" and "sabotaging production." Now what does that really mean? Frente Obrero participated in the fighting against Somoza. Besides, if they had no guns they would be about the only people in the country who didn't. "Disrupting production"—well, you know what that is, *strikes*. So four leaders of Frente Obrero were sentenced to some years at hard labor by the FSLN's so-called "revolutionary" justice.

In February 1980 the FO led a strike at the San Antonio sugar mill, which is the main sugar mill in all Nicaragua—it produces 70 percent of all the sugar in the country. The government's response was to break the strike and arrest several of the FO leaders, although they were eventually let go. The apologists for the FSLN then went around tooting about how the conflict had been "peacefully resolved." However, this same San Antonio sugar mill went on strike again in November, over the same issues, only this time it was led by the Christian Democratic trade union. And again the strike was broken by the so-called revolutionaries of the FSLN.

Then there's another group, the Communist Party of Nicaragua, or PCN, and their trade-union group, which is call CAUS [Center for Trade Union Action and Unity]. They are a split-off from the Socialist Party of Nicaragua, the PSN, which is the main pro-Moscow group. The PCN for a while was leaning toward Mao, but basically they have been sort of a dissident pro-Moscow group. They had the leadership of several textile unions in the capital. Meanwhile the PSN, the Moscow mainliners, controlled the construction workers through its trade-union group, the CGT-i, the General Confederation of Labor-Independent. And in January 1980 both the construction workers in Managua and 18 textile mills went on strike against the government.

The FSLN's response was to arrest the leaders of the PCN and CAUS and to break the strike. They were held for several months, and eventually most of them were let go although some of them received one-year sentences. The PSN fared better, perhaps because it joined a coalition to support the government, called the National Patriotic Front.

The point I want to make is there's been a considerable amount of unrest in the working class in Nicaragua. They don't have that much of a working class but, such as it is, many of its most active elements don't seem to be under the control of the Sandinista movement. This is not accidental, moreover. While in Cuba the fighting against Batista's mercenary army was confined largely to the hills and eastern provinces, and the one attempt at a general strike failed, in Nicaragua there were repeated general work stoppages and insurrections, not entirely under Sandinista control. The plebeian masses played a key role in the final offensive by launching street battles in Managua and other towns while the FSLN regulars were bottled up in the south. It's not so easy to keep them down when they played an active role in overthrowing the dictator.

But while workers and urban poor were present in the fighting, it was as auxiliaries to the petty-bourgeois Sandinista guerrillas and their alliance with the "anti-Somoza bourgeoisie," not as an *independent* working-class force. As it becomes ever more obvious that the FSLN's program of "national unity" is a dead-end, the key element for a workers revolution is still missing. What you need is above all a proletarian, Leninist-Trotskyist party, *like in October 1917*. It's not inconceivable that elements of the Sandinista movement could break away and come over to the workers side of the barricades in a sharp class polarization. But they are not going to lead that polarization and, as we just saw, these bonapartists have shown themselves hostile to any form of working-class organization outside their control.

Moreover, by maintaining this capitalist economy they provide a tremendous lever for bourgeois and imperialist reaction to use. So last year they were successful at the economic level. The problem is, that increases the power of the bourgeoisie, because to the extent that they regain an economic hold they will have that much more political power over the masses. If you want to see an example of where this kind of economic pressure has been used, just look at Chile. What Nixon said to his ambassador there was "make the economy scream." That was what they called "Track I." You may recall those terms. And they were successful. There was, for instance, in late 1972 and again in 1973 the mobilization by the petty truck owners to stop all deliveries, so that essentially you starve out the population. And as soon as they started cutting off the mass transport, as soon as you couldn't buy rice in the stores, as soon as inflation hit 300 percent, then the petty bourgeois got very desperate.

So then comes "Track II." As we know from Germany and Italy, desperate petty bourgeois are sitting ducks for reaction. And you better believe Reagan already has a "Track II" under way for Nicaragua. The country is living from hand to mouth, and if the United States decides to they can make that economy scream bloody murder. For example, the main thing Reagan did in the last couple weeks was not to cut off the aid—which the Sandinistas weren't figuring they would get anyway—they simply cut off all shipments of wheat to Nicaragua. Period. That means starting in March no one in Nicaragua is going to eat bread. You can imagine what kind of an impact that will have on "national unity."

For Permanent Revolution!

So by trying to carve out a middle road in Nicaragua, the Sandinistas just leave the way open for imperialist subversion to cut the throats of the workers and peasants with bloody white terror. Just as in El Salvador, the program in Nicaragua must be to break with the bourgeoisie, to mobilize the workers on a *class* program, to expropriate all the exploiters. That is to say, to take on not only the "democratic" tasks of ousting the tyrant Somoza and so on, but break the ties of imperialism and sweep away all the latifundistas and factory owners, who condemn the masses to a life of poverty, whether through wage slavery or land hunger. That requires a proletarian communist leadership, a Trotskyist party which

NACLA

Sandinista leaders march down utopian and suicidal path of "the middle way."

fights for permanent revolution, for workers and peasants governments throughout the region and a socialist federation of Mexico and Central America.

Can we be more specific about some of the concrete transitional demands which Trotskyists would raise at this time in Nicaragua pointing in this direction? Well, one element would certainly be support of the working masses' struggles against their exploiters, instead of trying to repress them or conciliate with the anti-Somoza bourgeoisie as the Sandinistas have been doing. A communist opposition to the present petty-bourgeois regime would simultaneously attempt to broaden these struggles into a full-scale offensive against capitalist power, demanding workers control everywhere leading to the expropriation of the capitalists as a class by a workers and peasants government.

Okay, what else? Well, keep in mind that we are dealing with the unfolding Nicaraguan situation at a distance. One thing is clear, however, namely that there has been a big development of mass organizations of the working people. At first it was the Sandinista Defense Committees. These are neighborhood groups modeled on the Cuban Committees to Defend the Revolution. And in the last month or so the FSLN leaders have been expanding the militias based on these mass organizations. There's also, of course, the various unions, both the Sandinistas' CST federation and the others we have been talking about. So one key demand would be to unite the mass organizations in a representative council—a national workers assembly or soviet—free from government tutelage and assuring workers democracy for all but directly counterrevolutionary forces. Additionally, Trotskyists call for breaking with the representatives of the bourgeoisie, for a workers and peasants government based on soviet organs of proletarian rule.

I'm sure there are many other demands a Nicaraguan Trotskyist group would raise: against the capitalist austerity program of bogus "national unity" of the exploiters and exploited; or for the complete arming of workers and peasants militias, for example. But the important thing is the basic framework and goal: independent Bolshevik-Leninist party of intransigent opposition, workers and peasants to power, proletarian revolution the only road.

Nicaragua, Cuba, Soviet Union

So matters are coming to a head in Central America, particularly with regards to Nicaragua. A little vignette which sort of captures it was last January on the anniversary of the death of Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the publisher of *La Prensa* who was assassinated by Somoza's thugs. There were *two* demonstrations this time. One was on the side of the FSLN, which had as a main slogan, "Nicaragua Won, El Salvador Will Win." And there was a counterdemonstration on the part of the bourgeois opposition which had as *its* main slogan, "Jamaica Won, Nicaragua Will Win." Now in Jamaica the left-wing populist government of Michael Manley was defeated in elections last October partly because, as a bourgeois government, it couldn't provide jobs for the masses of unemployed. But it was also due to destabilization of the economy by the International Monetary Fund in Washington which refused to refinance Jamaica's debt and thus cut off further imports. It was effectively a U.S. economic blockade. So Manley was thrown out and replaced by Edward Seaga, who's known in Jamaica as CIAga. In other words, the bourgeois demonstrators were raising a directly counterrevolutionary slogan.

Thus the Sandinista leaders stand before a fork in the road, and the question of which way forward is sharply posed in Nicaragua today. One issue over which it is particularly acute is the question of support to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. It's not just a strategic question, moreover, because the Salvadorans made a major contribution by financing (with the millions they made off their kidnappings) a lot of the guns which made the FSLN's overthrow of Somoza possible. So it's also a revolutionary debt. But the Sandinistas are still nationalists at bottom, and their attitude toward revolution next door has been—well, I guess "contradictory" is the best you can say for it. You know, the Nicaraguan government *hailed* the "human rights junta" installed by Jimmy Carter in El Salvador in October 1979. And they didn't break with the junta or allow aid to the guerrillas until after the assassination of Archbishop Romero last March. There are even reports that they prevented Nicaraguan leftists from joining the Salvadoran guerrillas. Halted them at the border and sent them home!

Now lately there has been a big blast of Cold War propaganda coming from Washington warning the Nicaraguan government to cut off guns to the El Salvador leftists or else. So what has been the response in Managua? The other day on CBS-TV one of the

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Nicaragua...

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bourgeois members of the Nicaraguan junta, Arturo Cruz, said they did not want to support any kind of activity which aided the Soviet Union in Central America. It sounded like General Haig. So he was stating that for those bourgeois figures still willing to work with the Sandinistas, aid to the Salvadoran guerrillas is a split issue—this is where they draw the line. But it isn't just the liberals. There have been persistent reports of tensions within the FSLN over the question, which we have no way of verifying. However, when the *New York Times* [15 February] asked a "senior" Sandinista official, the response was: "Washington's message has been received loud and clear. There is a recognition of the very high political cost to Nicaragua of involvement in El Salvador." No doubt there is a high political cost. But if they *don't* help revolution to spread throughout the region it could be slitting their own throats.

So what will the Sandinistas do? When it comes to military questions they tend to be more realistic than when they're talking about "national unity" and the "mixed economy." Their first response to the new Reagan administration has been to greatly augment the militias and begin training tens of thousands in the use of arms. And they have said that they expect an imperialist-backed attack in the next few months. Politically they have suggested that under pressure they may drop the bourgeois members of the Junta of National Reconstruction and then have a Sandinista-only government. However the basis on which that government would rest is the same capitalist economy they have at present, which would be open to the same kind of imperialist pressure that it has been in the past. In other words, it would be the same highly unstable situation as existed in Cuba from the summer of 1959 to the summer of 1960.

Extend the revolution to El Salvador, expropriate the bourgeoisie—these steps are indispensable simply to *defend what has already been won*. But even that is not enough. An isolated workers state in one slice of the inter-American isthmus will never be viable for more than a historical blink of the eye. All of Central America must go up in flames if revolution is to succeed anywhere in the region. And it's far from impossible. Guerrillas in Guatemala have for the first time won support from the Indian majority, and have long-standing working-class support. Moreover, in recent months there have been large-scale strikes by banana workers in both Honduras and Costa Rica. (By the way, in January Nicaragua finally expropriated the banana plantations linked to the Standard Fruit Company, part of the Castle & Cooke conglomerate, I guess making it the first Central American state to cease to be a "banana republic." But unless this conquest is extended, they will soon find it a hollow victory, since the multinationals still control the marketing.)

Such an offensive would set off rumblings throughout Latin America. Pinochet-style dictatorships would be threatened; there would be political strikes, huge mass demonstrations, and so on. And in the United States as well, where we have called for a labor boycott of military goods to right-wing dictatorships of Central America. Interestingly, while nothing of the sort occurred in the U.S. during the Vietnam War, in the last days of the Carter administration the West Coast ILWU dock union decreed such a boycott, at least on paper. Class-struggle militants in the unions will certainly struggle to see that it becomes a reality, and that could pose some sharp clashes with the government and possibly the union bureaucracy. Another key element will be militant solidarity from the *Mexican* labor movement, including aid in arming the Salvadoran rebels. López Portillo may call Fidel "*mi comandante*" [my commander], but the workers and peasants struggling against a bloodthirsty dictatorship armed by U.S. imperialism need more concrete help than that. And just as the capitalists fear, the repercussions from Central America could set off an explosive radicalization of the Mexican working class, one of the most powerful in all Latin America. What it needs is Trotskyist leadership which calls not for "détente," but for rip-roaring internationalist class struggle.

And this brings us to Cuba and the Soviet Union. Now in answer to the Reagan administration's charges, both Castro and Brezhnev have *denied* aiding the El Salvador rebels. On February 26 a Soviet central committee spokesman, Zamyatin, said that "the Soviet Union did not deliver arms and is not delivering any arms to El Salvador." From all evidence, the State Department's "White Paper" notwithstanding, this seems to be true. Don't we wish that it weren't so, but this is the counterrevolutionary logic of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Meanwhile, of course, the U.S. is pouring dollars and helicopters and military "advisers" into El Salvador like crazy, while crying "thief" at Moscow. Castro, for his part, is directly under the gun, facing threats of naval blockade and who-knows-what-else, and has adopted a tougher tone toward Washington. But in Central America, all reports agree that Cuba has joined with the European social democrats and Latin American liberals in urging the Salvadoran leftists to go for a "political settlement" with elements of the murder junta. Which just means that the cycle of coups would begin all over again.

Our slogan, "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador," is meant to underline the fact that Reagan is playing Cold War dominos here. If he can mop up El Salvador it will be on to Managua, and from there to Havana, and so on. It's a battle on a worldwide scale. And as General Haig keeps pointing out, the place where Washington would really like to apply the pressure is in Russia's front yard—Poland. Thus ultimately it is the proletarian property forms won by the October Revolution of Lenin and Trotsky that are targeted. So we can say, quite concretely, if you're worried about the threat to the collectivized economy in Poland, let Reagan grind Central America under his boot and it's just going to increase the imperialist pressure in Central Europe. The U.S.' intention, as influential Reaganite columnist William Safire put it, is not merely to "break the Communist winning streak" but to "turn the global tide."

So we find ourselves in the position of warning that "the Americans are coming, the Americans are coming!" And what they're bringing ain't "human rights." The bastards in the Pentagon are looking to get even for the humiliation they suffered in Vietnam, so the mass murder they're planning to unleash will indeed make Somoza look like a "moderately repressive autocrat" by comparison—that's what the new American ambassador to the UN calls him, an "MRA." Safire asked himself what "winning" means: "Is it supporting a military junta that kills the opposition but by its repressive nature produces more opposition that becomes necessary to kill?" His answer: "If need be, yes." Remember what Rosa Luxemburg said, that the choice was socialism or barbarism? Well, meet Mr. Barbarism of 1981. Therefore, if you want to avoid holocaust in Central America, if you want to avoid the big bang over Berlin, you better stop the Reagan desperados in El Salvador. For workers revolution in America's "backyard" will certainly bring the day a lot closer when a socialist future for mankind comes knocking on the front door. ■

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

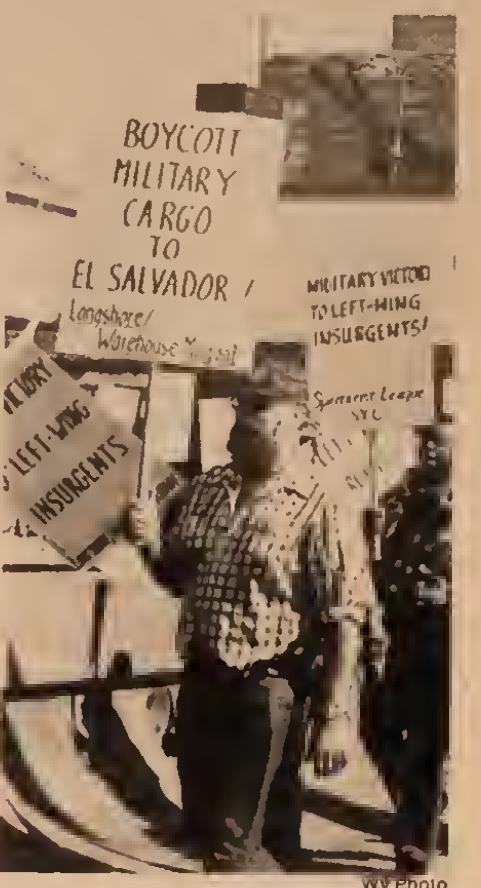
The U.S. Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) is supporting a bill, H.R. 1509, to prohibit all military aid to the Salvadoran junta. Thus it leaves untouched the more than $100 million in *economic* aid which is now the lifeline for the bankrupt junta! In the Senate, Teddy Kennedy has an even milder bill essentially to stop "American guns killing American nuns." While recalling the spectre of "another Vietnam," CISPES' political thrust is to sum up the issue in terms of the democratic demand of self-determination—the basis for an alliance with U.S. liberals. "Let the People of El Salvador Decide!" was the title of a full-page *New York Times* (3 February) ad sponsored by CISPES.

With a civil war raging in El Salvador, this Wilsonian program has a definite *bourgeois* class content. Thus Mexican president López Portillo in a CBS-TV interview condemned both U.S. *and Soviet* intervention in Central America. Senator Kennedy, another fervent partisan of Salvadoran self-determination, was careful to state, "I strongly oppose" military support "from Communist and other radical states to the insurgent forces in El Salvador." To top it off, when Reagan recently visited Canada he was able to paper over differences with the Liberal Trudeau government by references to "self-determination" for El Salvador. For revolutionary communists it is the *class* line which is the highest principle. Thus the Spartacist League *supports* Soviet/Cuban aid to left-wing rebels in El Salvador. In contrast, CISPES and its friends presumably would have *nothing to say or do* if the Salvadoran army put down the mass insurgency *without* significant U.S. support, as they did in 1932, killing 30,000.

Appealing to bourgeois liberals, the leaders of the Salvadoran popular front and organizers of "mainstream" protests against U.S. intervention in Central America adopt the program of the imperialist "doves." At a CISPES rally in New York, a spokesman for the Frente Democrático Revolucionario (FDR), Carlos Paredes, declared: "El Salvador is not going to a Cuban system unless Reagan pushes it." In Detroit, an upcoming teach-in co-sponsored by CISPES lists as a featured speaker Carter's ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White. Although currently opposed to military aid to the junta, White labels "Marxism-Leninism" the "ultimate enemy of Western civilization," merely differing with Reagan over how to fight it. As for the U.S.-centered reformists, the Stalinist Communist Party and the anti-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party are so sensitive to the contradiction between popular frontism and revolutionary class struggle that they put themselves forward as thugs against the Spartacist League, in a vain attempt to seal off the liberal El Salvador protest milieu.

But they can't escape. Without a Marxist program of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and proletarian opposition to popular frontism, it is impossible to give revolutionary leadership in the battle over Central America. The liberal policy of simple "self-determination" is a program for bloody defeat of the worker and peasant masses. It is the present-day equivalent of the imperialist "non-intervention" pact with the Kremlin in the late 1930s which spelled doom for the Republic in the Spanish Civil War. Seeking to appease the "democratic" capitalist powers, Stalin eagerly pledged not to aid the Republic. Only enough Soviet arms were sent, clandestinely, to assure Soviet influence over the popular-front government, not enough to defeat Franco. It was the Trotskyists who fought against the Stalinist treachery in the '30s, and again today *the SL which calls for military victory to left-wing insurgents in El Salvador, for proletarian revolution as the only way to defeat imperialism.*

In mounting his anti-Soviet war drive Reagan is consciously fighting the "Vietnam syndrome." The liberals and reformists respond by trying to recreate the old Vietnam antiwar movement, as if this were any answer. What was won in Indochina was won on the battlefield. As for the popular front at home, it collapsed as soon as American troops were withdrawn in 1973. On Vietnam,



WV Photo

S.F. march against junta terror, February 18.

too, it was which side are you on. It was the Spartacist League that called for "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and military victory to the NLF/DRV, while the SWP called for "troops out" and the CP's slogan was "negotiations now"—two policies of liberal *bourgeois* defeatism. And because the liberal/radical antiwar movement did not build revolutionary opposition to imperialism, it was only a few years until the "Vietnam syndrome" was largely overcome through Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade which opened the door to Reagan.

The CISPES, the CP/SWP, the Salvadoran FDR/FMLN, Nicaraguan Sandinistas, etc. are all desperately looking for an alliance with a "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. But there is no "progressive" bourgeoisie in the imperialist era. Who do they want? A John Kennedy, perhaps, who launched the Bay of Pigs invasion and U.S. imperialism's dirty war on Vietnam? A Franklin Roosevelt, whose "Good Neighbor" policy installed the first Somoza? A Woodrow Wilson, who talked of "self-determination" while sending the Marines into Nicaragua? Nor can López Portillo's Mexico or Helmut Schmidt's West Germany play a progressive role—if they intervene it is only to head off a "Communist threat." Thus it is only the Trotskyists who fight to defeat imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War drive which menaces not only the Central American masses but the entire world. *For workers revolution throughout Central America! Defend Cuba and the USSR!* ■

Trotskyist League Forum

Smash H-Block!

British Troops Out of Ireland Now!

Speaker: Alan Gilchrist
Spartacist League/ Britain
Central Committee

Sunday April 12 at 7:30 p.m.
International Student Centre
33 St. George Street
TORONTO
For information call (416) 593-4138

SWP Goons For CISPES: Protest Anti-Communist Exclusion!

Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents in El Salvador!
U.S./OAS Hands Off! Defend Cuba and the USSR!
For Workers Revolution in Central America!

WV Photo

New School, March 21: SWP goons will not silence revolutionaries.

This afternoon members and supporters of the Spartacist League/U.S. were physically expelled from a conference called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) at the New School. This blatantly anti-communist exclusion was engineered by a CISPES goon squad led by members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which had secretly decided the night before to strongarm SL supporters at this "public" conference. The SWP thugs even *called the cops*—the strikebreakers and racist killers of the capitalist state—to keep out the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League. Why? Because they can't answer our Marxist politics, our revolutionary opposition to imperialism and class collaboration. So they try to silence political debate on the left. All defenders of democratic rights must protest this outrage!

When a crowd gathered at the conference, many of them shocked by the goon squad's vicious assault, SWP chief thug Mike Maggi tried to claim the SL was "disrupting." At no time did we disrupt anything—instead we were *prevented* from exercising the same rights as everyone else. As soon as we walked in the door, SLers were told we could not sell our newspaper, *Workers Vanguard*. *WV* salesmen outside the building were not allowed in after they had finished selling. Yet numerous groups were selling freely in the corridors. When an SL supporter tried to speak in the "Human Rights" workshop, as soon as he mentioned the words Spartacist League, SWPers in the audience started interrupting, yelling "shut up," screaming to drown him out. He was then bodily thrown out of the room. A *WV* reporter was excluded from the press conference, even though Salvadoran FDR spokesman Carlos Paredes said he was opposed to political exclusions. Women and black comrades were dragged across the lobby, down the stairs and thrown out the door.

The Socialist Workers Party resorts to these Stalinist exclusion tactics because it wants to be the thugs and waterboys for a new popular front, just like they did in the antiwar movement for the Democratic Party "doves"—who turn out to be imperialist "hawks" when it comes to the Near East or Europe. These phonies have so little to do with socialism that they admit known fascists, KKK terrorists, to "debate" while excluding Trotskyists! The CISPES organizers see themselves as spokesmen for the popular front in El Salvador, the FDR, and don't want communists around because it might scare away the liberal capitalist politicians they are appealing to. Thus they *oppose* our call for "Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents in El Salvador" because they're for a so-called "political solution" with a section of the junta. This just means that the army will stay and the killing will go on and on. They even oppose our demand, "U.S./OAS Hands Off!" because they think Mexico or Venezuela will help out the Salvadoran rebels. But if these Latin American bourgeois regimes intervene, it will be to prevent the civil war in El Salvador from escalating into proletarian revolution.

The Spartacist League is for workers revolution throughout Central America! That is why they want to silence us. This is what popular frontism leads to—in Spain the reformists resorted to murder to silence communists. Today the Spartacist League was the first to warn the "Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union Begins in El Salvador." And now that the Pentagon is threatening military blockades, the SWP and CISPES goons are trying to gag those who defend the USSR and Cuba. But it won't work. The voice of proletarian revolution will not be silenced. Protest this anti-communist exclusion!

NYC Spartacist League
March 21, 1981

Militant L.A. Demo: "Stop Deportations to El Salvador!"

LOS ANGELES, March 23—Chanting "Stop Deportations to El Salvador! Asylum for Refugees from Junta Terror!" some 70 demonstrators gathered today at the Downtown Federal Building, headquarters of the hated Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Protesting the U.S. policy of deliberate *murder through deportation* of hundreds of Salvadoran refugees a week, the united-front demonstration was initiated by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) and endorsed by over 23 individuals and organizations. This was the *first* demonstration in this country to focus on the U.S.' direct complicity in the slaughter of refugees by the Salvadoran military junta.

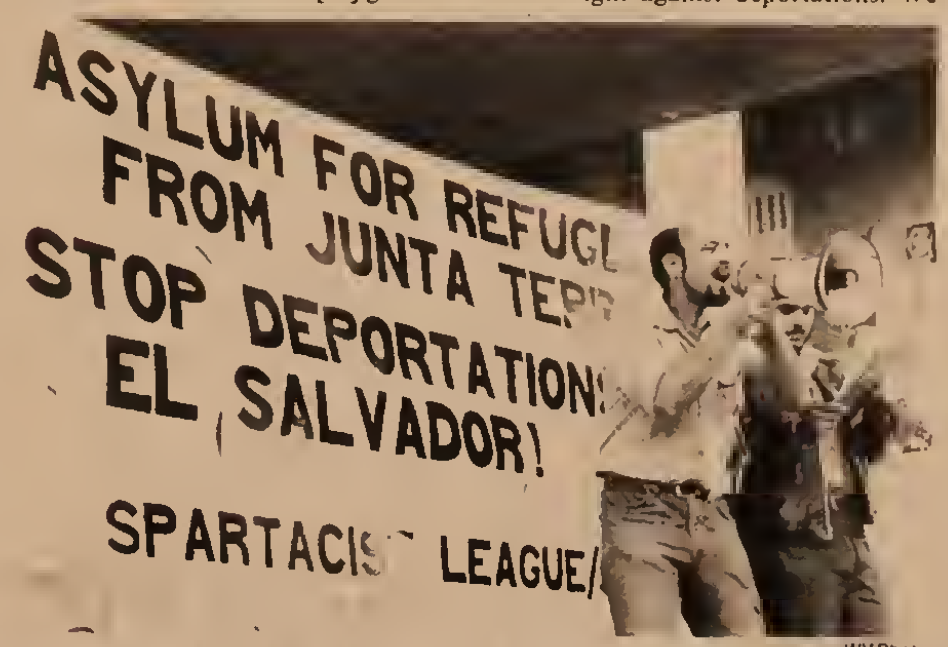
According to the *New York Times* (2 March) and by the INS' *own admission*, nearly 12,000 Salvadorans in the last fiscal year have been sent back to the clutches of the murderous junta and its right-wing execution squads. *La migra*'s airlift to death came to light in January when 42 Salvadorans awaiting deportation in an INS concentration camp in El Centro, California went on a hunger strike after learning about a Christmas Day massacre of a group of deportees at the San Salvador airport. Demonstrators demanded a stop to this bloody trafficking in butchery.

Endorsers of the protest included the Southern California District Council of the ILWU; the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee; Phil Russo, ILWU Western states' region director of organization; attorney Leonard Weinglass; David Hilliard, former chief of staff of the Black Panther Party; the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the CWA; the People's College of Law; and the Los Angeles Feminist Women's Health Center. The latter actively participated in building the demonstration, sending their own contingent, with speakers and signs reading "Stop Deportations of Refugees and Exportations of Green Berets!"

Many so-called left groups responded to the urgent united-front call with miserable sectarianism. "Our organization doesn't like your organization's position on the FDR," said Workers Power. It was "too difficult [to] get our people there" complained the mealymouthed FRT (Morenoite). The Valley College chapter of the Committee in Solidarity of the People of El Salvador (CISPES), however, enthusiastically endorsed the demonstration. While the CISPES newsletter publicized the action, at the final hour they resorted to the vilest *sabotage*, calling up their entire mailing list with the phony story that the demonstration was canceled! While hundreds of Salvadoran refugees are locked up in El Centro awaiting deportation, CISPES tries to destroy a demonstration in their behalf *because the protest was called by the SL/SYL*. Every class-conscious militant and individual concerned with saving the lives of the victims of junta terror will be disgusted with these treacherous liars and saboteurs!

At the demonstration SL spokesman José Silva noted that "The Spartacist League has always been in the forefront of the fight against deportations. We have also fought to achieve full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers in this country." Silva called on the Salvadoran workers and peasants to "break with the bourgeois politicians, the Guillermo Ungos, the so-called patriotic officers who have joined forces with the toiling masses not to aid their struggle but to act as a brake, to ensure that the struggle is kept within the confines of capitalism." He concluded, *"No more Chiles!*... The popular front means workers' blood! For workers revolution in El Salvador." MAC spokesman Barry Janus told the crowd:

> "This INS policy is nothing new. This country has been a haven for the Somoza lovers! This country is a haven for the Hitler-loving Marshal Ky! This country provides warm refuge for Nazi war criminals, and CIA-trained gusanos who killed Orlando Letelier! *They* are welcome here. We will not forget the leftists and unionists who fled Pinochet's terror. The door was slammed in their face when they tried to get in the U.S.
>
> "We in the Militant Action Caucus call for a labor boycott of military goods to El Salvador. And we say... when this war-mad Reagan goes to send in the Marines, the working class better be ready to stop it. We fight in our union to break our union's ties with the American Institute for Free Labor Development... we say no CIA/AIFLD dirty tricks in El Salvador.... Stopping Reagan in El Salvador is a necessary display of international working class solidarity!"



WV Photo

CWA militant Barry Janus calls for military victory to left-wing insurgents in El Salvador.

The demonstration concluded with chants and applause. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League is proud to have initiated this important united-front demonstration in defense of refugees from the U.S.-aided white terror. We also salute the Valley State CISPES and other militants who refused to buckle under to the Los Angeles CISPES' filthy attempt to wreck the protest. To those "leftists" who refused to endorse the demonstration we can only say—on the behalf of thousands of victims of junta terror—where were you? ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Vote No! Stop Pension Royalties Giveaway!

Miners: Strike to Win Big!

MARCH 24—Sam Church claims the contract he just negotiated with the coal bosses is a good deal for miners. So do the bosses' papers. Don't buy it. The president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) says, "This is a happy day," because the companies didn't win continuous seven-day operations, that they didn't break up the industry-wide pension plan, that miners get a "wage increase" that barely keeps up with the present rate of inflation. First they threaten to kick you in the groin, then they take it back and you're supposed to be thankful. Baloney!

On top of that the International bargainers just gave away the royalty on non-union coal, which goes into the UMWA Health and Retirement Fund. Not only is this a major attack on the already shaky pension plan, it's an open invitation to Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) bosses to buy non-UMWA coal and subcontract their properties to non-union companies. This would further reduce the UMWA's shrinking percentage of U.S. coal production—already less than half the total. Moreover, for the first time they're putting in a 45-day probation period, to weed out union militants. And the UMWA construction workers are left high and dry without a contract. This deal is an attack on the lifeblood of the United Mine Workers, and every good union man and woman should vote it down, rip it up and burn the paper it's printed on!

Sam Church's deal is *worse* than what miners have got now. And what about all the vital union gains that have already been given up—in particular, the *cradle-to-grave health care*, which was the calling card of every UMWA organizer and a lifesaver for miners and their families. Mine safety was thrown to the winds when the '78 contract allowed *mine safety committeemen* to be arbitrarily removed from their elected positions by the companies and pro-management arbitrators. Or the *right to strike* over grievances, often a life-and-death matter: the companies gave up the anti-union Arbitration Review Board, but they'll just appeal to the pro-company courts. An all-out UMWA strike must demand restoration of all these vital union gains!

Of course, a lot of workers are getting a lot less than this, including members of the once-mighty United Auto Workers who are taking mammoth pay cuts, hundreds of thousands of layoffs and numerous plant closings. If the BCOA decided not to put the miners up against the wall, it is because of the miners' determination to fight. What gave the companies second thoughts was the sight of roving pickets in seven states, with thousands of miners on wildcats, conjuring up memories of the bitter 110-day strike in 1977-78. Although the settlement then was a defeat, the ranks' will to fight was not broken. Even the viciously anti-labor Reagan government started backpedaling on its proposed Black Lung benefit cuts when 10,000 miners demonstrated around the White House two weeks ago.

WV Photo

10,000 coal miners demonstrate in Washington, D.C. March 9 against Reagan's cutback of Black Lung fund.

The large oil, steel and utility companies which own the coal mines are bloated with profits. In the past decade the selling price of coal has rocketed by over 600 percent! And Conoco, the oil company which owns Consolidation Coal, the largest employer of UMWA miners, made over *$1 billion* in profits—more than $74,000 per employee! Even the company mouthpiece *Business Week* (30 March) recognizes that if the miners go out, they will fight for big stakes: "A strike of more than a few days will cause rank-and-file miners to expect more than the industry is now offering as a price for returning to work." And the miners *can* win more, a lot more! In fact, the UMWA is in a position to lead the whole American working class in a powerful fight against company takeaways and Reagan cutbacks.

Voting "no" on Sam Church's piss-poor deal is the first step, but it's not enough. If there's a strike, UMWA miners will face not only the coal companies but a solid bosses' front from the White House on down. And to win it's necessary to dig in for a real battle for real gains, not just to keep the present rotten contract. Miners need a *full cost-of-living escalator* to protect against runaway inflation. The fact that Miller and Church (who really ran the 1977-78 strike) didn't win COLA three years ago cost more than $1,500 for every worker under BCOA contract. With more than 25,000 UMWA members on layoff without supplemental unemployment benefits or severance pay, the union must fight for a *shorter workweek with no loss in pay*, to provide jobs for all, and *UMWA control of all hiring and upgrading*. Strike to win big! Win a fat contract now, and for the first time there will be a basis for successfully organizing Western mines.

But to take the offensive, coal miners must build a new class-struggle leadership to dump Church & Co., who only want to play footsie with the BCOA and Reagan. A lot of phony "socialists," however, have done nothing but build Church's image. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) *Militant* (20 March), for instance, reported on the March 9 Washington demonstration quoting the UMWA leader's begging "Mr. President" speech without criticism, and even continues to defend the sellout Arnold Miller: "And the revolt in the miners union ten years ago established democratic rights that put the miners in a stronger position to fight against such conditions." No, the UMWA is now in a weakened, *defensive* position, fighting to hold onto and win back *past* gains—precisely because the Miller "reform" leadership led the last strike to disaster.

The reformist Communist Party (CP) sings the same tune, avoiding all criticism of Church just as they did with Miller three years ago. According to the CP's *Daily World* (20 March), the recent wildcats "appeared to have no connection with the breakdown of contract talks"! This was the same line as the International, which was trying to end the wildcats by labeling them "local" disputes. The Spartacist League, however, warned from the beginning that the pseudo-reformers of Miners for Democracy were relying dangerously on the bosses government—the enemies of the labor movement. "Labor Department Wins Mine Workers Election" was the headline of our prophetic 1973 article on MFD (see the *Workers Vanguard* pamphlet "The Great Coal Strike of 1978"). Because we fought for a genuine class-struggle leadership instead of tagging along after whoever was popular at the moment, it was *Workers Vanguard* that pointed the road to victory throughout the 110-day battle when the SWP, CP and others were apologizing for the endless sellouts negotiated by Miller and Church.

The pro-capitalist American labor leadership has been in retreat for so many years that the UMWA leadership can try to sell this takeaway contract as a victory! To beat it back requires a program for victory, from elected strike committees and appeals to the rest of the labor movement not to handle coal to a political fight against the twin parties of capitalism. Reagan will hard-line it against the miners, but Jimmy ("Taft-Hartley") Carter is no more a friend of labor than the Republicans. And a genuinely class-struggle leadership of the United Mine Workers would recognize the key role that this combative union can play in leading not only organized labor but all the victims of the ruling-class offensive in Reagan's America. Remember: miners can't live on jelly beans, and the bosses can't live without coal! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 278

10 April 1981

Ranks Rebel Against Sellout Sam

Give 'Em Hell Miners!

Elect Strike Committees! For a Joint Coal/Rail Strike!

UPI

UNIONTOWN, Pennsylvania—On March 31, by a crushing majority, the coal miners said, "Shove it!"

They said it to B. R. Brown of Consolidation Coal, top negotiator for the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), who told miners they'd gain nothing by striking. They said it to union president Sam "I know my membership" Church, who boasted that his yellow dog deal would be ratified by 65 percent. And they said it to Ronald Reagan's anti-labor government, which gives the green light to skyrocketing oil prices with one hand while taking aim at black lung benefits with the other.

Standing once again in the forefront of the U.S. working class, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) is on strike. In order to *win*, the miners will need all the guts and determination with which they fought the Great Coal Strike of 1977-78, *and above all a militant leadership with a class-struggle program to defeat the hardlining companies and their government!* The UMWA membership must take control of their union and call upon the rest of organized labor to join this vital battle. In particular, they should appeal to railroad workers, whose contracts are now up, to stop the flow of coal and wage a powerful *joint coal/rail strike* which could break the bosses' front.

The "no" vote was 2 to 1 overall out of almost 100,000 votes, and the margin was even greater in the UMWA's traditionally most militant regions. Ohio miners rejected the proposal by almost 3 to 1. In the Pittsburgh-area District 5, it was more than 5 to 1. In southern West Virginia's District 17, the union's largest, the "no" vote was nearly 7 to 1. And in southwestern Pennsylvania's District 4, the rejection was higher still.

The contracts were burning well before the ballots were counted. At U.S. Steel's Robena mine near Greensboro, Pennsylvania, where Church had come to greet the hoot-owl shift, one was set afire in the bathhouse just minutes after the old agreement expired. In Charleston, after a heated hour-and-a-half discussion on the *first* article, not one official had spoken in favor of the agreement. Many walked out. Finally a miner asked if any of the District 17 officials would vote for the contract. No one, not even district president Jack Perry, who sat at the bargaining table, dared to raise his hand. With that the crowd started throwing their copies at the stage. "The sky was full of contracts," one miner told *WV*. Bundles of contracts went into the bonfire. The same scenes were repeated countless times across the coal fields the next day as angry rank and filers voted with their matchbooks.

Sellout Means Non-Union Mines

The UMWA ranks overwhelmingly rejected Church's contract because it threatens the viability of the union. Opening wide the portals to non-union

continued on page 8

Nazi Shoots Reagan

John Warnock Hinckley, Jr. was not dressed in his Nazi storm-trooper outfit as he waited outside the Washington Hilton on March 30. When Reagan came out, Hinckley stepped up to within ten feet of him and squeezed off six shots from a cheap .22 revolver. He hit Reagan in the chest, piercing the lung, wounded two security men and critically wounded White House press secretary James Brady. The Secret Service with their Uzi machine guns piled screaming onto Hinckley and dragged him off. Once again it was Assassination Syndrome, U.S.A.

The ruling class worried about a loss at the helm. They worried that the assassination attempt would injure what they were advertising as new-found national unity and self-confidence. They worried whether it would help or hurt the attempt to wield the budget ax against the poor, the blacks and workers. Red-white-and-blue-blooded parents worried that their children could get nutty from having too much. The liberals worried about gun control. Nancy Reagan worried about violent movies. Others mainly worried about how to get "in control."

With the assassination attempt, many blacks, leftists and labor militants worried too. But not about the health of the president. They worried about the potential for whipping up an active witchhunt. The ruling class breathed a sigh of relief that their John Wayne president was okay. But as blacks watched the TV coverage, they sighed, "Thank god, Hinckley's white." Jews sighed, "Thank god, he's a gentile." And leftists sighed, "Thank god, he's a fascist." He's a blond, blue-eyed Nazi nut, all-American son of a Christian oil millionaire. The Hinckleys, it turns out, are good friends with vice president George Bush.

For its part, the capitalist press has done its best to bury the fact that Hinckley is a Nazi. Only after 1,500 words in a *New York Times* article about the gunman in which his

continued on page 11

Letter from H-Block

Last December the international Spartacist tendency mobilized in support of the Irish republican hunger strikers demanding the status of political prisoners in the notorious H-Blocks of Northern Ireland's Long Kesh prison camp. We are therefore pleased to publish a letter smuggled out of this hell-hole. The December 18 agreement which ended the hunger strike was not in our view a "resounding victory" in that it did not grant the strikers political status. Moreover, as our British comrades stated:

> *"...improvements in prison conditions and other 'concessions' from bloody imperialism can only be seen as a subordinate part of the struggle to mobilise the proletariat against British troops and for a workers solution in Ireland."*
>
> —"*H Block Hell Goes On.*" Spartacist/Britain. *February 1981*

Now British imperialism has gone back on even the limited promises made last December. We call upon the labor and socialist movements and all believers in democratic rights to support the just demands of the H-Block prisoners.

11/3/81

A Chara Comrade,

We are sending you a letter smuggled out of the H-Blocks, Long Kesh prison camp, Ireland. As you are aware, a new Hunger Strike has commenced in the H-Blocks. This is because Britain has failed to implement the five demands, won through the last Hunger Strike, which ended on Dec. 18th 1980.

We hope you will read the letter, and if possible reproduce it in your paper, in order that the prisoners may gain their right and just demands.

Yours fraternally,
Seán Halpenny
Sec. Foreign Affairs Bureau
Sinn Féin

To the Left Wing
Comrades,

The successful conclusion to the hunger strike in the H-Blocks & Armagh Gaol on 18-12-80 brought a resounding victory for the socialist cause against Brit imperialism in Ireland. We the Republican socialist P.O.W.s at last, after enduring 4½ years of inhumanity & oppression in these citadels of hatred, won our right to political recognition.

This was forthcoming with the implementation of a solution contained in detailed documents forwarded by the Brit Gov to the hunger strikers on the aforesaid date. Within the framework of these documents the basis of an honourable & principled solution to all concerned was viable & strong commitments were guaranteed by the Brit Gov in regards to its implementation.

Unbelievably however, these commitments have not been fulfilled. Their expedient weapons of treachery & deceit were utilised merely as a ploy to nullify the mounting worldwide political pressure & to break our momentum, support & resistance in the hope of forcing us to accept criminal status.

By doing so, our endeavours to end these evils & oppression of the capitalist system by establishing an Irish Socialist Republic would be propagated as a criminal conspiracy. The real criminal aspect of the conflict in Ireland today are the occupying forces of Brit imperialism who have sapped & exploited the wealth & people of Ireland for 800 years. We the Republican socialist prisoners of war are the end product of that 800 years oppression.

The H-Block Control Units & Armagh Gaol are merely one grim aspect of Brit imperialism in Ireland. Here ends the cycle of a farcical judicial system solely employed by the Brit Gov to criminalise captured revolutionaries. This consists of special repressive legislation, intensive 7 day interrogations & no-jury political courts.

Political expediency rather than truth dictates policy & where Brit justice is concerned, this most certainly is the case. Their treacherous deceit leaves us no alternative but once again to use the ultimate weapon of hunger strike, upon which my comrades will re-embark on 1-3-81 [March 3]. We cannot nor will not allow ourselves or our ideals to be criminalised.

Socialist brothers, I appeal to you to help save the lives of my comrades by speaking out in condemnation of Brit imperialism in Ireland & support our just cause; for until we rid ourselves of the root cause of these evils, our ideals of an Irish Socialist Republic will remain an unfulfilled dream.

Yours sincerely,
[...]
H Block [...]
Long Kesh

Spartacist Britain

London, November 1980: Spartacist League of Britain demonstrates to smash infamous H-Block prison.

SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE FORUMS

Smash H-Block!
British Troops Out of Ireland Now!

Speaker: Alan Gilchrist,
Spartacist League/Britain Central Committee
founding member of Workers Socialist League 1975-78

DETROIT

Thursday, April 16, 12:30 pm
Room 678, Student Center Building
Wayne State University
For more information: (313) 868-9095

ANN ARBOR

Thursday, April 16, 7:30 pm
Michigan Union Conference Room 5
University of Michigan
For more information (313) 994-9313

SAN FRANCISCO

Thursday, April 23, 12:00 Noon
SF State Student Union, B114
For more information: (415) 863-6963

Herman Company-Baits ILWU Militants

San Francisco, California
March 20, 1981

Dear Editor:

The article in *Workers Vanguard* No. 276 on the ILWU Local 6 convention was excellent in its coverage and political conclusions but it does contain a minor factual error. Communist Party supporter and Rank and File Coalition member Vicky Mercado is not a business agent—she lost the election. Also, the headline, "Sellout Herman Redbaits ILWU Militants," is misleading. The executive officers had submitted a resolution that would ban all organized opposition but they withdrew it when it became apparent it would not pass. In an attempt to isolate those who oppose the bureaucrats' policies, [International president Jimmy] Herman took the floor and *company*-baited, as the article correctly pointed out.

While both the Militant Caucus and the Rank and File Coalition were the targets of Herman's attack, Coalition members proved that they have programmatic agreement with the International and Local executive officers on essential issues, including the crucial strategic question of support to Democratic politicians. This "unity" was demonstrated in the discussion around our workers party resolution and the Coalition resolution on "an independent labor political party." CP supporter and Coalition member Joe Lindsay called for the two resolutions to be voted counterposed; [Local 6] President Eickman agreed.

The resolutions are indeed counterposed. The Militant Caucus resolution is anti-capitalist, calling for the unions to "...reject completely this treacherous policy of the union tops of endorsing and relying on the pro-business Democratic and Republican parties..." and to "...begin the necessary struggle to build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government that will expropriate industry without compensation and organize a rational planned economy." The Coalition resolution called for support to Ron Dellums and other Democrats who take "progressive positions."

Eickman opposed our resolution, saying, "We have absolutely no way of convincing our members at this time that we should expropriate industry without compensation, so we are asking you to oppose that." He spoke for and voted for the Rank and File Coalition resolution, as he did on several other Coalition resolutions, from organizing to El Salvador. The Coalition sees no need to oppose the officers and their pro-company policies and has no program to challenge capitalism. But the Militant Caucus consistently fights to build a new leadership in the ILWU with a class-struggle program, a program of independent working-class political action.

Jackie Clark,
Militant Caucus member

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No. 278 **10 April 1981**

Sojourner Truth a Cult?

Chicago, Illinois
March 8, 1981

To the Editor:

The article on last month's debate between the Chicago Spartacist League and the Sojourner Truth Organization, "Trotskyism Exposes Anti-Soviet Blindspot" (*WV* No. 275), does a fine job of debunking the stale New Leftism and anti-communist "state capitalism" of the STO. This is true to the debate itself, in which the politically hapless STO went down to ignominious defeat.

There is an error, however, in the accompanying article, "What Is The Sojourner Truth Organization?", which refers to these washed-out New Lefties as "the Ignatin cult." While STO leader Noel Ignatin is indeed the father of the white-guilt, moralistic "theories" which characterize the STO, it is important to specify that this group is not a personality cult *per se*. The term "cult" better fits such increasingly bizarre organizations as Jerry Tung's Communist Workers Party, Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party or Peter Sollenberger's tiny Revolutionary Workers League, in which a much-glorified *líder máximo* functions as the sole fount of strategic wisdom and revolutionary will (see for example a proclamation by the Avakian group, published last year, to the effect that poster-sized photos of "the Chairman" definitely entice workers to buy their garbage rag). The *WV* article is otherwise entirely correct in describing the STO as an "idiosyncratic opportunist sect" derived from the degeneration of SDS's anti-working-class RYM II.

Comradely greetings,
Nedy Sallier
Chicago SL

How They Renounce Soviet Defensism

SWP Slanders James P. Cannon

For the last seven years the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been pressing its "socialist" suit against the U.S. government for decades of secret police spying, harassment, burglaries, mail and phone "covers," and more. And for seven years SWP leaders have been swearing on stacks of bibles that the SWP has never done or advocated anything but the most "peaceful, legal, educational" activities. Before Judge Thomas Griesa and the civil libertarians they hope to attract to their "Watersuit," these reformists have denounced the actual content of the socialist revolution.

Now the case has finally come to trial, and the FBI has gone for the political jugular in the increasing Cold War atmosphere, saying that in the event of a U.S.-Soviet conflict the SWP would defend the USSR. "Who, us?" asks the SWP, admitting nothing of the sort. And they are telling the truth—the reformist present-day SWP is indeed what it wants the government to think it is: the left wing of the bourgeois political spectrum. The only lie is their slander of the earlier generation of American Trotskyists, seeking to portray SWP founder James P. Cannon as just another Jack Barnes who refuses to defend the Soviet Union. It is *our* tradition they are attacking. And we will not let this slander stand.

This repudiation of their own revolutionary past is being made in the course of the SWP's answer to an FBI affidavit filed in February by Special Agent Charles Mandigo. Mandigo, attempting to compile a list of "illegal" activities performed by SWP leaders past and present, put together a wildly inaccurate hodgepodge of charges, most of which amount to advocacy of Marxism or decades-old smears (e.g., charges Cannon might have tried to wreck a train in 1942!). But in denouncing Mandigo's scurrilous affidavit, the SWP has taken a big step toward making explicit what has long been implicit in their reformist politics: rejection of the fundamental Trotskyist principle of unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union from imperialist attack.

Mandigo wrote: "In 1950, Cannon stated that he believed that in the event of a world conflict, the SWP would support Russia against imperialist America" (*Militant*, 13 March). The SWP, in a footnote to this citation, rhetorically asked, "When and where did Cannon state such a belief? Is this paraphrase based on 'testimony' by an FBI informer or wiretapper? If from a speech or article, where was it given or printed?" When Mandigo quoted former SWP leader Joseph Hansen as having said in 1951 that, "in the event of war between Russia and the United States, the SWP would be forced to fight on the side of Russia...," the SWP treated it as a slanderous joke. "What was the source of this statement?" another footnote asks. "Did it include any explanation about who or what was going to 'force' the SWP to take this position—the Soviet government? the Fourth International? sunspots?"

Pathfinder

James P. Cannon addresses New York meeting protesting Smith Act convictions, 1941.

The SWP is clearly claiming (albeit in a devious footnoted fashion) that these alleged defensist positions are not only spurious, but that they never represented the views of Cannon and the SWP. The SWP implies that unconditional defense of the USSR against imperialism is a position the FBI cannot find in Cannon's many writings on the subject and that only a lying wiretapper or clandestine informant could make such a slanderous allegation.

Yes, James P. Cannon is being slandered—but not by the FBI. In its single-minded campaign to convince Judge Griesa that they are peaceful, legal parlor pinks and no threat to the U.S. bourgeoisie, the SWP is trying to cover up its own past. But defense of the Soviet Union is part of the ABCs of Trotskyism, and wiretaps or fink testimony are hardly necessary to establish Cannon's views on the subject. In a speech given during one of the key political fights of his career as a revolutionary, the 1939-40 faction fight with the Max Shachtman-led anti-Soviet opposition in the SWP, Cannon clearly stated:

> "Our motion calls for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack. What does that mean? It simply means that we defend the Soviet Union and its nationalized property against external attacks of imperialist armies or against internal attempts at capitalist restoration, without putting as a prior condition the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy."
>
> —"Speech on the Russian Question," *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*

And how did Cannon respond when he was dragged into court with 17 other SWP leaders in 1941 on Smith Act charges? Did he duck the defense of the Soviet Union? No. Facing jail, not merely a civil suit to get the government to cough up a lot of money and proclaim their respectability as is the SWP today, Cannon did exactly the opposite of Barnes & Co. He had SWP lawyer Albert Goldman specifically ask him during the trial proceedings about the party position on the defense of the Soviet Union. And Cannon answered:

> "We are in favor of defending the Soviet Union against imperialist powers for the reason I just gave, because we consider it a progressive development, as a workers' state, that has nationalized industry and has eliminated private capitalism and landlordism. That is the reason we defend it."
>
> —*Socialism on Trial*

It was for testimony like this that Cannon and his co-defendants spent a good part of World War II locked up in Sandstone Federal Prison. It wasn't "sunspots" that forced Cannon to uphold Trotskyism on the Russian question—it was revolutionary principle.

SWP: Post-Watergate Reformists

In the early 1970s, in the wake of Watergate and U.S. imperialism's defeat in Vietnam, the secret police were temporarily thrown on the defensive by a series of public exposures of their crimes. The SWP imagined it would ride the wave of liberal sentiment following those exposures, cozying up to the radlib milieu in the process. So for some years now, the SWP's anti-FBI suit has been a central preoccupation. Naturally, revolutionaries are all for exposure of the crimes of the FBI/CIA, and anything else which hampers their murderous dirty work. We are not opposed to using the courtroom for this purpose. Furthermore, it would be a good thing if the government were forced to pay off for the damage done to SWP members. But to the SWP the "socialist Watersuit" is central to their civil-libertarian strategy for the Reagan years, a strategy which at bottom places confidence in the trustworthiness and reformability of the capitalist state.

The secret police cannot be exposed away. In Reagan's America this strategy of courtroom exposure is shown to be the liberal illusion it always was. The secret police are an indispensable instrument of the state. How repressive these forces are depends on the class struggle and not legalistic muckraking. In fact, in the present Cold War atmosphere, legislation passed under the influence of the post-Watergate exposures is being used as the basis for *increased* FBI/CIA dirty tricks. But the SWP believes that by playing the exposure game according to Griesa's bourgeois legal rules they can bring the whole secret police apparatus tumbling down. For these civil-libertarian reformists, the courtroom is the perfect place to win "the right to revolution." For them, these exposures *are* the revolution.

In 1974 the SWP turned over to Judge Griesa a list of names of expelled left oppositionists in order to prove that advocates of illegal violence had been purged from their ranks (see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975). "The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity," proclaimed SWP leader Barry Sheppard categorically in a statement to the court. Not even a Gandhi could claim to be so "peaceful, legal" and harmless! In 1978 the SWP agreed to allowing only their lawyers access to the files on 18 FBI finks and promised the judge not to violate his condition that the files remain confidential, thus making their own lawyers into government cover-up agents. While the SWP was crawling before these legal niceties, the government was lying through its teeth. On the basis of FBI-furnished documents, Judge Breitel assured the SWP that no informer had ever penetrated its National Committee (NC). Then last year former SWP NCer Ed Heisler admitted being a long-time FBI fink!

So what has been the result of this obsequious reformist legalism? Has the FBI been forced to change its spots? Will the socialist Watersuit wipe out the government's legal cover for spying on the left? Far from it. The verdict is not yet in, but already the indications are that the FBI may in fact win what it wants from this case. When Attorney General Bell was cited with contempt of court for refusing to release informer files, the charge was overturned on appeal and the doctrine of "informer privilege" became even more entrenched in legal precedent. When, last year, FBI spy and ex-SWP National Committee member Ed Heisler exposed his own role as an informant in the SWP, he admitted only to having been a source of information for the FBI, not a burglar or provocateur. As we observed at the time, "Heisler may even have been instructed to turn himself in. The 'perfect informer,' the human embodiment of the 'new FBI,' could be a government exhibit in the SWP 'Watersuit'" ("FBI Informer in the SWP," *WV* No. 268, 14 November 1980).

The FBI, in a concession to the post-Watergate mood of disapproval of "unnecessary" secret police harassment of Democrats and liberals, was prepared to "promise" not to burglarize homes and offices of non-"violent" dissidents,

continued on page 8

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Polish Solidarity Confronted by Trotskyists in France

ADAPTED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK SUPPLEMENT, APRIL 1981

PARIS, March 28—While Poland goes on "solving" one crisis after another, the underlying process set in motion last summer continues to deepen: the authority of the ruling bureaucracy is practically non-existent; centrifugal forces are at work in the PUWP, the Stalinist party; the influence of the church continues to grow; openly capitalist restorationist forces such as Rural Solidarity are raising their heads.

The crisis of leadership has never been so glaring. In the absence of a revolutionary communist (Trotskyist) party, the workers movement likely faces the prospect of bloody capitalist restoration under the leadership of clerical-nationalist reaction or the strengthening of Stalinist rule by Russian tanks.

At the same time the fake-Trotskyists of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire] in the United Secretariat have rarely been more shamelessly tailist. At best they wait for the so-called "left wing" of the PUWP to create a revolutionary program by a process of immaculate conception; at worst they uncritically support all wings of the "opposition," even the bourgeois-nationalist KPN and Rural Solidarity (*Rouge* No. 960, 13-19 January, even defends "the guarantee of private ownership of the land" for the peasants who are the social base for capitalist restoration!)

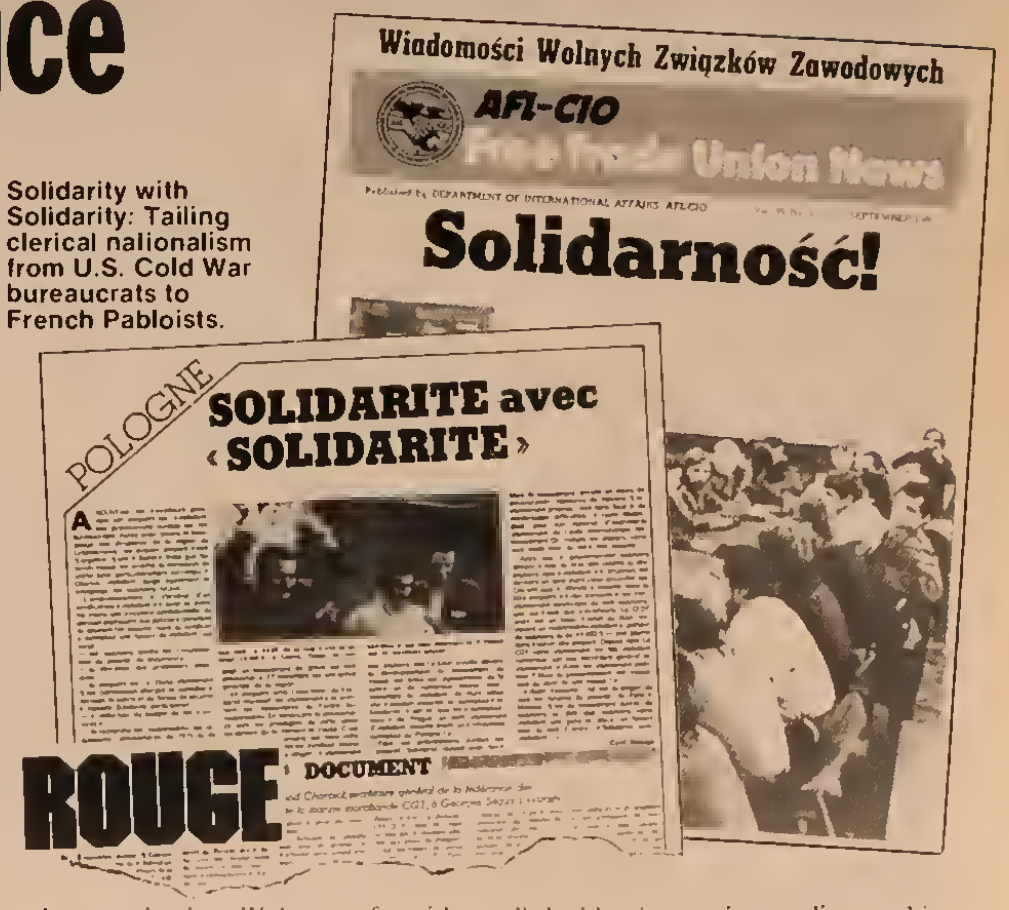
Needless to say, the LCR has been the most enthusiastic builders of "solidarity with Solidarity," even to the extent of criticizing the "passivity" of FO [the Force Ouvrière union federation]! Comrades! Do you really want these pro-CIA social democrats to send more money into Poland? *Rouge* No. 959, (6-12 March) commendably exposed FO's support to the Salvadoran junta. Do you really think that the leaders of the AFL-CIO, the German trade unions (who served as a funnel for CIA funds to Portugal in 1975) and FO are going to help the Polish workers?

It's no accident that the leaders of Solidarity have elicited such "disinterested" financial support from the West. The social-democratic bureaucrats understand that the group around Lech Walesa see themselves as leading a Catholic-nationalist revolt against "Communism." This is especially clear from their fulsome support to Rural Solidarity. Trade unionists who want to serve the real class interest of the Polish workers must fight against strengthening the ties between these social-democratic agents of imperialism and the clerical-nationalist Solidarity leaders!

As Trotskyists we of course do not write off the Polish proletariat, consigning it to the camp of clerical-nationalist reaction. The central question is to *split* the new union movement politically, winning over the mass of workers from the Catholic-led forces. Key elements of a revolutionary program are the separation of church and state, promotion of agricultural collectivization, cancel the debts to the foreign bankers, fight nationalism/anti-Semitism, defense of the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc against Western imperialism, proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

On the occasion of the visit to France by a delegation from Solidarity, the LCR, through its Solidarity with Solidarity Committee organized a meeting in Rouen on March 16. The meeting provided an unusual opportunity to show the potential impact of the revolutionary Marxist program on the Polish working class.

A comrade of the LTF exposed the real nature of the Solidarity leadership by posing a series of questions: why don't the statutes of Solidarity stand for socialism; what is Solidarity's position on the question of separation of church and state; why does Walesa confer with the pope, the greatest enemy of the Polish proletariat?



Solidarity with Solidarity: Tailing clerical nationalism from U.S. Cold War bureaucrats to French Pabloists.

Solidarity representatives Sliwinski and Kieliszczyk replied that the Polish church is a people's church, which doesn't have the same reactionary history as in the West, and defended the pope as a true son of the Polish people. Sliwinski wound up his speech by charging that the LTF feels the church is dogmatic (!), whereupon a part of the audience, including many LCR members, were moved to hearty applause. Hard to believe! Indeed, the LCR showed opposition only to our organization and Trotskyist program. The only critical response to the glorifications of the church with which the Solidarity spokesmen replied to our intervention came not from the LCR fake-Trotskyists but from one member of the audience who pointed to the fundamentally reactionary role of the church.

In reality the church fully supported all the bloody reactionary dictatorships of pre-war Eastern Europe—Pilsudski in Poland, Horthy in Hungary, etc. Moreover, the Polish church was responsible not only for anti-Semitic pogroms, but for the forced conversion and murder of thousands of Eastern Orthodox Ukrainians. And the leopard hasn't changed its spots!

Members of the LTF were able to discuss before the meeting with a young worker who was part of the Solidarity delegation. While opposing the ruling bureaucracy, he recognized the need to defend collectivized property and agreed that this point must be included in the program of independent unions. Conscious of the danger represented by the church, he liked our headline: "A Workers Poland, Yes! The Pope's Poland, No!" And given the pronounced nationalism which is pervasive in Poland, including among the workers, it is important that this militant came out for unity between the Soviet and Polish working classes.

This discussion indicates the existence within the Polish working class of elements conscious of their class interest, ready to struggle against both the Stalinist bureaucracy and the danger of capitalist restoration. And it confirms the validity of the Trotskyist program (this worker obviously never heard of Trotsky) as the axis for splitting the Polish unions between conscious socialists and apologists for capitalist restoration. The capitulationist policy which the LCR dares to carry out in the name of Trotskyism is therefore even more criminal.

For the LCR, cheering anything that moves, whatever Solidarity does is fine. The LCR's "solidarity" means covering over the fundamental class antagonisms between the pro-Catholic, pro-capitalist program of the Solidarity leadership and the interests of the working masses of Poland. Thus the LCR does its bit to cement Polish militants to reactionary nationalist leadership, helping to retard the development of a communist opposition in Poland. The program of revolutionary Trotskyism, which speaks to the real class needs of the proletariat, could win the allegiance of hundreds of thousands of working-class militants in Poland today. What is required is revolutionary intervention to *split* a class-conscious wing away from Pope Wojtyla and Lech Walesa and their social-democratic and centrist admirers and forge a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard in Poland. ■

Brazilian Union Leader Sentenced

Hands Off Lula!

On February 25 a military court sentenced Brazil's best-known labor leader Luis Inácio da Silva ("Lula") to three and one-half years in prison. Ten other trade-union leaders also received sentences ranging from two to three and one-half years. Lula was jailed for leading a six-week long metal workers' strike last spring in which militant workers demanded not only high wage increases but greater independence of the trade unions from the state apparatus.

The defendants and their lawyers boycotted the trial to protest its announcement only 48 hours beforehand and the strict repressive measures taken to smash any working-class protest. This "show trial" was nothing but a transparent attempt to behead Brazil's trade-union opposition, which exists outside the structure of state control imposed on Brazilian labor by the Figuereido dictatorship. The trial was also a blow directed by the generals against the recently founded Partido dos Trabalhadores (Workers Party [PT]). Despite the PT's moderate reformist program, the military fears that the popular Lula and his party could become a rallying point for explosive worker discontent.

An international campaign is being waged to protest this outrage. The *New York Times* (3 April) found the repression against Da Silva out of kilter with "the present policy of gradually returning the country to democratic institutions." Not at all. The Figuereido dictatorship's policy of "abertura" (opening) was intended to provide a political escape valve by allowing limited parliamentary liberalization while still keeping the labor movement under strict control. But the workers saw through it. Now Figuereido finds it necessary to turn once again to the old methods of blatant and undisguised repression. The Brazilian military dictatorship must not be allowed to get away with this crime! Release Lula and the other sentenced union leaders! For the right to strike with no reprisals!

Hoge/NY Times

Lula sentenced to three years for organizing a strike.

B.C. Telephone Strikers Sold Out

VANCOUVER, April 5—After a dramatic five-day occupation of B.C. Telephone Co. offices in February and five weeks out on strike the 11,000-strong Telecommunications Workers Union (TWU) returned to work March 23. Under intense pressure from the leadership of the B.C. Federation of Labour and TWU tops, phone workers voted to accept a contract that fell short of their already much-reduced demands. In a dangerous precedent-setting move, the deal left the fates of 24 fired militants in the hands of an arbitrator.

The stage was set in March for a Vancouver-centered, province-wide general strike to wipe out the results of the 1975 wage controls and to bust the strikebreaking drive spearheaded by B.C. Tel. But B.C. Fed president Jim Kinnaird struggled desperately to keep the battle within the bounds of pressure tactics and legalism. Trying to maintain control of a membership fed up and ready to fight, Kinnaird declared "industrial relations war" and staged a one-day regional general strike in Nanaimo, March 6. *Class* war was the last thing Kinnaird & Co. wanted, however, and the deal was struck to gut the phone workers' fight. Round One went to the bosses not because they defeated the unions but because the union brass gave it away.

The battle against the capitalist offensive is far from over, though. Last week, 2,000 Insurance Corporation of B.C. unionists joined over 10,000 Vancouver-area municipal workers on the bricks, and firefighters throughout the Lower Mainland are prepared to strike April 13. Two thousand bus drivers are without a contract, and TWU members are far from satisfied. When B.C. Tel announced Friday that it was appealing the arbitrators' ruling to rehire the 24 unionists, TWUers in cities and towns across the province threatened to walk off the job in protest. If the courts overturn the decision "there would be no way to hold them back," said one TWU business agent.

The municipal workers, organized in the Canadian Union of Public Employees (CUPE) and the Vancouver Municipal and Regional Employees Union (VMREU) have been on strike for over ten weeks now fighting the Greater Vancouver Regional District's takeaway demands and the employers' hardline refusal to grant wage parity between the mostly women inside workers and the mostly male outside workers. CUPE/VMREU have tried various attention-grabbing tactics, but victory depends on shutting down the dumps. Turn the scores of anti-picketing injunctions into garbage!

B.C. labor has the power to bring the employers to their knees, but the unions' leadership is unwilling to use it. Kinnaird & Co. haven't lifted a finger to help the municipal workers. The Socred government is threatening to bust an all-out firemen's strike so Kinnaird is demanding that the union maintain "essential services." And the B.C. Fed leadership scrambled to help TWU president Bill Clark end the powerful occupations in the face of a court order. With their pressure tactics, legalist strategies and with their eyes always on the New Democratic Party's electoral chances, the labor brass are an obstacle to victory. B.C. workers need a leadership committed to a class-struggle program.

Round Two is coming up: the groundwork is there for a Vancouver-wide shutdown, and there could be a long hot summer ahead as the key Pulp, Paper and Forestry Workers as well as thousands of miners will be up against B.C.'s major employers. The most militant English-speaking labor movement in North America can show the way forward with a decisive victory against the capitalists' strikebreaking offensive. Bust the union busters!

Spartacist Canada

B.C. workers' militant strike action in February showed the power of the working class. Only the treachery of the union leaders prevented a big victory—oust the bureaucrats!

Statement at New York SL Forum

Gay Activist Alliance Hits Feminist Anti-Porn Crusade

While back-alley abortions are being forced on poor women by Reagan's reactionary budget axing, while homosexuals are facing everything from massive cop raids to murder by deranged anti-gay bigots—not to mention the Cold War terror by the U.S.-backed junta in El Salvador—most feminists in this country have devoted themselves exclusively to a campaign against...pictures of naked ladies in *Penthouse*! The Spartacist League's recent series of forums around the country on this phenomenon have caused quite a stir (the *Guardian* refused to even print a paid ad for one), because of our forthright condemnation of this feminist anti-porn crusade as reactionary and dangerous. As comrade D.L. Reissner said in her New York City talk on March 27 at Columbia University: "It's a movement which puts feminists in an objective political bloc, no matter how much they may want to dissociate themselves from it, with the most conservative forces in society: the Bible-thumping book-burners, the anti-abortion, pro-death penalty right-to-lifers, the so-called Moral Majority and the FBI."

Campaigns to shut down "offensive" movies have been popular recently, like lesbian/gay protests against *Cruising* and *Windows*, Chinese demonstrations against Charlie Chan movies, and Latin/black anger against *Fort Apache, The Bronx*. The SL has warned that such attempts to insist Hollywood make "politically correct" movies, perhaps borrowed from the J.V. Stalin school of censorship, lead straight to McCarthyism. They are an evasion of the need to attack the real enemy, the capitalist state which enforces racial and sexual oppression and prejudice. But at least some people in this New Left milieu are beginning to have second thoughts on the anti-porn campaign, as the Reagan/Moral Majority's vicious assault on so-called "sexual deviants" comes down hard on *them*. The *Ms.* magazine crowd's crusade for clean living has made a lot of radical gay/lesbian groups uneasy, as they are the most exposed to the reactionary "save our children," pro-family moralism sweeping the country.

In this climate it is significant that a spokesman for the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA) came to the New York Spartacist League forum to express support for comrade Reissner's remarks: "I represent the Gay Activist Alliance of New York City. We had a discussion on this question, for this forum, at our meeting last night. Since you mentioned it in your talk I would like to take up also the question of the anti-*Cruising* demonstrations, because GAA initiated it. And I would have to report that at this point the leadership of the organization would basically agree that it was a diversion from what our real struggle should have been at that time.

"We applaud you in making this topic the centerpiece of your forum. A year ago we widely distributed a leaflet by six New York City lesbian leaders who thoroughly exposed, for the first time, the funding of the Women Against Pornography [Off-Track Betting, the Midtown Enforcement Agency (part of the NYC police department), $10,000 from NY Theatre Owners and Producers]. When we, GAA, refused to support their Times Square demonstration, they accused us, publicly, of running a series of kiddie porn rings. They were joined by NOW, the National Organization Against Women [laughter], who said they would also have to publicly break all relations with the Gay Activist Alliance because of our stance against the Women Against Pornography, because of our stance against all age-of-consent legislation, and because of our stance for the destruction of the nuclear family.

"We see the Women Against Pornography as basically a middle-class group, attempting to make the midtown area a profitable tourist attraction for the city government. What we have replied to all of these organizations is that what we stand for is revolution. We will join with workers and peasants in every country of the world to smash bourgeois repression and their morals."

The Gay Activist Alliance, a radical/New Left organization, has over the past several years had several internal fights over the question of "what strategy for gays?" leading to splits, some former leaders reverting to the Democratic Party liberal milieu, others joining the opportunist/"state-capitalist" Revolutionary Socialist League, which plunged into the moralistic anti-*Cruising* demonstrations with a vengeance. As a Spartacist spokesman from the audience pointed out at the March 27 Columbia forum, the questions facing the Gay Activist Alliance today confront many former New Left activists seeking a way to fight the reactionary tide:

"I was heartened by the Gay Activist Alliance spokesman, who talked as a spokesman from a sectoralist organization. Now, a sectoralist organization not linked to a proletarian communist party, in leftward motion, comes into some very sharp contradictions internally. It cannot avoid the class question as it moves leftward. And it can't avoid the question of reform versus revolution. It can't live in a world of separate demands, because these demands are constantly running up against the capitalist state, and in particular the family. When organizations start to move left and they realize that the family is the root of women's oppression under capitalism, then they run into a question which can't be resolved in the democratic or reformist framework. And they run into the question of revolution.

"We came across an organization that was in this position, the Red Flag Union in Los Angeles, and they ran into it on the Russian question, because they were Maoists. They looked at China and saw that the family was still there and they asked, 'Where is the liberation, the sexual liberation, that we seek in this society that we have hitherto considered to be socialist?' And it was that which drove them to an understanding of the Trotskyist program, which alone can explain that contradiction. The question of communist revolution as it is posed concretely is the question of the party, a working-class party with a communist program."

As comrade Reissner said in her final summary, "We intend to do more than 'take back the night'." As proletarian revolutionaries we have a world to win, and a fighting program that can unite all the oppressed, transcending sectoralism, in common struggle for a socialist society. ■

Young Spartacus

Tom Janota

Interview with Ex-Peace Corps Teacher Tom Janota

Eyewitness to Betrayal in El Salvador

Tom Janota was the last Peace Corps volunteer to leave El Salvador. He returned to Madison, Wisconsin in mid-1980 where he became a spokesman for Community Action on Latin America (CALA). At a January 22 rally on El Salvador, Janota gave a speech on the history of the Central American country, warning against the class-collaborationist policy of popular-frontism (see box). The Salvadoran Frente Democrático Revolucionario, he pointed out, is led by bourgeois politicians who only months ago were members of the murderous junta. "We must not forget that these people also have the workers' blood on their hands," Janota declared. He was subsequently expelled from CALA, which now works exclusively through the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), for endorsing and speaking at a successful, 400-strong rally initiated by the Madison Spartacus Youth League on February 4. An excerpt from the following interview with Tom Janota, dealing with this cowardly expulsion and the political reasons for it, was published in Young Spartacus *No. 90, April 1981.*

WV: First of all, why don't you tell us why you were in El Salvador?

Janota: I was in El Salvador as a Peace Corps volunteer teaching high school ecology in the western part of the country, in a town called Ahuachapán, and working with the Ministry of Education developing curriculum materials in ecology. I started in 1978, and I was working at this school until the Peace Corps was pulled out in February 1980. I stayed in the country even after the Peace Corps left. Really, in February still there was doubt as to which way all of these events were going to go. For instance, the agrarian reform had not been called yet until March. So I was just very interested to see how things would develop and stayed on until late May.

WV: Could you tell us about what you saw of the repression in El Salvador?

Janota: The repression is a daily occurrence in El Salvador. This was as early as last year at this time. You could be walking down the street with your mind a thousand miles away, and pulling up alongside you would see first a group with a large-caliber machine gun mounted in the rear, followed by a semi-truck with a couple of picnic benches back to back with soldiers wearing flack jackets and carrying these huge G-3s mounted in this truck. They're on patrol, maybe not going anywhere, really just passing by to terrorize the people as they're going. This is a daily occurrence. These patrols are always passing through the streets of San Salvador and the working-class suburbs. I remember I was in a grocery store one day, and all of a sudden across the street I could see through the windows that a National Guard detachment had pulled up and blocked off the intersection on both sides of this block and had their guards stationed at these various corners. Evidently they were looking for someone in the building on this block.

And then I would hear stories of night raids. The raids during the day, at least there's more witnesses around, they tend to be milder in comparison to the night raids, where there would be a knock at your door and you would be dragged out because you had been involved with a student group or had been involved with a union or a peasant association. You would be pulled out, shot on the spot, or maybe you would be pulled out and brought to police headquarters and tortured and then shot. You have cases of a teacher being decapitated and his head rolled into the classroom as a warning to the students that there will be no questioning of the government line, no subversive activities in this school. This really barbaric kind of activity is designed to terrorize the people so that even though they may not agree they're going to think twice about getting involved with these left groups.

They mean to literally decapitate, or certainly figuratively to wipe out whatever currents of protest are existing, more or less as they did in 1932 where there was an uprising of the Indians led by the Communists. During the uprising itself there were casualties on the government side of maybe a hundred, stretching it—not even that many, probably. Maybe a thousand Indians were killed during the uprising itself. In the aftermath there was a bloodbath of some 30,000 Indians killed and again strictly the Indians and strictly the males who the government felt were not to be trusted. They were "subversive" because they wanted to have their land back, for themselves and for the children. So the government already has that history of being willing to deal quite barbarically with whatever opposition arises, and I think that's what's happening now in El Salvador. They're not going to stop at 12,000 dead but will kill as many people as is necessary in their eyes. This time you can expect that to go into the hundreds of thousands.

WV: Okay, so let's turn to the political side of it. You've said that reading Spartacist literature brought the lessons of popular frontism home to you—Chile, Spain, and so on. Could you tell us some about the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) in El Salvador and how it came about? We know that the original leader of the FDR, Enrique Alvarez Córdova, of the 14 Families and the present leader, Guillermo Ungo, who is a vice president of the Socialist International, were members of what was called the "reform junta" installed by Carter in October 1979. And Ungo was also the running mate of Napoleón Duarte in 1972. What else can you tell us about the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats in that period?

Janota: Surely. Well, after the coup on October 15, 1979, there was an initial euphoria because General Romero had been a hated figure among the masses, and even among some of the bourgeois politicians. There was great hope that there were finally going to be some changes made. And it was with that enthusiasm that the Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats and even members of the Communist Party entered the first cabinet of this popular-front coalition that was being formed. It included members of the left wing, also including some of the more "moderate" and even some fairly reactionary forces that had been associated with past military governments.

WV: Wasn't there a Communist Party minister of labor?

Janota: Yes, I believe a Sr. Gallegos, if I'm not mistaken. So there was this broad coalition of left to "moderate" groups. The problem was, though, that the power in this new government was really residing in the Ministry of Defense, with Colonel José García. And that was evident very quickly, as the security forces increased their repression after the coup, while on one side the government would be making promises for land reform and dialogue with the popular groups and looking into the matter of the *desaparecidos*, people who had disappeared—there were hundreds of these people, who had been arrested by the Romero government and were never heard from again. There were promises to investigate all of these things and to basically establish a new government and a new dialogue with the people. While those promises were being made, union people were being targeted for assassination, and also teachers, students, peasant leaders and so forth.

The Christian Democrats and the Social Democrats in the cabinet evidently were becoming a little bit impatient. At the same time that they wanted to make some changes, they found themselves on all sides being subverted by members of their own government. And then, of course, you have the whole question of promising reforms while the police forces, this many-tiered security apparatus, was going about systematically hunting down leaders of mass organizations for assassination. So it was a tremendously contradictory period from October '79 until January 1980, when there was finally a mass ultimatum from the cabinet either to bring the security forces under control or they would resign.

Initially, at least, right after the coup in October, there was a truce declared by most of the left-wing groups, saying they were going to wait and see, and there was going to be hope that this new arrangement would be successful.

WV: That's when they initiated the "reform by death," the so-called land reform?

Janota: Actually, that really started in October, but it accelerated markedly in March. Originally what happened was 500 of the largest estates in the country were occupied by the army. Under the reform program all estates over 12,050 acres were to be expropriated, and split up among the farm workers living on that estate. Cooperatives were to be formed then from the peasants living on

Daily World

El Salvador workers stage 24-hour strike against junta terror, March 1980.

Aftermath of a m

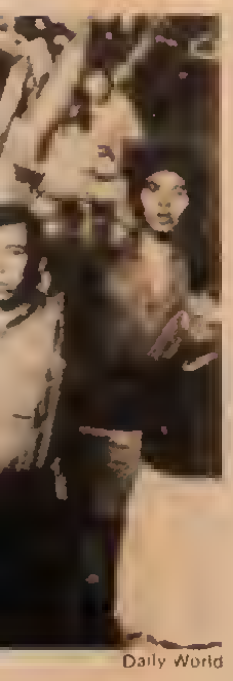
Montes/Gamma

Aftermath of a massacre in San Salvador: dozens shot down at funeral for Archbishop Romero.

the estates, and then these leaders would organize and it would become a more or less independent body. What happened at the same time, though, was the militarization of the countryside because the day after the agrarian reform was called, a state of siege was declared giving the military broad powers to intervene, basically at will. So this was a way to have a military presence in the countryside keeping a closer check on the peasant organizations that had been growing and had been causing problems in the countryside by their organizational activities.

Something else interesting was happening along with this reform, the subversion of the very government cooperatives that were being formed. Often times these very cooperative leaders would be the targets of assassination of either of the security forces. I've heard stories of security forces actually coming into the estate, a hacienda, and asking a peasant who are your leaders. And the leaders would come forward and they would be hauled off and shot or shot right on the spot. Sometimes it was the uniformed security forces themselves. Other times it would be the right-wing paramilitary troop called ORDEN meaning order in Spanish.

In many cases the security forces would just take off their uniforms and would be basically moonlighting as ORDEN members. So there's a very close working between this right-wing group ORDEN and the military. You hear so many times of how the army is trying to combat both the right and the left, but somehow I've never heard or never read in all my time in El Salvador of any case where an ORDEN member had been arrested let alone killed by the security forces. Basically ORDEN was allowed to operate freely throughout the countryside, and was widely feared. They could be in every small village and town, and they are the information-gathering organ of this old repressive machine that you have in El Salvador right now.



Daily World

WV: What was the attitude of what you would call far left towards reform?

Janota: Well, I'm talking again now about the groups that are more avowedly Marxist.

WV: Left of the CP.

Janota: Right. For instance the BPR, the People's Revolutionary Block, was the only far left group that was suspicious from the beginning about the government's intentions. So their tactic was to put pressure on the government to make the changes it was promising. And its tactic was to occupy buildings. For example, right after the coup, on October 24, members of the BPR occupied the ministry of economy and labor demanding wage increases for farm workers and factory workers, demanding the lowering of prices of basic goods and so forth. So the BPR tactic was to keep up pressure on the junta to make good on its promises basically.

Other left groups were, let's say, more innocent or something. For instance the ERP, the People's Revolutionary Army, declared a truce shortly after. Interestingly, the ERP and the FPL (the Popular Front for Liberation) both were involved in the uprisings in the working-class suburbs on the 15th of October, which were bloodily put down, as I talked about before. About two or three days after that, they declared a truce. The ERP said, maybe they do mean what they say, maybe changes will be made, and maybe there are some good people in the cabinet. So they said we're going to wait and see, and for the moment we're going to suspend military activities against the government.

So there was one line saying, well, we should wait and see, maybe there will be some changes, and then there were the skeptics, like the BPR, that didn't really believe the promises, but were willing to play along, basically, at the same time trying to keep up some pressure tactics. The truce broke down—it was becoming evident, as I was saying, in October already, as demonstrations were massacred again. There was a FAPU demonstration, for example, in the working-class suburb Soyapango on October 22, that was ambushed and the marchers were shot.

So the far left began to realize that things had not changed, that reform was coming out of one side of the government's mouth and on the other side were orders for persecution of anyone opposed to the government. By December of '79 the left was ending the truce as it was becoming clear to most people that there had just been a change of colonels, a change of military men, but not a change in program. And on January 2nd, the cabinet resigned in protest at the repression that had continued to go on in the countryside, saying at the same time that they were still hopeful that some kind of civilian/military coalition might be formed and might make the necessary changes.

The far left groups, by this time, had decided there isn't going to be any civilian/military coalition that's going to make any change here, and so they began to hold talks to form some kind of federation. These groups were the BPR again, the UDN (a socialist party, I think they had broken off from the CP earlier and were really a more radical party than the Communist Party), FAPU (which is a coalition of student and union groups), the LP-28 (that's the Popular Leagues of February 28th, which is a group formed pretty much from dissident Christian Democrats, formed in 1977). These groups, the BPR, the UDN, FAPU and LP-28, decided to make a coalition and for the inauguration of their Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses, or *Coordinadora Revolucionaria de Masas*, as it was called, they decided to hold a demonstration on the 22nd of January 1980. This was the 48th anniversary of the Communist-led uprising in 1932.

It was an incredible demonstration. There were upwards of 200,000—there were so many people it was hard even to estimate the numbers. The march stretched 70 blocks long, from the western edge of the city all of the way into the center, filling the street. The march was reaching the center of town as it was still leaving the origin, so this was an incredibly huge demonstration to inaugurate this far-left coalition, comprising just the "Marxist-Leninist" groups that I mentioned. As the head of the march was entering the center of town, it was ambushed. There were snipers in some government buildings at the center of town, the national palace, the communications in the center of town. The official death toll was 21 dead, and then there were supposedly some 70 wounded. It's really hard to say what the real toll was, because you had tens of thousands of people in the streets when the shooting started.

Of course the march was dispersed. I would say that the massacre of the 22nd of January last year marked the last large popular demonstration. There had been, of course, many massacres before the 22nd, and there were going to be a couple afterwards, as Archbishop Romero's funeral was to show—but I think that the 22nd marked the point at which the far left began to realize that the struggle wasn't going to be won by mobilizing these people to march unarmed into the center of the city. It was more and more clear that victory for the people was going to be through armed struggle in the countryside and in the cities.

WV: I understand that the Social Democrats and Christian Democrats who are now in the FDR did not endorse or join the demonstration.

Janota: No. As I say, they were still in January hoping for some kind of compromise with the armed forces. Of course, after the cabinet resigned the Christian Democrats decided that they could make a deal with the military, even though some of their own members had resigned from the previous junta, saying that the power lay with the minister of defense. But there were also then a series of massacres and assassina-

continued on page 10

At the close of my speech I began also to address the question of the popular front, mentioning the fact that there had already been a popular front after the October coup in '79, and mentioning the fact that the current president of the FDR, Guillermo Ungo, was a member of that first junta, and that that junta came to power by crushing workers' strikes. In one of the working-class suburbs near where I lived, for instance, in the San Bartolo free-trade zone and Soyapango, a number of workers' occupations of factories were put to an end violently. As well, there were uprisings in working-class suburbs, in Cuscatancingo, San Marcos, Mejicanos, leading to the deaths of at least 40 people, and hundreds were wounded in these uprisings.

I mentioned all of those things and mentioned the fact too of the past failures of the popular front in Chile and in Spain, closing my talk with the call for a workers revolution that would focus power on the workers and giving land to the peasants. There was quite an uproar caused by my first of all having addressed the popular-front issue in public, and then having said these things about Ungo. There was a member of the Chicago office of CISPES at the rally... and he talked to me afterwards at length about how I had smeared the leader of the FDR. I asked him, "How do you think Ungo could escape blame or escape responsibility for what happened during his own stay in office?"

—From Young Spartacus
No. 90, April 1981

Cannon...

(continued from page 3)

but they are fighting tooth and nail for an openly sanctioned "right" to plant informers on the left. The verdict in the SWP case could easily turn out to be a victory for the Feds.

No matter what the outcome, the SWP will trumpet the case as a "victory." But by pushing the reformist illusion that the secret police of the capitalist state can be beaten in the bourgeois courts the SWP has already done a tremendous disservice to the left and workers movement. Having forsworn all illegal activity and all violence, not to mention such "trifles" as defense of the USSR against imperialism, the SWP has moved much further down the road of pure-and-simple social-democratic reformism.

It is a fundamental truth of Marxism that nothing short of a workers revolution will serve to abolish the repressive apparatus of the capitalist state. It is simple common sense that in the Reagan years of heightened Cold War reaction the U.S. government will not be looking to cut back on the powers of its secret police. As virtually every commentator has noted, things have been moving in the opposite direction. If the SWP continues to play Pollyanna and insist that the tide of "post-Watergate morality" and the "Vietnam syndrome" are still running to the left it is only because such fictions are necessary to motivate their own membership and convince themselves that reformist political crimes pay.

The Watersuit plays the same role for the SWP today that its liberal antiwar work did in the mid-'60s: it is the main chance to become recognized as big-time social-democratic reformists. Just as their appetite to become the organizers of a liberal protest movement against the Vietnam War prompted the SWP to ditch their paper position for victory to the NLF (Viet Cong) in favor of single-issue mobilizations around slogans like "Bring Our Boys Home," the Watersuit has caused them to throw elementary Marxism and Trotskyism over the side in order to draw closer to the liberal civil-libertarian milieu they are currently appealing to.

The necessity to spell out for Judge Griesa just where they stand on the Soviet Union, violent revolution, etc. in order to press their suit has compelled the SWP leaders to come a little further out of the closet with their *real* positions. That Jack Barnes & Co. have been forced to more openly reject defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism makes clearer the distance separating them from Trotskyism. But it is downright despicable that in pledging allegiance to capitalist law and order they lie about James Cannon and drag his name through their mud in order to make the finest revolutionary workers' leader this country has yet produced appear more like the dirty reformists they are themselves. ■

Corrections

The article, "Iranian Left and the Test of War" (*WV* No. 271, 2 January), reported that "on paper at least" the Iranian Stalinist-Maoist Peykar (Struggle) group "has taken a revolutionary defeatist position on the [Iran/Iraq] war," while Peykar supporters in West Germany were propagating the usual "defend the fatherland" line. We have learned from Frankfurt that the latter subsequently reprinted the official *Peykar* statement and now privately admit that their Iranian leadership had corrected the West German sympathizers' defensist line.

In our last issue (*WV* No. 277, 26 March) a caption on page 8 described a July 1979 Nicaragua demonstration in Los Angeles as "SL-initiated"; it was jointly sponsored by the SL and the Sandinistas for Socialism.

Miners...

(continued from page 1)

coal production could destroy the UMWA. At first the news media praised Sellout Sam's deal as a "victory" for the union. *Now* they discover that miners object to surrendering royalties paid to the union's pension fund for the processing of non-BCOA-signatory coal. In addition to allowing the BCOA to bankrupt the retirement funds, Church made concessions which would have allowed the bosses to open their own non-union mines, sublease their properties to non-union companies, subcontract construction work in and around the mines to non-union firms, and buy unlimited amounts of non-union coal for processing through union tipples without any royalty payment to the union.

On wages, the companies were trying to buy miners' votes with a pact that *might* keep pace with inflation, since union strength would be gutted through the vicious takeaway clauses. What's more, while Church boasted that he had "won" the "abolition" of the hated Arbitration Review Board, a loophole provides that all prior decisions "shall continue to have precedential effect." And a "memorandum of understanding" called for a "study committee" to consider the "desirablility of some type of review mechanism"—in other words a new ARB. On top of all this, Church conceded a first-ever 45-day probation period for new hires. This would have allowed the companies to weed out pro-union workers and would have exposed inexperienced workers to underground dangers with no union protection, while the union treasury would collect initiation fees and dues. This arrangement would hardly build UMWA loyalty among new hires—especially if they're laid off or fired before 45 days.

In rejecting this miserable contract, the UMWA ranks are facing a very tough strike. The BCOA and its customers have 20 million tons of coal on the ground—much of it already at the burning site—enough to last well into the summer. And BCOA negotiator Brown, who "has no plans to resume negotiations" (Pittsburgh *Post Gazette*, 2 April), made it crystal clear what his intentions are. The miners' vote, Brown said, "reflects a disturbing lack of bargaining discipline in the UMW which puts the integrity of the bargaining process in serious jeopardy." With Reagan's labor-hating administration in office, the coal operators are threatening to break the back of the oldest and most combative industrial union in the U.S. A lot is riding on the outcome of this strike, and not just for the UMWA. Defeat for the miners would open the door to an even bigger anti-union offensive across the U.S. So it's strike to win big, or else!

The experience of the bitter 110-day strike of 1977-78 is still fresh in the minds of UMWA members, but with the BCOA going after the lifeblood of their union the miners are not ones to run from a fight. On March 24 Kentucky state police arrested eight men after a convoy of coal trucks was allegedly fired upon. A week later, 200 pickets descended upon a Mingo County mine in West Virginia; scabs' cars were reportedly stoned. Later that night an eastern Kentucky foreman's car was riddled with bullets as it crossed a picket line. On April 1 roving pickets shut down a scab mine in Norton, Virginia and three others were closed in West Virginia's Preston County. Police complained that strikers were "slipping back and forth" between Kentucky and West Virginia, making short, surprise stops at scab mines on both sides of the line. But such isolated guerrilla actions, though a necessary part of harassing the enemy, will not win the war for the UMWA.

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For a Joint Coal/Rail Strike!

As in the 1977-78 strike, the key to victory is in stopping the movement and burning of coal. Given the large stockpiles, the UMWA must call on the rest of labor to *hot cargo all coal!* The bosses are no doubt counting on getting coal from the non-union Western mines, as well as from various Eastern stockpiles, but *this coal moves largely by railroad* and can be stopped.

By coincidence, several railway unions, such as the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC) and others, are negotiating new contracts for 500,000 rail workers in April. The railroad workers face many of the same profit-bloated oil, steel and utility companies as the miners do, and their jobs are threatened by Reagan's cutbacks in federal aid to railroads. A joint strike of coal and railway workers, each pledged not to go back until both are satisfied, could quickly bring the bosses to their knees and win what miners need—including restoration of "cradle-to-grave" medical coverage, fully funded pension coverage, a big wage boost with 100 percent COLA, unlimited right to strike, etc.

Joint union action is the way to win—but the companies know that too, so of course the capitalist government is prepared to step in with all kinds of anti-union laws. Reagan may attempt to use the Taft-Hartley law against the strikes just as Carter and the Democratic Party did in 1977-78. And rail unions have for decades been hamstrung by the Railway Labor Act of 1926, which puts all kinds of legal barriers in the way of strikes. A solid coal/rail strike could abolish these anti-strike laws for good!

Joint strike action is not far-fetched, either—in 1978 there was widespread sympathy among workers for the miners in the battle against the Taft-Hartley law. In the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), a class-struggle opposition group, the Militant Caucus, got an enthusiastic response to their call for "hot cargoing" coal. The do-nothing ILWU leadership even felt obliged to pass a motion for a 24-hour solidarity strike, and only last-minute stalling by the International (plus opposition from supporters of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party) managed to head off actual strike action. Similar fights by union militants for solidarity action took place in the Steelworkers, the National Maritime Union and many other unions across the country. The coal miners need not—and *must not*—stand alone!

A Strike with an Anti-Strike Leadership?

"I don't like it any more than you do, brothers," UMWA president Church told a miners' rally in Beckley, West Virginia, moaning that he "had to accept" the takeaways because of a recent Supreme Court ruling against union restrictions on subcontracting. "We have to take it because the courts say it's the law." A miner snapped back, "Strike the Supreme Court"! Miners know better than Church: you can't mine coal with bayonets! Let Taft and Hartley mine the coal!

The real danger to this strike is at the top—Sam Church & Co. All along Sellout Sam has been advertising the possibility of a "no-strike" contract year, even going so far as to suggest violating the principle of "no contract, no work." Then he came in with the BCOA's takeaway contract, announcing a "happy day." And all along he tried to scare the miners with gloomy talk about another long strike if they voted "no." Church is a defeatist, trying to repeat his role of 1977-78, when he ran the union for Arnold Miller, who was forced into hiding to avoid angry miners. Miller's tactic was to wait until the miners were exhausted, then hand them the bosses' contract. Church has been doing the same thing from the get go.

In an unusual provocation, the bosses of the BCOA have tried to intervene on Church's side. BCOA spokesman B.R. Brown taunted: "The majority of the miners voting apparently chose to listen to dissidents who were not involved in the bargaining process and who, for whatever reason, misrepresented the agreement and assured its defeat." By what right does this mouthpiece for the companies intervene in the UMWA, outrageously baiting the most militant members? Keep the bosses out of union affairs! And Church takes his cue from Brown. With the union president apparently in seclusion, spokesman Eldon Callen remarked, "There appears to have been a major conspiracy to defeat the contract in some of the districts with upcoming elections." Some conspiracy. It had nearly 70,000 participants, about two-thirds of the membership. Next thing you know, Reagan will be calling wildcatters terrorists because the pickets are forced to wear ski masks because of anti-strike rulings! Miners must stand together against this witchhunting of militants.

Class-Struggle Leadership Needed

You can't win a strike if traitors at the top keep stabbing you in the back. Church is not the only one involved—the bargaining council voted 21-14 for the contract. The membership must demand an emergency Special International Convention as provided in the UMWA constitution to elect a new leadership and bargaining council which reflect the sentiments of the rank and file. Such a convention should also send an official UMWA delegation to appeal in person to the various railroad unions for a joint strike. At the same time, locals must elect strike committees to take charge of the strike; these committees must link up at emergency district meetings to ensure a militant and coordinated strike strategy and a new, elected bargaining council.

There have been too many "reformers" in the UMWA who have stood for nothing but opposition to the previous incumbents. One-time "dissidents" like Jack Perry and Tommy Gaston (presidents of Districts 17 and 23 respectively) were actually installed at the suggestion of the Labor Department in the last strike—and were instrumental in negotiating a defeat for the union. If you're up against the BCOA, the White House and Sellout Sam, you need a class-struggle program and leadership to win. And that means fighting politically as well. One miner at the UMWA's March 9 march on Washington carried a sign lamenting: "America, I'm sorry I voted for Reagan." But the miners' cause will not be served by putting back those phony "friends of labor," the Democratic Party of Jimmy "Taft-Hartley" Carter. UMWA militants must call for a break with *both* capitalist parties and for building a workers party, which would demand expropriation without compensation of the profiteering energy trusts and fight for a workers government. The bosses will fight this politically, and so must any union leadership that aims to *win*! ■

Report from the Coal Fields

They Voted With Their Matchbooks

When Sam Church arrived at the Pittsburgh airport March 26, the UMWA president was smiling. Church told reporters, "I'm not out to try to sell the contract because I think when you look at the overall package it's going to sell itself." But after being badgered by angry miners in six states during the next five days, "Sellout Sam" wasn't smiling any more. With four-fifths of the vote in, the reported count was 31,467 "yes" and a resounding 61,977 "no." The big business press couldn't believe the vote. Workers Vanguard *stood on the side of the union ranks: "Miners, Strike to Win Big!" was our headline. And strike they did, in spite of their backstabbing union leadership. During the ratification battle,* WV *reporter Mark Lance was on the scene in the Pennsylvania and West Virginia coal fields. Here are some pages from his* Reporter's Notebook:

Thursday, March 26, 11:30 p.m.: At the U.S. Steel Corporation's Robena Mine near Greensboro, Pennsylvania.

Half an hour before the deadline, soot-covered, grim-faced miners began walking out of the elevator and into the bathhouse. Church came to this captive mine not far from the West Virginia line to drum up support from the hoot-owl shift. Plenty of miners were already on hand to confront the UMWA president when he arrived around 11:00. "You're not going to get everything you asked for in a contract," Church said. "Get us *something!*" a miner shot back. What about layoffs, fringe benefits, job assignments and sick days? "Take it back," one shouted. "I don't like it," a local official told me. "We sent 57 priorities down to the International from this local for the new wage agreement. We got one out of 57." A heltman added, "They're going to cut back our work days. If they can go out and buy the coal cheaper from a scab mine they're going to do it. What's that $3.30 over three years going to do for me if I'm working two days a week?"

Friday, March 27: On the road.

Church moved into Morgantown and Fairmont, West Virginia early today. This afternoon he was expected at Dille's Bottom, Ohio for a contract briefing of local officers from across District 6. According to one official, "They were waiting for him down there. Oh Christ, they had tomatoes, rotten eggs, all kinds of stuff. They already had signs all posted up on the road." Apparently Church was forewarned because he skipped Ohio altogether, and appeared only in Wheeling for a radio talk show. The station was picketed by 150 miners who pounded on his car yelling "sellout, sellout!" Meanwhile in Uniontown, site of the recent labor-based anti-KKK rally, officials from all the locals in District 4 got their first close look at the contract. At the end of a nearly eight-hour meeting a formal vote was taken on the contract. Not one local official would back it, not even "Fudge" Suba, who was on the negotiating team. In Charleston, District 17's local officers were even more incensed. Half the officials left the meeting early in disgust. Before departing they set bundles of contracts on fire on the steps of the Municipal Auditorium.

Saturday, March 28: Nemacolin, Pennsylvania.

Three hundred miners attended the Local 6290 (Jones & Laughlin Steel) contract briefing. Forty-five minutes after most of the ranks had left, an International representative strolled in, grinning like a Cheshire cat, and announced that he was there to promote the contract. A few miners wondered why Church's rep hadn't shown up on time, some five hours earlier. "My bulletproof vest is at the cleaners." Church's man pointed to the "economic package." "It stinks," was the immediate answer. His defense? "It's better than the one at Chrysler." Well, that's not saying much. In Logan, West Virginia, a militant center of opposition to Arnold Miller's 1978 sellout, the meetings were the same, only shorter. One local voted to go home on page two. Another wouldn't even listen to page one.

Sunday, March 29: Charleston, West Virginia.

Church's only "appearance" today was on WCHS radio, where he took calls from across the coal fields. The callers were civil but overwhelmingly opposed. Health benefit cutbacks, no COLA, inadequate safety: all came under attack. But the surrender to non-union coal was the most common target. Church repeatedly "explained" that many operators were either refusing to pay the royalties or were avoiding them by buying coal through surrogate companies. Thus, Church claimed, the UMWA wasn't giving up anything anyway, and no union jobs will be jeopardized. No? One caller asked, "Why did the BCOA want the non-signatory coal [royalties] out of the contract if they didn't have plans to run non-union coal through the preparation plants?" That one was never answered.

Monday, March 30: Charleston and Beckley, West Virginia.

Only about 75 miners from District 17 showed up at Charleston's Municipal Auditorium this morning, and those that came were not happy about the contract. As Church posed for photographers one miner yelled, "Smile, Sam. You're going to be crying tomorrow."

WV Photo

Miners head out for a bitter strike.

About 500 District 29 miners met in the Armory in Beckley this afternoon as the UMWA president wrapped up his stormy coal field tour. At the end of his presentation Church tacked on the BCOA's bribe for going back to work: no insurance payment would be missed for the days lost to the strike so far, and the April 1 holiday would be paid. No one was biting. The biggest ovation was reserved for the man who said, "You've asked us to take money for our union rights. I'm a union man and I'll die a union man and I'll not give up my union rights for $200 a day."

Tuesday, March 31: Logan, West Virginia.

Today the miners voted, and the totals, phoned in to Washington, are beginning to filter back to the ranks. The "no" vote is overwhelming. Here in District 17 the count was 12,209 "no" against 1,812 "yes." Nationally the count is 2 to 1 to strike. This afternoon 200 pickets shut down a scab mine in Mingo County. Miners know the BCOA has four months of coal on the ground and even the bitterly fought 110-day strike three years ago did not bring a victory. The question, "How are we going to win?" is on everyone's mind.

Wednesday, April 1: Masontown, Pennsylvania.

More than 500 miners and their families braved heavy rain to celebrate Mitchell Day in Masontown this morning. The Mine Workers' holiday marks the 83rd anniversary of winning the eight-hour day, a struggle which was led by John Mitchell, the first UMWA president. The parade included contingents from several UMWA locals marching with their insignias as well as fire trucks, floats, antique cars, scout troops and the like. Conspicuously absent, however, was scheduled keynote speaker Sam Church. A marcher's homemade sign read, "Sam sold our souls for a lump of scab coal." The celebration continued after the parade. There the talk was mainly of the strike ahead. "We've got to go on the offensive," a miner stated. "It means shutting every non-union mine in Kentucky. It means going to other unions."

As the strike slowly began to pick up steam, pickets struck scab mines in southern West Virginia again, an area which is certain to be a hot spot in this strike. Scab mines in Ohio and Harlan, Kentucky have been hit, too. Virginia governor John Dalton has already sent a large contingent of state troopers into the coal fields. But the UMWA leadership is singing the same tune as BCOA negotiator Brown. "There appears to have been a major conspiracy to defeat the contract in some of the districts with upcoming elections," said union spokesman Callen. "I'm proud to be in that conspiracy of 70,000," a Logan militant told *WV*. ■

WV Photo

President of Robena, Pennsylvania local (left) votes with a cigarette lighter.

Mayor Byrne's Racist Stunt

CHICAGO—Cabrini Green is Chicago's largest and most hellish ghetto public housing project. It is a place where 77 percent of the residents are single mothers receiving ADC (welfare), where families with no money and no hope are crammed into cell-like apartments and stacked in filthy high-rises with non-working elevators and unemptied garbage chutes. The people living there probably thought things couldn't get worse. They were wrong. They didn't reckon with "Crazy Jane" Byrne.

Most of the 14,000 residents of Cabrini Green can't even afford the $25-$100 per month rent. They have little hope for a decent job and are at the mercy of lumpen crime. During the last year violence in the project escalated sharply as two black gangs battled for control of the area's drug and prostitution trade. Warfare between the Black Gangster Disciples and the Cobra Stones (the latter an offshoot, several times removed, of the famous Blackstone Rangers) has been blamed for 11 murders at the project just since the beginning of 1981.

Enter Jane Byrne, mayor of Chicago. On March 21 Byrne announced that she herself was moving into the project, part-time, to end the violence and "study the lifestyle" there. It looked like merely a grotesque publicity stunt designed to counter the mayor's burgeoning unpopularity. But this is deeply racist America, and her "stunt" got very ugly, very fast.

First Mayor Byrne declared that 800 families were "harboring parolees who are gang members" and would be evicted from Cabrini Green. When evictions began it turned out that the victims were actually families behind on the rent, tenants unpopular with building managers, residents whose impoverished relatives were "illegally" staying with them, or people whose children had been arrested for possession of marijuana.

On March 26 gangs of sheriff's deputies descended without warning to dump the furniture of the first 23 families outside in the mud. "They're just throwing people's things in the street like it's nothing," cried a watching neighbor. "They're treating people like they're dogs. I thought Mayor Byrne was coming here to make sure people were going to be treated right" (*Chicago Defender*, 28 March).

Byrne's next move was a blitzkrieg dawn raid by an army of policemen who kicked in apartment doors in a search for "illegal gang weapons" and "squatters." The gangs, of course, had been tipped off and a search turned up two daggers, some drug paraphernalia and a stray dog trapped in an empty apartment. (As a black alderman remarked, "A search of the Chicago City Council would yield more than that.") But Mayor Byrne rewarded her army of 150 police thugs with a $50 bonus anyway.

Now, in South African-style harassment, residents are routinely intimidated and frisked while going about their daily business. Dozens have been arrested on loitering charges simply for gawking at the swarming policemen (this in a project where police would not go under any circumstance even one month ago). To top it off, Byrne has hired Major General Michael Healy, recently retired head of the Green Berets, to run security at Cabrini Green and show them what life in a strategic hamlet is really like. (*Apocalypse Now*: "I love the smell of napalm in the morning....")

What's behind this sudden fury over a ghetto housing project which was left to fester for decades? Byrne certainly needed the publicity gimmick to assuage black anger over her recent appointment of two anti-busing white racists to replace two blacks on the School Board. But underlying the mayor's conception is the notion of "self help," which blames the residents for the miserable poverty in which they are forced to live their lives. Beyond that, Cabrini Green is just in the "wrong" part of Chicago. It's right on the edge of the "Gold Coast," where the city's bourgeoisie and wealthy professionals live. It's only ten blocks from the mayor's real residence, a luxury lake-front high-rise—so close she was able to watch her Gestapo-style "weapons search" from the comfort of home through a pair of binoculars!

The impoverished all-black housing project makes for problems in gerrymandering school districts and brings down property values. "It blocks the westward expansion of Old Town," said the *Chicago Tribune* (2 April). Now Byrne talks about "dedensifying" Cabrini Green by freezing rentals of the 250 vacant apartments, busting down the walls to double the size of each unit (and incidentally throwing half the residents out) and perhaps even converting the buildings to condominiums! If none of this works the city may well simply level the project and sell off the land.

The violence at Cabrini Green also makes a handy issue to further Byrne's crusade for handgun "control" in the city. Who is this crusade really aimed at? The gangs will always get their guns—on the black market or from their friends on the police force. Byrne wants to prevent the *victims* from defending themselves from the terror of the criminals *and* the cops, the sanctioned killers of the racist, capitalist state.

Some black Chicagoans still welcome Byrne's move on the grounds that anything is an improvement. Of course the cops are going to protect Jane Byrne. But as soon as she leaves, all the fear and violence will start all over again. With no jobs and no future, many black ghetto youth steal and victimize to survive. The bourgeoisie's "answer" to ghetto crime is just more racist repression. Only socialist revolution can eliminate the want and oppression which breeds lumpenization.

Where will the hundreds of evicted families go? When you're thrown out of Cabrini Green, the last dumping ground for the people society forgot, there's no place left. The only result of the mayor's racist stunts, and all the liberal "gentrification" schemes is to throw more people out on the streets and create more slums. Forcibly segregated at the bottom of American society, last-hired, first-fired and ghettoized, the worsening conditions of the oppressed black masses are deeply rooted in this racist capitalist system.

Ghetto crime is real—but to eliminate it you have to eliminate the conditions which breed it. Socialists demand an end to segregated housing with high-quality low-income housing projects spread *throughout* Chicago *and* the surrounding lily-white suburbs. Part of the struggle for socialist revolution is the recruitment of minorities in the ghetto into union-run training programs and the fight for jobs for all through a shorter work week at no loss in pay. Stop the evictions and harassment at Cabrini Green! ■

Eyewitness to Betrayal...

(continued from page 7)

tions in February and March, which led to even further defections from these "moderate" groups. For instance, the Christian Democratic party split in March, after a series of assassinations of key Christian Democratic leaders. Part of the party, the Popular Tendency, split taking with them a couple of ministers. In March you have the assassination of the Christian Democratic solicitor-general; the assassination of one of the UDN leaders and his wife, a Danish citizen; the assassination of the founder of FAPU; the assassination of eleven high school students who were holding a meeting in San Miguel in their high school rooms, surrounded by tanks and heavy implements and just blown out of the classroom; and then, of course, the March 24 assassination of Romero.

So finally, in April of 1980, these dissident Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats represented by Ungo, and some of the other more "moderate" groups, decided to make a coalition with this Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses that had already been formed, and this new coalition was to be called the Frente Democrático Revolucionario, the FDR.

WV: I have two final questions. Firstly, how would you think that the workers and peasants are beginning to feel about the leaders of the FDR, insofar as there can be any evidence that military victory is being treated as an illusory ideal. And also how are they beginning to feel in regard to the Nicaraguans and the Soviets?

Janota: Of course, the Sandinistas made a big impression in Salvador. And it was evident to most working people that they had much in common with the Sandinistas, that they were kind of brothers in revolution. So there was widespread support for what was happening in Nicaragua. And also the realization that similar conditions existed in Salvador and that a similar solution was going to be called for. I think now you have the Salvadorans seeing that it's coming up to a question of either defeating the military and the oligarchy militarily, or basically giving up the whole hope of change. I think people realize now that there won't be a compromise, there won't be a deal that will work in Salvador because the situation is so polarized right now.

Talking about last year, I think that most of the popular support is with these left-wing groups—the BPR, the LP-28, FAPU. I think there is a suspicion of the bourgeois leaders like Ungo and so forth who have kind of tacked themselves on to this movement belatedly. I think, they can very well see that Ungo represents another class. So you have a case where the leadership of the FDR really is, I would say, out of touch with the realities of the working-class person or the peasant in Salvador. They are the ones who want to see some change in their lives, their daily lives. And during the first coalition cabinet they already had a chance to see what Ungo and the others could do. And they have proven themselves unable to control the military.

So I think there's probably a skepticism about what the FDR is going to be able to do for the average working person. For instance, if the rebels were victorious there would almost certainly be another conflict within the FDR itself as the more radical members, basically the guerrillas, saying, "Well, we fought for certain basic structural changes, and we must have them." And so far, the leadership of the FDR keep hedging around making these basic and far-reaching changes in the social structure. There are divisions now, and I think that if they were victorious, those divisions would even be more serious.

WV: Which is precisely why the leaders of the FDR prefer not to be victorious. And I think one important point is that you yourself did not understand the pattern of the FDR until you actually began to read *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*.

Janota: Right. As I was saying, probably up until November of last year I was the FDR supporter feeling that well, this was a broad coalition of opposition groups that perhaps had some chance of marshaling international public opinion in favor of the revolution. And also in unifying the left opposition. As I've read more and as I've looked closer at the FDR platform, for example, and have read more about popular front experiments in the past, I've been seeing that the average working person—their interests are not in this kind of arrangement in a popular front coalition, because their interest will always be subverted to the interest of the capitalist class as long as this popular front insists on placating the capitalist interests.

There's a great deal of turmoil in Salvador and there has been for the last couple of years. There have been movements, occupations of estates, occupations of factories. The peasants want to have land and the workers want to have greater control of the working place. These are basic desires of the people. If the FDR were to come to power, they would have to find a way to bring these movements under control because they aren't willing to allow them a free rein. I think there would be again the possibility of even the FDR cracking down on its own former supporters among the working class and peasantry. They aren't willing to carry out the basic changes of the socialist revolution that must be made there.

WV: Thank you very much, Tom. ■

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Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

membership in the high school Spanish Club and Rodeo Club are duly noted, does the reader learn that he is a Hitler lover. Instead, the press has focused on Hinckley's fantasized relationship and obsession with movie actress Jodie Foster, whose fame rests with her portrayal of the 12-year-old prostitute in Martin Scorsese's film, *Taxi Driver*.

Except for his wealthy family background, Hinckley doesn't seem much different from many of the creeps who organize race terror, burning crosses in New England, painting swastikas on synagogues in Los Angeles, lynching in Alabama. Hinckley is called an "ex-Nazi." Why "ex"? He seems to have gone around to various places and groups looking for fascist terrorist action. Harold Covington, führer of the North Carolina-based Nazi group—the one involved in the Greensboro massacre—admitted that Hinckley was one of his brownshirts for about a year.

Michael Allen, the Chicago Nazi, "disowns" Hinckley with the statement that "the Nazis have nothing against Ronald Reagan. We like most of what he's doing" (*Guardian*, 8 April). Allen remembers Hinckley going to St. Louis to take part in an armed provocation there celebrating George Lincoln Rockwell's birthday. The Nazis were run out by several thousand anti-Nazi demonstrators. "He liked being a storm trooper," remembered Allen. But according to Allen, the other Nazis thought Hinckley might be an undercover agent for the government so they expelled him in 1979.

Despite the fact that Hinckley is a Nazi, the ruling class is trying to get what it can from the assassination attempt. First and foremost, there is the cry for "law and order." Strom Thurmond interrupted his campaign for repeal of the Voting Rights Act to demand that presidential assassination be made a capital crime. The U.S. already has a *lèse majesté* law for presidents. The maniacal Squeaky Fromme, who only pointed a gun at Gerald Ford, and deranged "mom" Sara Jane Moore are spending their lives in prison. Now there are calls to unleash the FBI/CIA (when were the secret police ever "leashed"?). In these Cold War days, when "terrorism" has replaced "human rights" as the code word for the imperialists' anti-Soviet war drive, they will no doubt rack their brains looking for a "Russian Connection." But this time they've got a certifiable fascist terrorist on their hands. Nevertheless the targets of the secret police tomorrow will be the same as yesterday: the left, militants, blacks and workers.

Consider the case of John Hinckley and the Secret Service. Hinckley was arrested and fined in Nashville in 1979 for weapons' possession, carrying three guns when President Carter was in town. This didn't get Hinckley onto the Secret Service's list of the top 400 potential presidential assassins, however. Nor did he appear on the bigger S.S. computer list of 25,000 names. Who *is* on that list if Nazi killers are not? When Jimmy Carter wanted an appreciative audience for his "let 'em walk" energy speech at the CWA convention in Detroit in 1979, the Secret Service grabbed elected union convention delegate Jane Margolis and dragged her off the floor. The Secret Service was later forced to make a written apology and cash award for this blatant political censorship.

For Reagan and the Republicans, the shooting produced a wave of sympathy they hope to translate into support for the budget cuts. The timing is fortuitous as Reagan's popularity had plunged to the lowest-ever for a newly elected president. Meanwhile, the liberals are spinning nauseating variations on the theme of Violent America. After each assassination attempt, the gun control lobby blames so-called easy access to handguns for violence. This campaign will never stop types like Hinckley and all the other criminals from obtaining weapons. Gun control aims at an absolute monopoly of the means of violence in the hands of the capitalist state, while making it a crime for the citizenry to defend itself.

And now with staggering hypocrisy the U.S. government preaches against assassination. These are the same men who admit trying to assassinate Castro no less than eight times! They embrace political terrorism except when it's directed at the office of their "elected monarch." U.S. imperialism—which bombed Vietnam into a moonscape of death and destruction, organized personal torture and terror of tens of thousands and today backs every right-wing torture regime from South Korea to South Africa to El Salvador—cries for a world without violence. But when the U.S. rulers promise to reduce violence, this only means more killer cops and more secret police with even fewer civilian checks.

UPI

Nazi provocation in St. Louis, March 1978: Hinckley and the Hitler-lovers were run off the streets.

"Control C'est Moi"

Perhaps the most interesting note in the entire assassination business is that it was not Ronald Reagan but Alexander Haig who was brought to political center stage. Over Reagan's wounded body, the secretary-on-horseback made a reach for power that scared nearly everybody. In the tradition of "responsible" bourgeois journalism (the kind of responsibility that kept them from printing stories about preparations for the Bay of Pigs for months), the *New York Times* is trying to play it down, referring coyly to the secretary "misspeaking himself." But the *Wall Street Journal*, whose big business readers have an interest in knowing what's really going on, gave a detailed account of the stormy confrontations behind the scenes.

Shortly after 4 p.m. while Reagan was on the operating table and George Bush was flying in from Texas, Haig rushed to the White House. Without consulting anybody he stood before reporters and the peak TV audience looking like no one so much as General James Mattoon Scott from the movie *Seven Days in May* and announced: "I am in control." Reaching into his fantasy life a little he positioned himself as third in the line of presidential succession. Not so fast, general. First of all, the president wasn't dying. Secondly, Bush was in a plane with a sophisticated communications apparatus. And, as even high school civics students know, Haig is not third in line to succeed the president (the Speaker of the House and President Pro Tem of the Senate come before him).

While on camera, Haig assured the public that no military "alert" was on or even "contemplated." He then went to the Situation Room, where he directed Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger to make military posture conform to his surprise statement. Cap the Knife," however, informed Haig that military "alert" measures had already been taken. According to "some accounts" of the situation in the Situation Room, Haig and Weinberger broke out into "a shouting match, mainly over the issue of who would be in charge" (*Wall Street Journal*, 2 May). In the flare-up, readying nuclear missiles and programming SAC bombers for "go" became a game of one-downmanship for the Reagan team. It was a game that Haig lost again. By early evening it was announced that on military matters Weinberger outranked Haig.

The Haig performance of naked power hunger on the day of the assassination attempt came on the heels of his crisis over the "crisis" management team. He lost that battle to George Bush and the White House staff. Since inauguration day, Haig, who was advertised as a tough bureaucratic infighter, has shown himself to be brittle and not very smart. In response to the choice of Bush for "crisis manager," the Captain Queeg at State reputedly threatened to quit eight or nine times, blaming everybody in sight without benefit of ball bearings. Slapped down by Reagan and the Meeses, Haig has demonstrated that he does not have himself in control. Such men are extremely dangerous.

The real problem Haig poses for Reagan is not one of policy. There is bipartisan consensus on the anti-Soviet war drive. Haig is scary because he expresses openly what Reagan likes to hide behind a style of boardroom humor: an undisguised desire to run the world, an unbridled ideological zeal that is too primitive for public credibility. For instance, Haig recently alibied the military junta in El Salvador, whose troops raped and murdered four American missionaries, claiming the nuns were probably running roadblocks, presumably trying to run down innocent right-wing murderers.

On the day that a Nazi took a shot at the president, amid the calls for "law and order," and the moaning over "senseless violence," the U.S. public got a glimpse of the political personality of the men who are driving toward the greatest mass violence in history—World War III. ■

Build Anti-Imperialist Contingent...

(continued from page 12)

fight to defeat it, between class collaboration and class struggle. Genuine anti-imperialist militants must be for Salvadoran left-wing rebels getting as many guns as they can, wherever they can, certainly, if they can, from the treacherous and reluctant Soviet bloc. Revolutionaries say: No popular-front illusions—Break with the bourgeoisie! The only way to sweep out the murderous generals and their death squads is through workers revolution.

This is the program for victory in Central America. Yet so desperate are the reformists to avoid any mention of revolution that some of them have resorted to physical violence in a vain attempt to silence the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League. In Los Angeles, they even phoned up their mailing list with the lie that an SL/SYL-initiated demonstration protesting U.S. deportation of Salvadoran refugees, the first ever in the country, had been "canceled." But we will not let such criminal provocations stand in the way of protesting U.S. imperialism's Cold War drive.

May 3 is D-Day. Unless we mobilize in a militant Anti-Imperialist Contingent, the politics that will be heard will be those of the Teddy Kennedys and their cheerleaders. We call upon all those who want to smash the bloody terror of the U.S.-backed Salvadoran junta to march with us on May 3, in Washington and San Francisco, demanding "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!"

March with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent! ■

Campregher/Newsweek

Ungo, center, fronts for junta butchers in 1979—now he heads FDR popular front.

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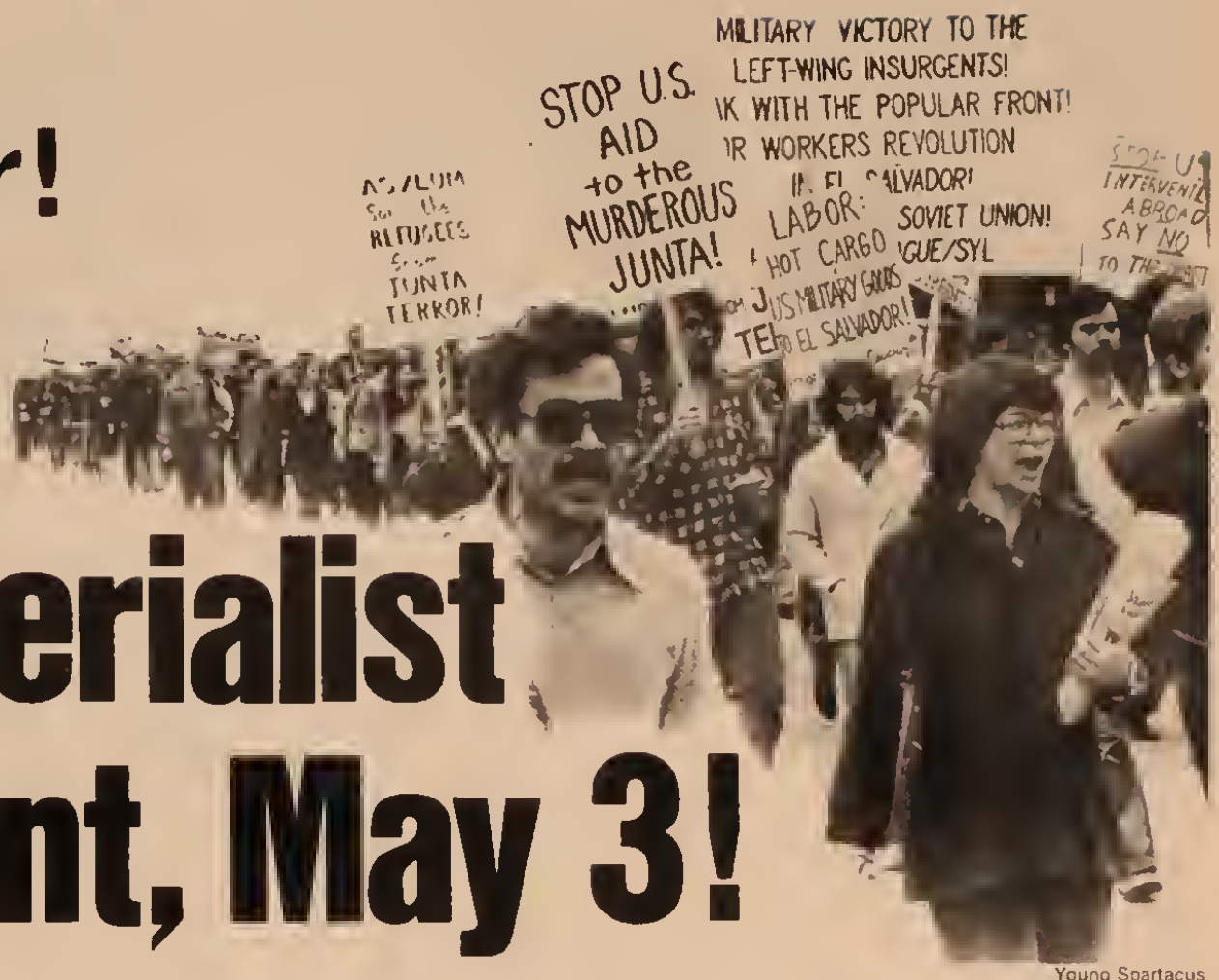

Build the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, May 3!

Young Spartacus

A bloody civil war is raging in El Salvador. Nicaragua is threatened with counterrevolutionary invasion. Reagan has proclaimed Central America the front line of his anti-Soviet Cold War. **Which side are you on?**

The U.S. sends Huey helicopters and Green Beret "advisers" to prop up the junta, threatens military blockade of Cuba, rattles nuclear missiles over Poland. But seeking to placate imperialist liberals like Kennedy, **reformist organizers of El Salvador protests refuse to side with the Salvadoran rebels.**

A militant protest is needed NOW against the imperialist war drive! The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League are calling for an Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march on May 3 in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco for the demands: **Stop all aid, military and economic, to the Salvadoran junta! U.S./OAS hands off Central America! Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!**

Ronald Reagan and General Haig have a side. They back the murderous junta and anti-communist death squads who slaughtered more than 12,000 Salvadorans last year. Haig even excuses the murder of four American nuns in order to justify U.S. support to a gang of blood-crazed despots. All in the service of the imperialist crusade against "Soviet terrorism." **Reagan and Haig stand by their butchers.**

We must take a side, too. It is not enough to demand no American intervention. Self-determination, the liberals' slogan, is not the issue. We want the leftist insurgents to *win* the civil war, to *defeat* the military junta and its imperialist godfathers. **Anti-imperialist militants must back to the hilt the struggle of the Salvadoran workers and peasants against their oppressors.**

Reagan/Haig have targeted Central America for a "showdown" in their anti-Soviet war drive. The U.S. imperialists have their own hit list: from Nicaragua and Afghanistan to Cuba, Poland, the USSR. Their ultimate aim is to reverse the gains of the October Revolution, posing the threat of irradiated barbarism in a nuclear World War III.

Lessons of Vietnam

There's a lot of talk of a "new Vietnam" in Central America. This phrase means different things to different people. For Reagan, imperialism's dirty war in Southeast Asia was a "noble cause." He wants to get even for the humiliating defeat inflicted by the Indochinese (and the Soviets) by drowning the Central American masses in blood.

For the liberals, Vietnam was above all a *losing* imperialist war, and they're afraid of going under with another tinpot dictatorship. Their program: the same phony CIA land reform that was called "pacification" in Indochina. In El Salvador it's called "reform by death." Don't forget: the liberals brought you the Bay of Pigs and the Gulf of Tonkin!

The reformists see a "new Vietnam" as the excuse for reviving their coalition with the Democratic "doves." Yesterday, Gene McCarthy and Vance Hartke. Today, Teddy Kennedy and Carter's ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White. The reformists climbed aboard the handwagon of bourgeois defeatism over Vietnam. But you don't get bourgeois defeatism unless the bourgeoisie is getting defeated!

They claim that the popular front of "peace" Democrats and pacifist leftists "won" in Indochina. No. Everything that was won in Vietnam was won on the battlefield. When the U.S. army was forced to withdraw in 1973 the "anti-war" movement simply collapsed. It took two more years of bloody fighting against the American-backed Thieu dictatorship before the NLF/DRV could take Saigon—with no help from their rad-lib "friends."

In Vietnam the reformists called for "negotiations now" and "bring our boys home." Revolutionaries proclaimed, "All Indochina Must Go Communist," and said that *our* boys over there were the heroic fighters in the Viet Cong. We called for labor political strikes against the war and for a workers party—this was how to mobilize the power of the American proletariat which could stop the imperialists in their tracks.

Then as now, liberal "peace" crawls are futile attempts to pressure imperialism into more "realistic" policies. But the Yankee tiger won't change its stripes. What's needed is hundreds and thousands marching for military victory to left-wing insurgents in El Salvador and the labor movement using its power to stop the Pentagon warmongers and State Department MacArthurs. For labor boycotts of all military goods to the junta! **The real lesson of Vietnam is that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home!**

Why an Anti-Imperialist Contingent?

The May 3 march on Washington called by the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) and May 3 Coalition *refuses to take a side* in the Salvadoran civil war and carefully avoids even mentioning the word "imperialism." Instead, with classic reformist "butter not guns" rhetoric they call for nothing but a change in U.S. priorities. The central slogan of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), one of the main organizers of the May 3 rally, is "self-determination." So if the junta slaughters thousands by itself, it's no concern of these reformists and liberals!

The program of PAM and CISPES is the program of the imperialist liberals. They support a Congressional bill cutting off *military* aid to the junta, but not the far larger "economic" aid which keeps the bankrupt regime afloat. They talk only of "self-determination" so they can make a political bloc with Teddy Kennedy, who denounces military support "from Communist and other radical states to the insurgent forces." They call for a "political solution" in El Salvador, which means appealing to the imperialist soft cops to broker a deal with the junta murderers.

There is a fundamental political contradiction within the El Salvador protests between those who want to pressure imperialism and those who

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Interview

Eyewitness to Betrayal in El Salvador

PAGE SIX

Join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent May 3!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 279

24 April 1981

Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!

Alfonso Rojo

For Workers Revolution!

APRIL 21—While screaming bloody murder about "Soviet terrorism" in Central America, the Reagan administration's campaign of imperialist lies and slander aims at throwing a smokescreen around its own support to the criminal military junta which is presently carrying out a war of extermination against leftist insurgents in El Salvador. The Legal Aid Office of the Archdiocese of San Salvador recently announced that so far this year the government and rightist death squads have assassinated more than 5,000 victims, three-quarters of them peasants and workers. Since January 1, over 200,000 have been left homeless as the rivers of this impoverished land run red with the life's blood of its martyred masses. Reagan/Carter and their butchers have turned El Salvador into a "human rights" house of

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March for Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!

"Leftist Rebels Must Win the War, Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!" On May 3, thousands will march demanding no U.S. intervention in Central America. It's not enough. Reagan has chosen El Salvador as the front line of his red-hot anti-Soviet Cold War. That's the real issue. In response, we must demonstrate our determination to strike a blow against Yankee imperialism and its bloody tinpot dictators.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) call on all opponents of junta terror and imperialist war to march on May 3, in Washington and San Francisco, as part of an Anti-Imperialist Contingent demanding, "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" Join us! It's a matter of revolution or death!

The old miners' strike song says it best: "Which side are you on, boys, which side are you on?" The civil war in El Salvador pits the masses of workers, peasants and the poor against a bloodthirsty oligarchy backed by U.S. imperialism. "There are no neutrals here." It should be a simple choice. Reagan and Haig have their side. They stand by their butchers. Which side are you on?

The stakes are high in El Salvador. Washington has decided to make Central America the "winnable" example of its global plans to "stop Communism." Behind U.S. threats to starve, blockade and bomb Nicaragua, Cuba and the Soviet Union into submission lies imperialism's drive to turn back the clock of history by wiping out the conquests of the October Revolution of 1917.

That is why we proclaim: "The Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

The liberal and reformist organizers of May 3—for all their squabbles over march sites, speakers lists and money—

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A Film Review

"Revolution or Death"

One of the chief myths used by successive U.S. administrations to justify arming the Salvadoran junta is that the government there is formed by "centrist" moderates under attack from "terrorists" not only of the left but of the right. The opening scenes of the film *Revolution or Death* provide direct visual evidence that in El Salvador the bloodthirsty rightist *escuadrones de la muerte* (death squads) are only the junta killers out of uniform.

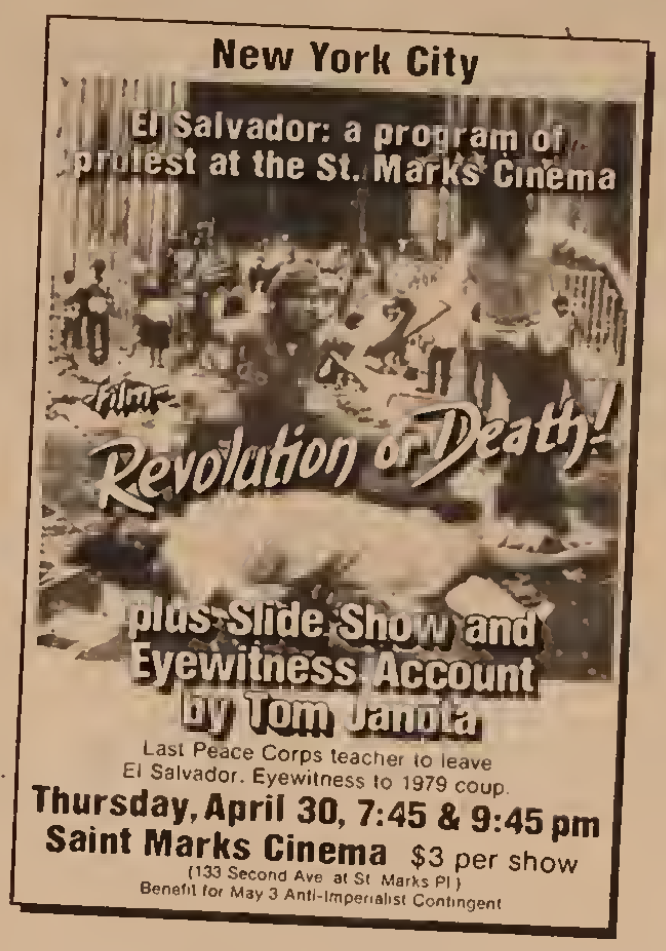
On the sound track the viewer hears a pompous government spokesman call on the population to defend "civic duty" and "our freedom" against "communist threats." On the screen you can see U.S. imperialist-backed "freedom" in action. Men and women are being beaten and dragged into unmarked cars by gun-toting thugs. The cameraman, precariously hidden behind a tree, captures the entire brutal scene. You know the victims will never be seen alive.

The scene shifts. The camera focuses on the headquarters of the National Guard. The floors are strewn with bodies and awash with blood. The victims of the death squads end up here. Gunmen in olive drab and plainclothes strut around nervously, their fingers on the triggers of German G-3 automatic rifles. The camera cuts to a scene of a crowd in panic. It is the funeral of murdered archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero last spring. Rightist assassins are shooting up the crowd. Inside the cathedral corpses litter the aisles. A survivor dips his finger in a pool of fresh blood and writes a slogan on the wall: REVOLUCION O MUERTE!

Revolution or Death is a 45-minute film produced by a Dutch team that went to El Salvador with financing from the World Council of Churches. Interspersing live footage and interviews of key figures on both sides of the civil war in El Salvador, it is an impressive documentary. It is a close-up look at a truly sadistic, mass-murdering regime of military butchers produced under the most dangerous conditions by a talented and courageous film crew.

El Salvador Bleeds

The scenes shown in *Revolution or Death* cover a period from the fall of 1979 through the spring of 1980, a period in which the State Department-authored "reform junta," which succeeded the dictatorship of General Carlos Humberto Romero, split between military hardliners and "moderate" reformists and in which the opposition Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) came together. The film is in political solidarity with the popular-front FDR, an alliance of guerrilla leftists and opposition capitalist politicians. But the explicit politics of the FDR in the film are overwhelmed by the eye of the camera. In fact, the power of recorded truth tends to undercut the FDR's advocacy of a peaceful negotiated compromise in a country where the alternatives are truly revolution or death.



The camera takes the viewer to one of the key moments in the development of the opposition: the giant 22 January 1980 protest march in San Salvador commemorating the anniversary of the 1932 *matanza* (massacre) in El Salvador, a failed Communist-led revolt crushed at the cost of 30,000 lives. The march was backed by the newly-united leftist front and brought an estimated 200,000 people into the streets. You see the huge crowd pour into the central square—and then the shooting from the balconies and roofs of the National Palace and bank which dispersed the crowd. You see the corpses on the streets and you are there with the outgunned leftists who try to defend the demonstrators from the unprovoked attack.

The film has several scenes of Guillermo Ungo, a member of the ruling junta who switched sides and now heads the FDR, leading its diplomatic efforts to secure a compromise with the military regime and its new civilian puppet, Napoleón Duarte. It shows Ungo on the balcony of the National Palace in October 1979 together with Colonel Majano, leader of the "Military Youth," as the masses applaud the overthrow of hated dictator Romero. But a dramatic scene of street fighting tells another side of the story. Youthful urban guerrillas, scarves over their faces, stage a fighting retreat before government troops. They are shouting "Down with Colonel Majano!" to the soldiers pursuing them. Ungo's FDR has repeatedly appealed to Majano to join the opposition front. But the young guerrillas shown in *Revolution or Death* were risking their lives against overwhelming odds to overthrow Majano and all the colonels in the bloody-handed junta.

The well-known film *Battle of Chile* documents and glorifies the mobilization of masses of militant workers behind the murderous deadend of the popular front. *Revolution or Death* portrays the desperate struggle of a long-suffering people to survive the reactionary reign of terror. The film is thus utterly convincing on one crucial point: there will be a winner and a loser in this war of extermination. If the junta wins they will hunt down every rebel and rebel sympathizer in every village and every shop and schoolroom. Recalling the massacre of 1932, its slogan today is "a peace of 100,000 dead." *Revolution or Death* makes it clear: it will take workers revolution to avenge the blood of El Salvador! ■

Letter

Independent Gay Movement?

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

I would like to comment on your article in which you headline Gay Activists Alliance's opposition to the right wing anti-porn crusade that is being conducted by some feminists. I am a GAA member and would like to offer my own opinions and perhaps clear up a few items left hazy.

For years GAA has worked with feminist groups and we continue to do so. In fact, gays and feminists are on both sides of the porn issue—some embracing middle class interests, supporting the police "clean up" of Times Square—while others (including GAA) organize to defend black street women, gays and youth who are among the first victims of the "clean up" crusades. So it is very much a class issue, not really one of "gays versus feminists." I'm happy that you see it as a class issue also, and are coming into this fight.

What disturbs me about your article is that you seem to sneer at an independent lesbian/gay movement and think that the Spartacist League should be enough for us. Most left groups (including the SL) devote only a small amount of energy in defense of homosexuals—and none in defense of prostitutes and transvestites. And were it not for the gay movement, would you even consider us at all? Fighting for socialism alone does not ensure us that we won't be in prison camps even after the revolution.

The SWP is a prime example of a "left" organization that once decided it had the one, true road to gay liberation. SWP members within gay rights groups pushed their program to the point that non-SWP members would feel unwelcome. We lost some good people, and in the end the SWP decided it wasn't really into homosexuality after all. Our movement needs all the militant fighters that it can get, not just those who agree with the SWP on Siberia or the RSL on Afghanistan. We can't afford mental masturbation, in my opinion, we must tackle the crap coming down upon us in order to stay alive even one more day. And we won't have our issues pushed to the back of the bus.

Sincerely,
Robert D'Avanzo

WV replies: The Gay Activist Alliance's concern that only autonomous gay organizations can be relied on to guarantee the interests of homosexuals is an expression of the New Left belief that only each oppressed group can liberate itself. Thus, for Robert D'Avanzo an "independent" gay organization is necessary and a vanguard party presumably is not.

But the GAA presents a very narrow and ultimately false conception of "defense of homosexuals." "Gay power" has been proved to be illusory. After a decade of big "gay pride" demonstrations and homosexual candidates getting elected, homosexuals are among the targets of the Moral Majority in Reagan's America. The current crusade against "gay rights" is but one small part of a broad right-wing mobilization, a key aspect of which is the war drive against the Soviet Union. Whether there are mass labor struggles against Reagan's austerity or mass opposition to resurgent militarism will have a far greater effect on the position of homosexuals in this country than the activities of the

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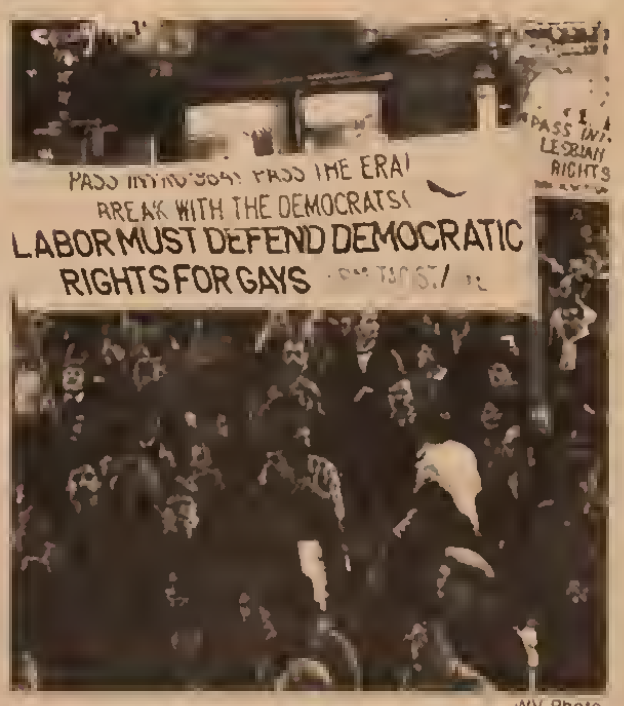

WV Photo

SL demonstrates against Anita Bryant bigotry, NYC, November 1978.

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Reagan Pardons FBI Criminals

Green Light for Secret Police

APRIL 18—With his "full and unconditional" pardon of two convicted FBI criminals last week, Ronald Reagan sent a clear signal to American capitalism's secret police: step up the attacks on the left, blacks and labor movement; load up the black bags and guns, the Watergate is all dried up. The U.S. ruling class figures Carter's "human rights" campaign sufficiently refurbished imperialism's "moral authority" after their dirty, losing Vietnam debacle. So in the name of fighting an "international Communist conspiracy" the Reagan administration has now given its spies and thugs a green light to treat all opponents like faceless, nameless "terrorists"—"wanted dead or alive."

W. Mark Felt, former No. 2 man (acting associate director) in the FBI, and Edward S. Miller, the Bureau's former chief of intelligence, were convicted last November of ordering on at least nine separate occasions "black bag jobs" and "surreptitious entries" into homes of families and acquaintances of members of the Weathermen. The charges—"conspiring to violate the civil rights of Americans"—stemmed from the FBI's "search and destroy" operations in the early 1970s against the radical New Left group.

At the trial, agents testified how teams of FBI men had broken into homes without search warrants, how they went through the mail, how they photographed documents, diaries, love letters in their futile search for the whereabouts of the fugitive antiwar radicals. L. Patrick Gray, acting director of the FBI at the time, was indicted along with Felt and Miller, but charges against him were dropped last December on the grounds that the evidence against him was "unconvincing."

Reagan's act of pardon was reportedly initiated by the White House, not at the request of Felt and Miller. And it came before either had served a day in jail or paid a penny's fine. Indeed the sentence was not in question—last November after their convictions, the federal judge had merely ordered the two to pay small fines, and even these were under appeal. Reagan went right to the heart of the matter—curing the "Vietnam syndrome" as he gears up for World War III. Noting that Jimmy Carter had pardoned thousands of "draft evaders" of the Vietnam era, Reagan proclaimed, "We can be no less generous to two men who acted on high principle to bring an end to the terrorism that was threatening our nation."

UPI White/Chicago Daily News

Black Panther Fred Hampton: Shot in bed by terrorists with state power.

For Reagan American imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam was a "noble cause," and Felt and Miller had served the U.S. with "great distinction." If there are to be symbolic medals for "distinguished service" for Felt and Miller, why not one for service to the Mafia? After all, some of them did their bit in helping the CIA dream up ever more diabolical schemes to assassinate Castro. And the presidential pardon went way beyond the Nazi war criminals' "Nuremburg defense," alleging that the two top-cop criminals "believed" they were only following orders. So why didn't these "law enforcement officials" *refuse* to break their own capitalist laws, just as some high-ranking SS officers rejected orders to liquidate Jews?

The American left, for the first time in a decade, is once more in motion over El Salvador, which many regard as "another Vietnam." Gearing up for a new Cold War effort and anticipating the need for stepped-up repression at home, the U.S. bourgeoisie wants increased authority for its secret political police. In the immediate post-Watergate years FBI agents on routine assignment complained that they might become the next objects of some token "clean-up" operation. No more. Reagan's pardon, said Mark Felt, "is going to be the biggest shot in the arm for the intelligence community for a long time." Miller added that the pardons were "a very fine thing for the present FBI" because they would erase any reluctance that agents might have to "do their job

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San Jose Chicanos Drive Out KKK

APRIL 11—The Ku Klux Klan got a small taste of working-class justice today as nearly 2,000 angry residents literally chased the racist scum out of town. If only the powerful labor movement would take anti-KKK/Nazi action—including labor/black/Chicano defense guards—then the mounting wave of fascist terror in the U.S. could be quickly crushed. As it was, the bosses' police arrested 26 anti-Klan demonstrators while protecting the KKK in retreat! Labor must demand: Drop all charges now!

It was the first time the KKK had dared show their faces in heavily Chicano downtown San Jose. Over a thousand residents were already waiting for them at the site of their scheduled two-hour "recruitment rally" in St. James Park. The moment the 17 white-sheeted KKKers appeared in view flanked by 240 San Jose police in riot gear, the bottles, rocks and full soda cans began to fly. "Supreme Cyclops" Steve Seager was beaned on the head as he raised his bullhorn to speak; his voice was drowned out by the roar of the crowd as it swelled to nearly 2,000.

Within 15 minutes, the cops were forced to hustle the Klan out of the park with the justly enraged crowd at their heels. A *San Jose Mercury* reporter noted, "The Klansmen stripped off their robes and rolled them into bundles as they ran while police, including eight officers on horseback, held back demonstrators." It was clearly not an organized demonstration, but it's a good thing that enough angry San Jose workers were on hand to stop this race-hate provocation from taking place.

Predictably, the reformists who claim to lead the working class did everything to *prevent* this action from happening, for fear of antagonizing the so-called "progressive" capitalist politicians in government. Thus a week earlier, the Communist Party (CP), the Communist Labor Party (CLP) and other "ban-the-Klan" Stalinoids organized a "Coalition Against Racism" to pressure the capitalist government to dispatch the fascists. They presented a petition to the city council with 200 signatures on it demanding the Klan's parade permit be revoked, but Mayor Janet Gray Hayes said the race-terror rally was a matter of "free speech." (So this is what Mayor Hayes means by calling her city "the feminist capital of the U.S."!)

So instead the coalition held a "peaceful, nonconfrontation" rally on the other half of St. James Park complete with monitors who ineffectually tried to keep people away from the Klan rally site. Their own rally drew perhaps a couple of hundred who could loll in the grass in safety only because a couple thousand local residents across the street had other ideas.

Bryant/San Jose Mercury

KKK came to organize race terror, left ducking eggs and cans tossed over the lines of cop protection.

Meanwhile, ministers and local community groups held a "celebration of life" at Kelly Park several miles away, and when Mayor Hayes endorsed this gathering as an "alternative" to anti-Klan demonstrations, the CP bolted their own coalition and followed the mayor's advice to "ignore" the Klan away. Joan Baez entertained the crowd with songs and this wisdom: "If there is a young KKK member who wants to talk to you, let him into your heart...." The role of these liberals and labor reformists is to try to paralyze the working class, but fortunately they failed in San Jose!

The angry crowd contained some representatives of the macho Progressive Labor Party/InCAR and the Mao/Avakian-cultist Revolutionary Communist Party, who usually seek adventurist confrontations ignoring the balance of forces—often courting disaster. Forturately they did not lead this anti-Klan crowd.

By their outrage and determination to drive out the Klan, the thousands of Chicano and other working-class citizens in San Jose showed how to beat the fascists. What is needed is not PL-type bravado, but the social power of the labor movement backed by the masses of blacks, Chicanos and other minorities. We say: for labor/black/Chicano mobilizations to stop fascist terror! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 279 **24 April 1981**

Miners, Railroad Workers: Strike Together!

For a Special UMWA International Convention to Recall Church and the Bargaining Council!

Miners in Virginia vote down Sellout Sam's contract two-to-one.

APRIL 20—As 160,000 coal miners in the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) enter their fourth week on strike, 21 railway unions representing 500,000 rail workers, whose contracts expire this month, will be protesting in Washington April 29 against Reagan's proposed cutbacks in federal subsidies to Amtrak and Conrail. Striking miners and railway workers must unite to demand: No to Reagan's cutbacks in railway subsidies, black lung benefits and social programs for the poor! Smash the anti-strike Taft-Hartley and Railway Labor Acts! What's needed to beat back the government/employer anti-union offensive is the kind of militant labor strike action which built the CIO in the 1930s. *A joint national coal/rail strike would be a powerful one-two punch that could really bust the union busters!*

But UMWA president Sam Church, who negotiated the contract proposal voted down 2-to-1 by the ranks three weeks ago, is still crawling in front of the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). His first yellow-dog deal, which encouraged non-union mines and further threatened the pension fund, could have led to the extinction of the UMWA in a matter of a few years. When the coal bosses finally sat down again with the union they did everything but spit on the UMWA leader. BCOA's chief negotiator Bobby Brown "flatly rejected" the seven major items which Church introduced, and commented later that in voting "no" on March 31 the ranks had "repudiated" their own leader. At the next session on April 17, BCOA negotiators told Church that their previous offer should be resubmitted to the membership. And with that they stalked out.

It is a simple and obvious fact that Church *was* "repudiated" by the UMWA ranks. Yet on April 9 and 10 the International executive board and the bargaining council each presented the treacherous union president with *unanimous* votes of confidence *after* the tentative contract was rejected. (This miserable capitulation was hailed by reformist fakers, like the *Militant* and *Daily World*, in the name of "unity." Uniting with Sellout Sam and the BCOA, that is, not with the ranks in militant class struggle!) This vote can mean only that, just as in 1978, not one among the International or district leaders, including recently elected "dissidents" in several states, can be trusted to come forward with a program to beat the bosses in 1981. It's time for a *special international convention* to *recall the leadership* and elect a new one with a class-struggle program.

While Church sulked in Washington the ranks were mobilizing in the coal fields to shut off scab coal. On April 7 about 200 District 6 miners rallied to protest Ohio Coal Company's continuing operations and, according to one official, half that number made a "show of force" at the mine, resulting in its closure. A local president in southern West Virginia's District 17 told *WV* that pickets are "keeping the mines in this area shut down to the bone." A Pennsylvania miner reported that "so far there's nothing non-union moving," enabling pickets to hit scab operations in Maryland.

But scab coal continues to flow out of non-union mines in Kentucky and elsewhere—by rail, truck and barge—and the operators will use force to keep it moving. Virginia's governor John Dalton, who was elected four years ago with the help of $100,000 in contributions from mine owners, has assigned 240 state troopers to keep the non-union mines operating (*Washington Post*, 17 April). And on April 14 West Virginia police arrested two mine guards from Philpott Coal Corporation on charges of shooting at two UMWA officials outside the union's District 29 office in Beckley. The same day a union field rep in Kentucky's District 30 was shot in the thigh as he and another picket allegedly tried to stop a scab coal truck from entering a mine compound.

For a Joint Coal/Rail Strike!

Some solidarity actions by other unions have already occurred. In the early hours of April 10, miners in Pennsylvania set up a floating picket line on the Monongahela River and the unionized crew of a towboat lashed to Consolidation Coal barges refused to cross it. "They tied the barges up alongside the river," a miner told *WV*. "The guys brought the boat over and they said, 'We won't go through your picket lines'." An official in the Pittsburgh office of the National Maritime Union confirmed to *WV* that "if there are picket lines out there, we as a rule honor that picket line because we have language in the contract not to cross a picket line and we don't want anybody getting hurt." Unfortunately this incident was the exception rather than the rule—real labor solidarity mobilization could stop *all* scab coal!

Solidarity actions by other unions, specifically hot-cargoing *all coal*, are key to victory for the miners. Particularly crucial are the rail unions, whose members will be without contracts by the end of April. The April 29 railroad workers' demonstration in Washington could be the opportunity to organize a joint strike. Miners must elect strike committees to coordinate strike action. And the rail workers, saddled with numerous backstabbing craft union bureaucracies, must take matters into their own hands to smash the anti-strike laws.

The chief obstacle to a mine workers' victory this year is the pro-company UMWA leadership. Church is badly discredited, at least for now, but what's urgently needed are militant leaders with a program to win, including: fully funded pension and medical insurance, no non-union subcontracting or leasing, no probationary period for new miners, a big wage boost with full COLA, and the unlimited right to strike. Otherwise, Church or some other faker will eventually reestablish control over an exhausted and demoralized rank and file. It's time to recall Sellout Sam and his spineless bargaining council!

Three years ago, when Arnold Miller was the most hated man in the coal fields, the Labor Department suggested a crew of "dissidents" (District 12 president Kenny Dawes, District 23 president Tommy Gaston and District 17 president Jack Perry) to push through a giveaway contract. Today Gaston and Perry along with Harrison Combs, the UMWA legal counsel who gave away the miners' health card in 1977, are still members of the negotiating team. And Church, who filled in for Arnold Miller in 1978 when Miller was forced into hiding, has become the union president! This crew negotiated two sellouts in 1978 (the second was accepted only after 110 days of striking) and one already this year. Enough is enough! Oust the union traitors, build a class-struggle leadership! Victory to the UMWA! ■

Militant L.A. Phone Workers Say:

U.S. Hands Off El Salvador!

Campaigning for upcoming delegate elections to this summer's convention of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC) is centering its campaign on U.S. and CWA involvement in El Salvador. The MAC candidates in the Los Angeles area—Barbara Britton, Manuel Delgadillo and Barry Janus—issued a leaflet on April 12 which noted the MAC's planned participation in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the demonstration at the Salvadoran consulate on April 18. The MAC slogans in the demo were: "U.S. Imperialism—Hands Off El Salvador! Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents! Down with Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive! AFL-CIO Break with the AIFLD! Boycott All Military Goods to El Salvador!" The leaflet is excerpted below.

The U.S. means bloody business in El Salvador. Every single union hall was bombed and destroyed. Whole villages have been burned to the ground. 12,000 mostly workers and peasants were slaughtered last year alone. Operating under the cover of the CWA-supported American Institute For Free Labor Development (AIFLD)'s "land reform," the CIA transplanted the Phoenix pacification program from Vietnam to El Salvador.

The war in El Salvador is a civil war. This war pits the workers and impoverished peasants against the coffee barons, the landlords, the right-wing death squads, the military junta, and the U.S. government. The American labor movement has a stake in this fight. We in the Militant Action Caucus call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents. And we call on American labor to take all necessary action to help our class brothers and sisters *win*. The ILWU showed the way when they resolved not to handle military cargo bound for El Salvador. But the military boycott has to be made real on the docks and extended to teamsters and seamen. And if war-crazy Reagan sends in the Marines, labor had better be prepared to strike to stop U.S. military intervention. The

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Workers Vanguard Pamphlet

Here is the true story of the Great Coal Strike of 1978—from the miners' side of the barricades. Not just reporting but hard analysis...and a program for victory!

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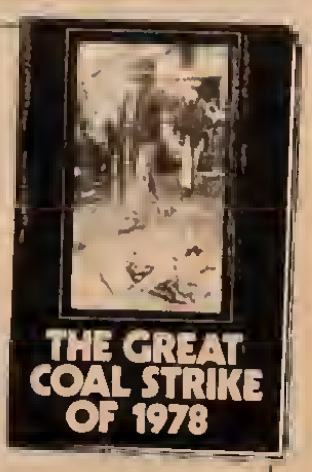

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Salvadoran Insurgents Speak

WV Exclusive

We publish below a recent exclusive Workers Vanguard *interview with Oscar Acevedo and Enrique Guatemala, representatives of the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador.*

WV: Concerning the general offensive which was launched on January 10 of this year, what is the evaluation of this offensive by the FMLN? What aims did you set and what were the results?

Guatemala: The general command of the FMLN has drawn up a balance sheet of the general offensive, and we can say that the results were highly positive. From the beginning what we proposed was a general offensive and not a final offensive, as was suggested many places. Rather it was to be a turning point in the war, marking a qualitative jump in the character of the military action. We also felt it was important to win recognition of our political-military potential at the international level, so that we would be considered as a real alternative within the spectrum of El Salvador. We were able to win international recognition of the dual power which now exists in our country.

There's no doubt that we had an unsurpassed opportunity to undertake insurrectional actions—that is, testing the means of incorporating the masses in military struggle, and also efforts at implementing people's power in the different zones under our control. However, we also have to be self-critical and recognize that there were deficiencies in running the offensive. First of all, for a time it was presented internationally as a "final offensive." Secondly, several political steps such as the strike call, which objectively did not bring about the hoped-for results. After a certain point, a strike can be called in a war situation only if it has the military support of an army. We have to admit that we missed this, or we didn't give it sufficient attention. It's also true that international attention was focused on the big cities like San Salvador, where we couldn't keep up the military action for long. And since the military support had to drop, we couldn't maintain the strike in a situation which would expose the unions to annihilation.

We feel that these measures, and the call for a general insurrection itself, are experiences which we were able to assimilate. As a result we were able to win international recognition as a political alternative. We created a historical contradiction, in that within El Salvador, a country of only 8,000 square miles, there now exist *two* regular armies. That historical contradiction can only be resolved by the victory of one side or the other. Although we don't think the war will be resolved quickly, it can't be long before the conflict in El Salvador points toward a resolution. We feel that the situation is highly favorable to our side. Our forces passed through quite a test of battle. The junta's army failed in its repeated attempts to penetrate the areas we control, despite intense bombardment and even using white phosphorus. Our strategic forces remain intact, and they are now retaking those areas.

WV: With Reagan's intervention in the form of military "advisers" and weapons, the United States government is clearly attempting to implement its own domino policy, if we could call it that, seeking first to smash the leftist forces in El Salvador, then on to Nicaragua, Cuba and so on. What is the response of the FMLN to this?

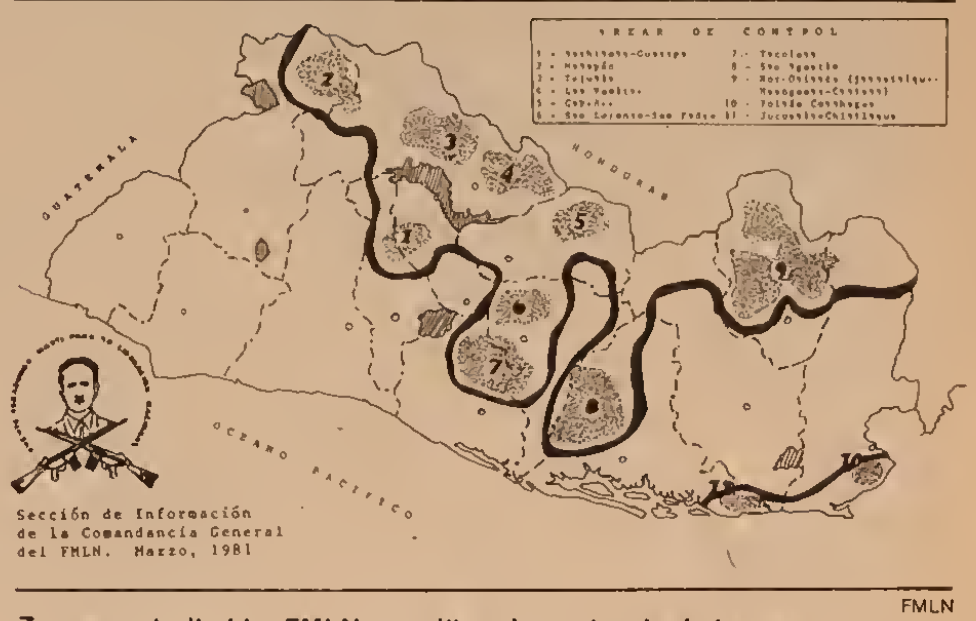
Guatemala: That's exactly why we say that the fundamental objective of Reagan's policy is to once again turn the United States into the gendarme of the world; and to implement a warmongering policy aimed at returning to the worst moments of the Cold War, and even looking toward a hot war. He even tries to arbitrarily present the conflict in El Salvador as an East-West conflict between the powers. "Arbitrarily" because he is fully aware that the Salvadoran situation is not the result of a communist conspiracy nor a conspiracy by the Soviet Union. It is due to the particular conditions of El Salvador, to unjust structures of land ownership and even more to the mistaken U.S. policy of supporting dictatorships and bloody repression in Latin America. Therefore, we feel that at present all peace-loving forces in the world should join together in an anti-interventionist, anti-imperialist front against the warmongering policies of Reagan.

WV: In our view such an "anti-interventionist anti-imperialist front" is impossible. Social-democratic governments in West Europe, above all West Germany, may prefer a policy of détente with the USSR, but fundamentally they line up with the U.S. and the rest of the imperialist countries against the Soviet bloc. They might try to "soften" U.S. policy, but when push comes to shove they will be on the side of Reagan. The same is true of the bourgeois governments of Latin America as well.

Guatemala: Well, such a front doesn't have to have an organic structure. But we think that even if in the final analysis these countries may have common interests with the United States, they can play an important role in holding back imperialism in Latin America. For example, if the U.S. intervenes in El Salvador it will affect all Central America, and for Mexico it wouldn't be at all pleasant to have *two* borders with the U.S., particularly with one border so close to its oil fields.

WV: Reagan has made El Salvador the focus of his Cold War against the Soviet bloc, using accusations that arms are coming from Cuba or the Soviet Union, and threatening to throw a *cordon sanitaire* around Cuba. We think it's necessary to give an answer to this imperialist attack, because it is the axis of Reagan's policies. For our part we've said repeatedly that the Salvadoran insurgents have the right to get arms wherever they can, particularly, if they can get them, from the Soviet bloc. Thus we have raised the demand: "The defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!" That is, Reagan attacks the rebels in El Salvador as a key part of his Cold War policies of attacking the Soviet Union, and we say that while we have very different polities than Moscow, we also have to defend the social conquests there, and also in the case of Cuba. So we would like to know what is your response to Reagan's attack.

Guatemala: In the first place, we feel that Reagan's main objective is to take the world back to the Cold War, and that endangers world peace. The attempt to raise the conflict in El Salvador into an East-West conflict aims at presenting a defeat of our revolutionary forces through military intervention as a military defeat inflicted on the Soviet Union. Thereby they hope to regain the respect and confidence of their international capitalist allies. So we think it is important to raise the banner of non-intervention, and defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution, as well as defense of the Carter-Torrijos Panama Canal treaty, which is a first step toward self-determination for the Panamanian people. We think that this is the time to make the American people understand the negative aspects which Reagan's policies can have for them. It's vitally important to respond to Reagan at the international level, but even more so within the United States.



FMLN

Zones controlled by FMLN guerrillas shown by shaded areas.

WV: As a Trotskyist organization, we fight not simply at the level of general propaganda, but also in the unions, against U.S. threats of blockading Cuba. We have called on the labor movement, particularly maritime and dock workers, to boycott military cargo to El Salvador, and support efforts by class-struggle militants to put this into practice. We have also raised the call for an "Anti-Imperialist Contingent" in the May 3 El Salvador demonstration, with our main slogan being, "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador." In the coming weeks this will be the major concentration of the work of the Spartacist League/U.S., and we would be interested to know your views on what are the tasks facing revolutionaries in the United States.

Guatemala: Fundamentally, their forces should be focused on turning these big demonstrations into demonstrations in support of El Salvador. In Mexico and elsewhere we have called for turning May Day into demonstrations of solidarity with the Salvadoran workers in their struggle against imperialism. At this moment we feel that it is important to concentrate efforts on preventing a massive intervention in El Salvador. This could have different variations, depending on the character of the political forces involved. Without a doubt, revolutionary forces should demonstrate not just for non-intervention, but in support of us. But we won't be able to win other forces to this position, and they should demonstrate against intervention. It is crucial that April and May should be months filled with large-scale actions, because these can be decisive in the development of the war.

Acevedo: And to use these demonstrations so that they receive international coverage, especially in Europe and Latin America, so that they see that solidarity is increasing in the United States. Especially to announce and propagandize the boycott of the dock workers in San Francisco, which has already had a big impact and which could be publicized even more, to show that in the U.S. protests against intervention are mushrooming like those over Vietnam.

WV: There shouldn't be illusions as to the extent at this point. It's a lot lower than Vietnam at the high point. There is a lot of unrest among young people. And sections of the Democratic Party are worried. But as we have pointed out, you have to remember what the Democratic Party is—the imperialist party which brought us the Bay of Pigs and the Gulf of Tonkin. They aren't "peace-loving" in any sense—they're warmongering to the core, but just have a different policy of how to do it.

We would like to ask a final question: there's been a lot of talk about a "political solution" in El Salvador; above all the Socialist International and liberals in the U.S. are talking about this. We've said that obviously any struggle has a political outcome—when you march into the presidential palace, that's a political solution too. But what

continued on page 8

WV Photo

Los Angeles, April 18: Anti-imperialist contingent shames CISPES reformists.

Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!

El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

terror. And it will take nothing less than workers revolution to avenge the grisly tragedy inflicted in the name of defending the "free world" against the spectre of communism.

The most deadly massacre so far in the Salvadoran civil war occurred March 25, when almost 1,500 peasants were buried alive as they sought to flee from government troops into neighboring Honduras. The Latin American Human Rights Association reported this hideous slaughter which occurred at the La Sentada cave in the eastern department of Morazán. Peasant survivors told the Salvadoran leftist broadcasting station Radio Venceremos that 600 old people, 700 women and 150 children were killed when aerial bombardment from U.S.-supplied Huey helicopters and artillery fire hit the cave where they had sought shelter. "Then the Honduran and Salvadoran soldiers began to shoot and launch smoke bombs: the children that went out were massacred by the gunfire." Finally, troops "sealed the cave and left all those who remained to die of suffocation" (*Uno Más Uno* [Mexico], 9 April).

A week earlier, on March 18, a similar incident involving Honduran and Salvadoran troops occurred on the Lempa River in Cabañas department. Leftist guerrillas together with some 8,000 refugees were being encircled by government forces who were systematically burning villages and crops in order to force peasants out of the area. The insurgents tried to break through the net to escape across the border at Lempa River. Many never made it, as soldiers from both countries and gunmen from the fascistic paramilitary ORDEN squads killed at least 50 during the crossing. The Lempa River massacre recalls a similar atrocity last May on the Sumpul River, also along the Honduran border. At that time, some 600 refugees were massacred as they tried to escape the kill-crazy soldiers. These repeated bloodbaths dwarf My Lai in the savagery of the slaughter.

Massacre "Made In USA"

Last week the Defense Department released figures showing that in the first quarter of 1981, the United States poured in far more arms to the Salvadoran generals than it claims were ever delivered by the Soviet bloc to the leftist rebels. From the beginning of the year it reported 343 tons of bombs, bullets, machine guns and other "lethal" military hardware shipped to the murderous junta, compared to the 200 tons alleged by a discredited State Department "White Paper" to come from Cuba, Vietnam and the USSR. This doesn't even include "non-lethal" military aid and the more than 240 million in U.S./IMF "economic" credits scheduled to keep the military dictatorship afloat for the coming year.

But all this firepower has not produced any victories on the battlefield for the government headed by Christian Democratic puppet Napoleón Duarte (known locally as "Bonaduarte"). In Morazán department, government troops can't go more than six miles outside of the provincial capital. In western Chalatenango, the army estimates close to 5,000 guerrillas and supporters in base camps of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), but has been unable to touch them in occasional raids. Junta troops took two weeks to climb to the top of Conchagua volcano in the southeast without inflicting serious casualties on the guerrilla defenders. And on Guazapa volcano, only 20 miles from the capital, army forces are still pinned down half-way up the slope after several *months* of fighting.

In frustration the junta soldiers have been doing the only thing they know how—mercilessly gunning down defenseless peasants and slum-dwellers in an attempt at mass terrorization of the populace. For the most part, the U.S. works hand-in-glove with the junta in the cover-up (denying, for instance, that the Sumpul River, Lempa River and La Sentada massacres ever occurred). One of the few mass murders Washington has confirmed came after a large force of FMLN guerrillas staged a lightning raid on the main Ilopango air force base April 4, getting away without a loss. Two days later the Treasury Police retaliated by dragging 30 men, women and teenagers out of their homes in the working-class suburb of Soyapango, shooting them in cold blood and leaving the bodies strewn along a dirt road. This particular atrocity was hardly exceptional, but this time the U.S. admitted the butchery in order to further its propaganda campaign portraying the junta as "moderates" beset by extremists of both left and right. A State Department spokesman said the Soyapango killings "serve to reinforce our determination to support the centrist government" (*Washington Post*, 10 April).

Meanwhile in Washington, former U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Robert White, now the darling of liberal and reformist protesters, was trying in his own way to excuse the junta (as well as the Carter administration and himself) over the March 1980 assassination of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Romero. White told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee April 9 that he had supplied the State Department with documentary proof, supplied to him by ex-junta member Colonel Adolfo Majano, that rightist death squads led by ex-major Roberto D'Aubuisson were responsible for hiring the gunmen who killed Romero as he celebrated mass in a hospital chapel. But why wasn't this made public earlier? Because at the time they were supporting the murderous junta. These liberals and "social reformers" also have blood on their hands, and share in the blame for Romero's assassination.

New York City, April 18 at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza. WV Photo

Workers Revolution or Death!

With Reagan and Haig vowing to "draw the line" against "Communist subversion" in Central America, and the Salvadoran junta moving steadily to the right ever since being installed by Jimmy Carter in October 1979, it should be clear that all the talk of a "political solution" in El Salvador is dangerous illusion. In February Reagan's State Department refused to meet with representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), the coalition of leftist guerrillas and bourgeois politicians opposing the junta. The FDR, undeterred, sought negotiations through Socialist International president Willy Brandt. When that attempt fell through, the popular-front leaders dropped their insistence that they meet only with "the puppeteer, not the puppets" and indicated their willingness to discuss with civilians (the Christian Democrats) in the junta. The military's answer was to publish a "black list" of 138 names of priests, human rights activists, academics and former junta members labeled "traitors" and thus marked for death.

What kind of "political solution" can there be for the savagely oppressed Salvadoran workers and peasants short of a revolutionary victory over their landlord/capitalist/military class enemies? So long as the bloody officer corps remains intact and a rapacious oligarchy continues to rule the land, the death squads will continue their killing and abysmal poverty will be the fate of the masses in El Salvador. The only ones who stand to gain by an illusory "compromise" are the capitalist politicians (many of them former junta members) who now seek to play games with the buffoon Duarte. Alarmed by the extreme class confrontation in El Salvador, their main concern is to stave off the "threat" of workers revolution.

But for the suffering working masses, this is the only solution. For them the alternatives "Revolution or Death" are the terms of survival—and to win the workers must rule by expropriating all the exploiters. That is why the Trotskyists call not for a bogus bourgeois "political solution" but for *military victory to the leftist insurgents! U.S./OAS hands off El Salvador! Break with the bourgeoisie—For workers revolution throughout Central America!*■

"Military Victory"...

(continued from page 1)

are united in refusing to go beyond the demands of "self-determination" and "U.S. hands off!" Angling for an alliance with the imperialist liberals, they refuse to take a stand for "the enemy." They want *another policy* for American imperialism—"Spend U.S. money in the U.S.," etc. We want to *defeat* it!

All the talk about a "political solution" with a section of the junta, or an "anti-intervention front" of "peace-loving democracies" is suicidal illusion. From FDR's "Good Neighbor Policy" to JFK's "Alliance for Progress" and Carter's "Human Rights," the ravines on the Salvadoran volcano sides have been littered with the victims of five generations of military dictatorship.

In this fight to the death, the only program for survival is for the working masses to win the civil war

continued on page 8

Junta's strategy is to terrorize the population.

Montes/Gamma

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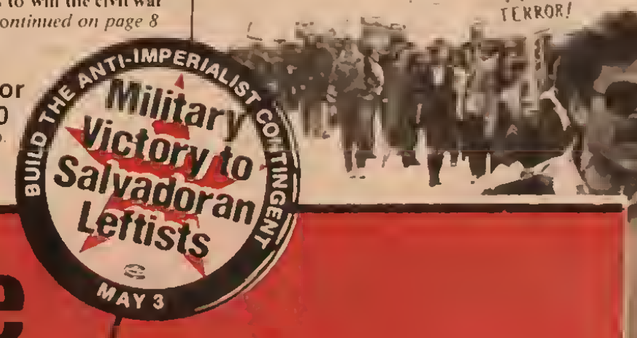

Get on the Bus!

For transportation and information about the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 3 demonstrations, call:

Ann Arbor (313) 994-9313	Cleveland (216) 621-5138	Madison (608) 255-2342
Berkeley/ Oakland (415) 835-1535	Detroit (313) 868-9095	New York (212) 267-1025
Boston (617) 492-3928	Los Angeles (213) 662-1564	San Francisco (415) 863-6963
Chicago (312) 427-0003		Vancouver (604) 681-2422

Look for our banners in Washington and San Francisco!

Tour for the Anti-Imperialist

El Salvador Eyew

- **A report and slide show by Tom Ja teacher to leave El Salvador**
- **A speaker from the Spartacist Leag**

Tom Janota witnessed the October 1979 c junta to power. He saw the "reform by death massacres of worker and peasant protests. T League are sponsoring this tour to build sup the March on the Pentagon May 3. Don't mi against junta terror.

Ann Arbor
University of Michigan
Michigan Union, Keunzler Room
7:30 pm, Wednesday, April 22

Detroit
Wayne State University
Student Center Building, Hillberry C
7:30 pm, Thursday, April 23

Cleveland
St. Alban's Church
2555 Euclid Heights Blvd., Cleveland Heights
7:30 pm, Friday, April 24

Oberlin, Ohio
Oberlin College
Wilder Hall, Room 110
7:30 pm, Sunday, April 26

Boston
Boston University
College of Liberal Arts (CLA),
Room 214
12 noon, Tuesday, April 28

March with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent May 3!

Leftist Insurgents!

WV Photo

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continued on page 8

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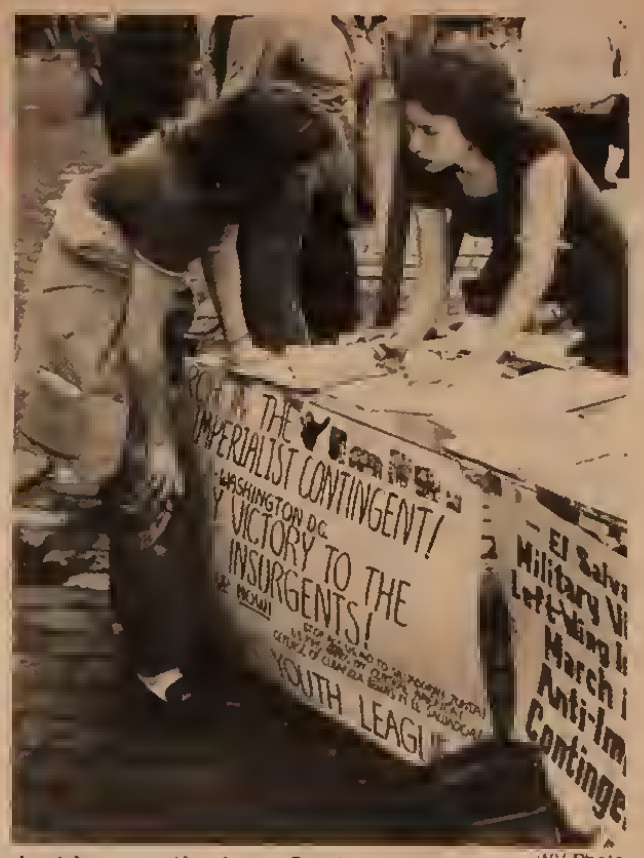

Just hop on the bus, Gus! WV Photo

Tour for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent

El Salvador Eyewitness

- **A report and slide show by Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador**
- **A speaker from the Spartacist League**

Tom Janota witnessed the October 1979 coup which brought the "human rights" junta to power. He saw the "reform by death" pacification program and brutal massacres of worker and peasant protests. The Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League are sponsoring this tour to build support for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the March on the Pentagon May 3. Don't miss this first-hand account of the struggle against junta terror.

Ann Arbor
University of Michigan
Michigan Union, Keunzler Room
7:30 pm, Wednesday, April 22

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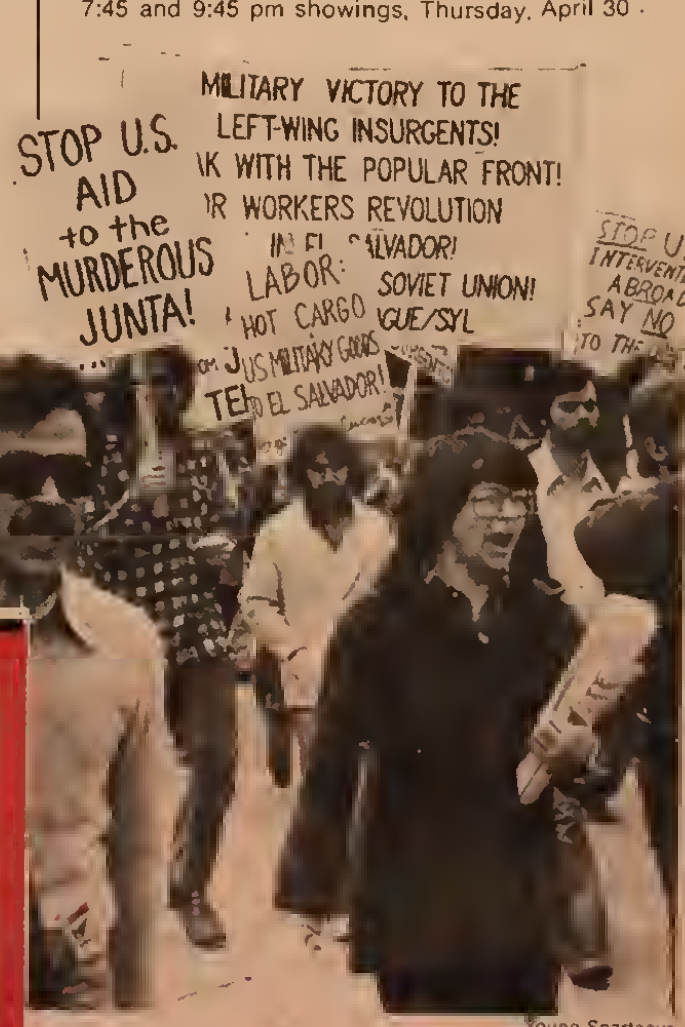
7:30 pm, Sunday, April 26

Boston
Boston University
College of Liberal Arts (CLA)
Room 214
12 noon, Tuesday, April 28

Harvard University
Phillips Brooks House
7:00 pm, Tuesday, April 28

Brandeis University
Kutz 2
7:30 pm, Wednesday, April 29

New York
St. Marks Cinema
133 Second Ave. at St. Marks Place
Double bill with "Revolution or Death"
7:45 and 9:45 pm showings, Thursday, April 30



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BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT
Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists
MAY 3

...with the Contingent May 3!

Young Spartacus

"Military Victory"...

(continued from page 7)

and smash the bloody officer corps and its capitalist masters.

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent, launched barely two weeks ago, is already in high gear. At a New York El Salvador protest on April 18, more than 100 supporters of the contingent stood out as the only serious force in the demonstration. Led by the Trotskyist SL/SYL, the anti-imperialist protesters chanted: "Abajo la junta, Obreros al poder!" (Down with the junta, Workers to power) and "Break with the bosses parties, Build a workers party!" "Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home," proclaimed the Contingent leaflet. Thousands of leaflets calling for military victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador were distributed to the crowd and several dozen names collected for the buses to Washington May 3.

Across the country in Los Angeles, at an April 18 demonstration organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the disciplined SL/SYL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent caused quite a stir as it unfurled its banners. Also participating were a group of militant L.A. phone workers carrying signs calling for "Labor Boycotts of Military Goods to El Salvador!" and "Down with Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive." To the official chant, "No Draft, No War, U.S. Out of El Salvador!" the Anti-Imperialist Contingent responded, "No Draft, *Class* War, U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

Already the Democratic Party liberals and their reformist cheerleaders are beginning to feel the fire on their necks from the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. The People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM), controlled by the Workers World Party (WWP), is now belatedly trying to cover its left flank. PAM had carefully avoided even mentioning the word "imperialism" in its leaflets, while both it and CISPES continue to support a Kennedy-sponsored bill in Congress that calls for cutting off *only* military aid to the junta. Now, however, WWP/PAM is muttering "we're all anti-imperialists here"—what kind of anti-imperialism is it that gets its political line from Teddy Kennedy—and chanting "Victory to the Salvadoran People!"

On the West Coast, march organizers are openly squabbling among themselves. The Communist Party (CP) dominated May 3 Coalition is accusing PAM of trying to run off with the cash box. In Los Angeles, CISPES is boycotting the May 3 West Coast demonstration scheduled for San Francisco because of bad blood over interminable petty maneuvers. Asked about the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at a PAM/May 3 planning meeting, CP spokesmen replied, at least they're not trying to steal the money!

Meanwhile the reformist march organizers are also feeling pressure on their right. The ultra-legalist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) first tried to steal the PAM/CISPES thunder by organizing its own May 9 March, managing to engineer a paper endorsement by the Coalition Against Registration and the Draft (CARD). But after this coup came undone, the SWP found itself sitting alone, and dumped its own march. For a while it pushed for a "sane May 3," trying to shift the march away from the Pentagon, hoping to intersect liberals' desire for a more sedate location. When that fell through, the shameless "best builders" of yesterday effectively pulled out of the El Salvador protests, instead leafletting for their "socialist Watersuit" trial!

The SWP's vicious "violence"-baiting is seconded by Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialists (DSOC) who have refused to endorse the May 3 march because it doesn't include enough big name Democrats and union bureaucrats among the speakers. If these social-democratic front men for Kennedy can't control the demo, they're determined to kill it with the most pernicious anti-communist slander. Furthermore this feeds into a new outburst of right-wing witchhunting. The *Boston Globe* (17 April) reported that the new Congressional "terrorism" subcommittee headed by Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton was planning an investigation of the groups behind the May 3 march as its first order of business. With all the anti-Soviet "terrorist" hysteria, are the social democrats trying to isolate and set up the Pentagon marchers for cop attack?

Which Side Are You On?

While the heat from the Anti-Imperialist Contingent has forced the PAM/CISPES/May 3 Coalition organizers to adopt a little more left-wing rhetoric, in reality nothing has changed in their fundamental perspective of appealing to the Democratic Party liberals. When they talk vaguely of victory to the Salvadoran "people," they give political support to capitalist politicians and military officers who for months went along with the junta-sponsored massacres. Echoing anti-communist propaganda down through the years, their only defense is to ask rhetorically, "who are you to tell the El Salvadoran people what to do?" Well, who was the American revolutionary Tom Paine to tell the French people what to do as he sat in the Convention in 1789? In the modern period true revolutionaries have always been internationalists. And by not warning against the dangers represented by the "progressive" capitalists and "constitutionalist" officers, the reformists are only preparing the road for a bloody disaster on the order of Chile 1973.

In the mid-'60s the WWP used to be gung-ho Guevarists, chanting "Two, Three, Many Vietnams." The CP boasted of its ties to the Vietnamese and Cuban Communist parties. But today the main slogan of the April 18 NYC El Salvador protest was "No More Vietnams!" To propose today only the slogans of "self-determination" and "U.S. hands off" is to adopt the same treacherous imperialist program as the non-intervention pact on Spain in the 1930s. Under this slogan the Stalinists and liberals drove the nails in the coffin of the Spanish republic (and strangled the beginnings of workers revolution), while Franco was armed by fascist Italy and Germany. For the Reagans and Haigs of yesterday and today don't stop at national borders. As for Vietnam, there the imperialists and their flunkies were swept out by the victorious peasants and workers. What the liberals mean by "No More Vietnams" is: no more *losing* American adventures.

The Salvadoran masses are heroically fighting against tremendous odds, sacrificing their lives in an unequal struggle against the most powerful imperialist war machine in history. They have chosen their side. Where do you stand?

If you want to fight for the military victory of the leftist insurgents and the defeat of the bloody junta;

If you are for militant struggle against imperialism, to defend the gains of the Cuban Revolution and smash Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive;

Then march with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent May 3!■

Salvadoran Insurgents Speak...

(continued from page 5)

they're talking about is the possibility of an agreement between sectors of the military junta and sectors of the FDR. We have warned that this is a trap for the workers and peasants, that it's necessary to fight for military victory and also workers revolution throughout Central America. So we would like to know what is the policy of the FMLN/FDR concerning a "political solution"?

Acevedo: Yes, they have tried to divide the FDR in the hopes of splitting off the democratic sectors from the revolutionary sectors. But this policy has failed. Our policy at this time is that in order to win a military victory inside the country it is necessary to inflict a political defeat on imperialism at the international level. And thus we have proclaimed to the world the characteristics of our revolution, and our call for democracy and freedom. But in order to defeat imperialism on a world scale it is necessary to expose its warmongering policies, and it's in that framework that our organizations are posing the question of mediation. This does *not* mean that within the country our fighters are going to put down their arms. Never. Our soldiers are attacking, arms in hand, and are defending the principles which we support at the international level.

WV: Just to end, we'd like to stress that for us the question of El Salvador is not simply a question of solidarity. Rather, it's an integral part of the struggle of revolutionaries and proletarians in all countries, as El Salvador has become the focal point of the Cold War. It is the obligation of all those who call themselves Marxists to fight to the hilt against American imperialism, to *smash* it, so that it suffers a defeat on the scale of the rout it experienced in Vietnam. This is our policy. Thank you.■

L.A. Phone...

(continued from page 4)

CWA must break with the CIA's labor front in South America, the AIFLD. Our local must immediately cease its financial contributions to "Operation South America."

Madison Events for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent

Benefit
Speaker, Music, Beer
$2 Donation
Le Chateau Co-op, 636 Langdon
8:30 pm, Friday, April 24

Rally
University of Wisconsin
Library Mall
12:30 pm, Tuesday, April 28

Forum
"El Salvador: Military Victory to Left-Wing Insurgents"
University of Wisconsin
Memorial Union
7:30 pm, Thursday, April 30

Only a military victory of the left-wing insurgents can prevent a bloodbath. But real victory for the workers and peasants can only be won through *independent* struggle in their *own* interest. A real victory means the establishment of workers and peasants governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America—governments that nationalize without compensation the coffee plantations, the corporations and the estates. This means that the workers and peasants must break from the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) led by so-called "friends of the people" like landlord Alvarez and Ungo, the former junta member. The FDR leaders are angling for a "political solution"—a deal with the junta and its U.S. masters that would leave the corporations and landed estates intact and social conditions for the workers and peasants unchanged.

UAW Militants:

Victory to the Brothers in El Salvador!

The following motion was put forward today by the Rouge Militant Caucus at the UAW Local 600 Maintenance and Construction Unit (Skilled Trades) meeting:

The Maintenance and Construction Unit of UAW Local 600 endorses the anti-imperialist contingent in the May 3 march on Washington. We stand opposed to all U.S. military and economic aid to the murderous junta in El Salvador, and to Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

In the civil war between the leftist insorgents and the U.S.-supported junta, we are for the victory of our working-class brothers and sisters who are under the heel of one of the longest continuous military dictatorships in Central America.

—submitted by Rouge Militant Caucus, UAW Local 600, 21 April 1981

Down With Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive

Reagan's war drive begins in El Salvador. But that is not where it will end. His real targets are Cuba and the Soviet Union. He hates the Soviet Union and Cuba for the same reason he hates the unions. Both stand in the way of corporate profit. The USSR is no workers' paradise. Russian workers have nomerous scores to settle with the likes of Brezhnev, just as we have some scores to settle with the bureaucratic misleaders of our unions. But we are better off with a misled union than no union at all. Soviet workers are better off having kicked out their capitalists and organizing a planned economy that provides economic necessities. Just as we defend our unions against government and company attacks we are for defending Soviet and Cuban workers and their planned economy against profit-hungry Reagan.

The war drive means mainly black and Latino youth fighting and dying in the jungles of Central America to boost the profits of the big corporations. It's not the Russians who are closing our factories, letting our cities rot and eliminating CETA programs, food stamps and unemployment insurance. It's not the Russians who are closing schools and hospitals while going after our unions with a vengeance. Our enemy is at home.

We in the MAC are fighting for a new leadership in the CWA—a leadership that will stand up to Reagan/Haig's thermonuclear lunacy. Labor must break from the parties of big business, the Republicans and Democrats. To rid this society of war, racism and fascist terror requires a workers party—a party that will bring the working class to power and establish a workers' government and a planned economy.■

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Fight Tory Racist Attacks!

Blacks Battle Cops in South London

LONDON—They said it had to happen, and on the weekend of April 10 it did. Black youth of Brixton, South London fought back in three nights of spontaneous anger against the racist brutality of the occupying Metropolitan Police force. After three nights of resistance, fought behind makeshift barricades of burnt-out police vans, smoke rising above the country's best known black ghetto signalled in many eyes the coming of the "long hot summer" to Britain.

The police and press tried to label the Brixton upsurge a "race riot" or, alternatively, the work of "outside agitators." But the overwhelming testimony of eyewitnesses and the local community was, as the London *Times* acknowledged, that "the objects of the hatred were blue, not white." Many local white youths joined in the running street battles against the police. In this area many youth under 20 have never had a job; for years the police have roamed the streets, arresting at random blacks under the hated "sus" laws (loitering with intent to commit a crime); and Special Patrol Group thugs earned such hatred that they were withdrawn from the area. The events of the weekend were but the culminating explosion of years of seething resentment in Brixton against a police force seeking to make it an offence to walk the streets if you're black.

Police indifference to the increasing spiral of racist/fascist murder is captured in the case of the New Cross massacre, where 13 black teenagers were incinerated at a party in January. Faced with evidence of a firebombing and strongly made allegations of a police coverup, the large police team on the case has seemed most concerned to arrest black youth. Coming after a smaller upsurge in Bristol last April, Brixton is the second massive explosion of black anger against unrelenting cop racism in as many years. The deepening social crisis has increasingly ripped apart the myth of the friendly British bobby. It has also provided a context of chronic, climbing unemployment and decaying social services which hit at blacks particularly hard, while providing a fertile recruiting ground for fascist terror among lumpenised white youth. Augmenting this climate of "get the blacks" is official Tory racism exemplified in the new Nationality Bill before Parliament.

Just in the week preceding the Brixton explosion, an intensive plain clothes police operation code-named "Swamp '81" had stopped 1,000 people on the street, charging 150 with offences. In one instance, local schoolteachers were horrified to observe from their staff room window a group of white men beating up a black and repeatedly banging his head against the pavement. They investigated. The white men were plain clothes policemen.

The violence began on Friday evening when a black youth, seriously wounded in a stabbing incident, was picked up by the police. Instead of rushing the youth to medical care, the police held him in a police car and began interrogating him. Other youths, this time spurred into action by the sort of callousness they have come to expect, attacked the cops, rescuing the youth and seeing him off to hospital. The police reacted to this challenge to their control of the streets through a massive increase in their presence the following day. On Railton Road, at the heart of the black community, there were police on guard in pairs at every corner from early morning. As one black resident put it, "There was more police than humans on the street."

Photographers International

After years of racist cop brutality, the streets of Brixton finally explode.

Then just before 5:00 pm the police moved in to arrest a black mini-cab driver for no apparent reason. The crowd gathered, and fighting broke out. Within an hour Railton Road looked like the Falls Road, Belfast as young blacks and whites hurled missiles at the police, now huddled behind their riot shields. Buildings were set alight. The firemen, who were prevented from extinguishing the fires by the youths, refused to turn their hoses on the protesters. "It doesn't matter what happens, we can't turn the hoses on people," said one fireman. "That makes us enemies as well."

On Saturday night, when the main confrontations occurred, police were forced into chaos and panic by the fierce resistance of local youths, at last taking the opportunity to vent their hatred of the enemy with bricks and cans, with makeshift petrol bombs and bare hands. Then with the cops in retreat, the explosion overflowed, as local buildings, shops and public houses were set alight, broken into and looted. Some of the violence was wantonly misdirected against small Asian-owned shops. But many of the targets were more consciously chosen. A local pub, which had refused to serve blacks, was burnt to the ground. As the cops counted their toll, reportedly 143 injured and 63 of their vehicles damaged, they began to take their revenge, with plain clothes police in squads armed with clubs, rubber hoses and chains, indiscriminately beating local residents they got their hands on.

On the following Monday in Westminster, front bench MPs, both Tory and Labour, rose unanimously to condemn the local population and to commend the police brutality. Chief opposition Labour spokesman for Home Affairs, Roy Hattersley, deplored the "suggestion" that the police should have scaled down their operation and "abandoned the protection of residents." This "suggestion" had come with unerring uniformity from community leaders and local Labour municipal councillors alarmed by the inflammatory behaviour of the cops. But what has particularly worried the ruling class was the manifest breakdown in the police's ability to maintain control. When racist bigot Enoch Powell taunted the government that they had "seen nothing yet," Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher could only respond weakly, "I hope with all my heart it isn't true."

Tory Home Secretary William Whitelaw announced a public inquiry under the direction of Lord Scarman, veteran of three previous inquiries aimed at whitewashing state repression. As proficient as anybody in dishing out a vicious beating in a nice, quiet police station cell, British cops are neither armed nor trained for the type of situation that arose in Brixton. The army, however, has developed ruthless professionalism in "police actions" in the former empire and today in Northern Ireland. The *Times* editorial on the Monday after was clear on the purpose of a public inquiry as an immediate measure ("An inquiry could take the heat off the streets and put it in the tribunal room"). But in the aftermath Metropolitan Police commissioner Sir Robert Mark pointed to the need for the British police to adopt "American" solutions—the use of "controlled gunfire at selected targets" (*Sunday Times*, 19 April). The British cops no doubt lust for the same sort of firepower employed by their American counterparts, who would have left plenty of dead blacks behind under similar circumstances. As black community leaders and local Labour politicians prattle about community control over the police force while offering support to Scarman's whitewash inquiry, the local black population sees little difference between their brutal treatment at the hands of the nearly all-white police force and fascist terror.

The deep-going social crisis of British capitalism has thrust the country's minority West Indian and Asian communities to the forefront in a battle for self-preservation. The pervasive racism which is the fruit of Britain's long-decayed colonial past is today crystallised in Margaret Thatcher's Tory government's Nationality Bill, which would take away citizenship rights from non-white immigrants who have lived and worked in the country most of their lives—as well as from their children actually born here. By creating new categories of "citizenship," only one of which is meaningful, it will also make it virtually impossible for non-whites to secure citizenship rights. (The felt outrage at this racist legislation was reflected in the protests by Her Majesty's former colonial subjects which greeted Thatcher on her recent tour of India.) This official racism encourages the increasingly brazen assaults of the fascists—typified by a recent incident in which an Asian youth had the initials of the Young National Front carved into his chest by knife-wielding fascist skinheads. (The cops could "discern no racial motive"!)

A community increasingly under siege, with their very right to remain in the country being called into question, Britain's black minority simply does not have a hope in hell of overcoming on its own the oppression which it faces. Blacks and Asians together amount to some four per cent of the total population. Indeed, even the Brixton area is predominantly white and a stronghold for fascist recruitment. And the fascists will doubtless attempt to exploit the Brixton events by pushing their own genocidal "solution" to the black "question" amid the more respectable racism of the Tories and the gutter press.

The road forward for Britain's blacks requires the intervention of a revolutionary, Trotskyist party, with a programme capable of transcending racial and national divisions and defeating racial oppression through class struggle. Though not a strategic section, blacks are overwhelmingly concentrated in the proletariat, providing a lever for mobilising a unified working-class reponse to racist attacks. Only with the support of the organised working class, which has a vested interest in combatting increased police repression and the growth of the fascists, will the struggle to defend Britain's black and Asian communities be successful. And to carry out that task, the working class must be broken from the grip of the Labour traitors who defend this dying empire built over the blood and bodies of millions of colonial slaves.

Cops out of Brixton! Smash the Nationality Bill! Full citizenship rights for Britain's blacks! For labour/black defence guards to halt racist attacks and smash the fascists! ■

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FBI...

(continued from page 3)

100 percent" (*New York Times*, 16 April).

And just what is "their job"? The "black bag jobs," for instance, are more commonly called burglaries. But unlike common burglars, FBI agents break in knowing the state is on their side. It is not just the cowardly robberies and illegal "mail covers" that are their real dirty business. "Surveillance" by the FBI/CIA inevitably leads to "disruption," and much worse: the hounding of student radicals, such as the Weatherman "most wanted" fugitives; FBI informants planted in the KKK who provoked murderous attacks on civil rights demonstrators; the killing of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, gunned down in their beds. No wonder the residual elements of that movement try to shoot first when they see the cops coming for them as in NYC recently: with two dead cops the witchhunt for Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur) and the Black Liberation Army is on again. But the real terrorists and criminals get off with a presidential medal of honor.

Ironically, the White House pardon came as the Socialist Workers Party's much-vaunted court suit finally came to trial, protesting some four-and-a-half decades of illegal FBI spying, break-ins and harassment against that organization. Even as these reformists were busy promising that the "right" to Socialist Revolution could be guaranteed in the courtroom, the ruling class was reaffirming its "right" to have its secret police get the left "by any means necessary." One of the G-men testified that he had been repeatedly commended and rewarded for breaking into the SWP's national headquarters 90 (*ninety*) times! But as these badge-toting cat burglars well know, in principle and in law *they are at risk* because a man's home is still supposed to be his castle.

In its "Watersuit," initiated in 1973 at the high-tide of liberal revulsion with the ham-handed spy agencies, the SWP hoped to demonstrate that the "democratic" capitalist courts could be used to check and control the capitalist spy system. In fact the Watergate exposures only provided the impetus for the ruling class to streamline the FBI/CIA, producing a barrage of propaganda about a so-called "new FBI." And in the eight years since the SWP case began, the rightward shift in the political climate has exposed the SWP as the Pollyannas of the left.

"This is not the 1950s," the *Militant* cheerily asserts, pointing out that the Foley Square Federal Court House was the scene of Smith Act trials of the Communist Party. "This trial is very much different. The socialists are the plaintiffs, not the defendants. This time the government is on trial" (*Militant*, 10 April). Well it's not the '50s. But it's Cold War II. And capitalism needs its secret police.

Certainly the FBI is the most felonious outfit in the country. They steal, spy, frame up and murder, all "in the line of duty." And Marxists—unlike the SWP—have no illusions that the capitalist state will stop it. Reagan's pardon of Felt and Miller underlines the class basis as well as the boundless hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie, its state and its secret cops. First they make up the rules to suit their purposes. Then they break their own rules while framing up the left on charges of breaking the rules. Only the victorious proletarian revolution can wipe out the FBI/CIA and all their murderous deeds, creating a socialist society in which for the first time the rules will be made in the interests of humanity, and all men held accountable to them. ■

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GAA...

(continued from page 2)

gay rights movement in the narrow sense.

Furthermore, the writer assumes that for a homosexual only the question of sexual oppression is really important. There is no sense that many homosexuals are also exploited workers, many are victims of racial oppression as well, and many are youth who could be drafted to fight in an imperialist war. In defending an "independent" gay movement, the writer presents a world in which homosexuals seem to exist independently of the basic social conflicts in this country and internationally.

As communists, we seek to act as a tribune of the people against all manifestations of special oppression, including discrimination against and victimization of homosexuals. We certainly do not "sneer" at any individuals for asserting their right to engage in whatever kind of consensual sexual activities they choose. In fact, we fight for it as part of our revolutionary program. Unlike the SWP, which expelled gay members, then cynically tailed "the gay movement," only to dump the issue when it became hot, the Spartacist League has a consistent record in the defense of democratic rights for homosexuals.

In the summer of 1968 we ran a candidate for New York Assembly on the Upper West Side. One of the key points in our election brochure, "The Protection of Human Rights," stated: "criminal penalties must be removed from the use of marijuana and other drugs, from homosexuality, prostitution, abortion, gambling and the dissemination of so-called pornography. These penalties must be replaced by guarantees for the right of any individual to dispose of his or her body as he or she chooses.... End police entrapment, wire-tapping, pot busts, gay busts and dragnet arrests of prostitutes." This was one year before what is generally taken to be the start of the gay movement, the Stonewall protests of June 1969.

The GAA strategy of "autonomous movements" for each specially oppressed group ignores the roots of this oppression in the racist capitalist system—for homosexuals particularly in the institution of the bourgeois family. We do insist that a homosexual leftist who wants to end sexual oppression can do so only as a member of a Leninist vanguard party leading the working class to the conquest of state power and the socialist transformation of society, which will *lay the material foundation* for the eradication of all forms of special social oppression.

It has been this insistence on the centrality of the class question, along with our record as fighters for full rights for homosexuals, that has won us subjectively revolutionary activists from the "gay liberation" milieu. It was the recognition of the need to build a Leninist vanguard party that led the majority of the Red Flag Union of Los Angeles, an organization of gay-rights activists who considered themselves socialists, to fuse with the Spartacist League. And this is the question which GAA members must face today. ■

Poland...

(continued from page 12)

replaced by the national hymn, "Oh God, Who Has Defended Poland," and the new workers' leader, Lech Walesa, declared himself at every opportunity to be a true son of the Polish church. Many of the "dissidents" who raised their heads are openly reactionary—virulently nationalist, anti-communist, anti-democratic and even anti-Semitic (despite the fact that there are almost no Jews left in Poland).

The upsurge of clerical nationalism is associated with pro-Western sympathies, often expressed in calls for "free trade unions" like in the U.S. and West Germany. Polish workers would do well to look at the blood-soaked American neo-colonies before buying the Radio Free Europe line. The Russians would have to kill something like 150,000 Poles to proportionately match the number of workers and peasants slaughtered during the last year by Carter/Reagan's junta in El Salvador. In Brazil, the popular union leader "Lula" has been sentenced to three and a half years in prison for far less than threatening to lead a political general strike every month or so. Even United Auto Workers observer John Christensen commented:

> "It's incredible to me that in comparing Brazil and Poland, a Communist country, there seems to be more freedom there than here. Walesa is freer than Lula. There the Government agreed to hold a dialogue with him, not here."
>
> —*New York Times*, 3 April

A visit to El Salvador and Brazil by a "Solidarity" delegation might teach them a thing or two about the "free world"—if they got out alive.

With the strong clerical-nationalist influence over the new unions which became *Solidarność*, we have repeatedly warned of the danger of capitalist counterrevolution spearheaded by Pope Wojtyla's church. At the same time, we recognized that the emergence of a powerful workers movement fundamentally challenging Stalinist bureaucratic rule could also open the road to proletarian political revolution. We have therefore insisted that the key strategic task for a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland was to *split* the mass of workers from reactionary forces. This means fighting for a series of programmatic demands including strict separation of church and state, defense of collectivized property, defense of the Soviet bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism. A Trotskyist vanguard would seek to polarize the workers movement, attracting those who seek a genuinely socialist solution and are hostile to the Vatican and Western capitalism.

Solidarność in Turmoil, Communist Party Polarized

Today we see the beginnings of internal political differentiation within "Solidarity" and the Communist party. For the first time forces are opposing bureaucratic rule not in the name of the eagle and the cross but calling for "socialist renewal" and even a return to the principles of "Marxism-Leninism." The *New York Times* (12 April) now projects: "Barring Soviet military intervention, the likely next phase in the workers' revolution in Poland will not be a struggle against the Communist Party but a struggle within the party itself." This makes even more urgent the crystallization of a Trotskyist propaganda nucleus in Poland which alone can offer a *way out* of the desperate and seemingly endless crises which are wracking Poland.

The political landscape has changed considerably since the Gdansk-based general strike last summer. Walesa is under several-sided attack from within *Solidarność*. Meanwhile, many of the more than one million working-class members of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP) now participating in "Solidarity" must find their socialist convictions (however deformed by Stalinist ideology) in conflict with the reactionary views of Walesa and his associates. The church hierarchy, on the other hand, has pulled back, fearing a Soviet military intervention. A few days before "Solidarity" had scheduled a general strike at the end of March, Cardinal Wyszynski issued a joint statement with Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski urging that "strikes can be eliminated as extremely costly to the enfeebled national economy" (*Daily World*, 28 March).

Most striking is the impact which the workers struggles have had on the Stalinist apparatus of the PUWP. The recent Central Committee meeting at the end of March turned into a political brawl. "We must know that Solidarity is in the first place the working class itself," declared the party secretary of

SDKPiL

Polish revolutionary Felix Dzerzhinski headed Bolshevik Cheka, security arm of early Soviet power.

the Baltic port of Szczecin. Only the fear of the Kremlin's reaction prevented this meeting from throwing hardliners like Stefan Olszowski off the Politburo. A recent national conference in Torun of dissident groupings within the party called for full and adequate information, secret ballots, multiple candidates. One delegate protested: "The authorities should not present the changes going on in our country as the work of antisocialist forces but as a proper restoration of Marxist-Leninist principles" (*New York Times*, 16 April).

However, overall the PUWP dissidents are *not* moving toward a rediscovery of authentic Leninism. They tend rather toward liberal Stalinism, "socialism with a human face," as the Czech Stalinist reformer Dubček called it during the Prague Spring of 1968, and they seek a favorable hearing from the

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present leaders of *Solidarność*. Moreover, they are quoted expressing anti-Russian prejudices and political sentiments common in Poland today. One delegate at the Torun conference remarked: "Our Soviet friends have a history that has accustomed them to absolutism in government. But the history of our nation is closely connected to democracy." And what of the national hero and fascistic dictator Pilsudski, a former right-wing social democrat who defended Polish capitalism against the Red Army in 1920?! As Trotsky pointed out, the Stalinist bureaucracy itself could generate a fascistic wing—he called it the "Butenko faction"—which in Poland today would be imbued with virulent anti-Russian nationalism.

If the PUWP liberals are talking of a "socialist renewal" in Poland, the Kremlin is warning of "creeping counterrevolution." The Brezhnevite Stalinists dare not attack the real basis for counterrevolution, the powerful Catholic hierarchy, but instead target relatively small dissident groups, notably Jacek Kuron's Committee for Social Self-Defense (KOR) and the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN) of Leszek Moczulski. Of course, the Kremlin hacks would denounce *any* political opposition, including and especially Trotskyists, as "counterrevolutionary" and even "fascistic." But Stalinist slanders notwithstanding, KOR and the KPN are each in their own ways enemies of socialism.

The KPN is openly clerical-nationalist and anti-socialist. This is not the case, however, with Kuron's KOR. In the West Kuron is widely regarded as some kind of left radical, even a "Marxist"—a reflection of his stance in the 1960s. As we have pointed out in the face of his pseudo-Trotskyist cheerleaders, he has since moved far to the right. Tamara Deutscher confirms this in an important recent article in *New Left Review* ("Poland—Hopes and Fears," January-February, 1981). She recalls that when sentenced to prison in 1964, "Kuron and his comrade defiantly sang the Internationale in court. Such a gesture on his part would be unthinkable today. He has moved towards social democracy, the Church and a nationalistic position."

Above All, A Revolutionary Internationalist Party

Whether or not Moscow intervenes militarily in the near future, the Polish crisis is fast heading toward the explosion point. The economic chaos is assuming disastrous proportions. Food supplies are shrinking rapidly; hard currency exports have fallen 25 percent since last year, coal exports have dropped 50 percent. Politically the situation is anarchic. There must be a tremendous felt need for the working people of Poland to take control of society, of the economy, and direct it in their interests. Seeking to placate the masses, the Stalinist leaders are now talking about granting more powers to the parliament, the *Sejm*, nominally the highest governing body.

In Poland today the classic Bolshevik demand—*all power to the soviets*, the democratically elected workers councils—would have a broad appeal. A revolutionary vanguard might well demand that the supposed powers of the *Sejm* be vested in a congress of soviets as in the Russian October Revolution. But soviets in themselves do not guarantee the socialist direction of society. Especially under present Polish conditions, they could fall under the influence of reactionary nationalist forces seeking imperialist backing against the USSR. The crucial element is an authentically revolutionary workers party capable of organizing the socialist impulses among the working masses around a Marxist, *internationalist* program.

Soviet soldiers greeted as liberators in Cracow, 1945. Der Spiegel

A communist vanguard must be militantly *anti*-nationalist. It would look back to the tradition of the pre-World War I socialist party of Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Jogiches. In contrast to Pilsudski's chauvinist Polish Socialist Party, they called their organization the Social Democracy of the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania. They maintained that the socialist transformation of Poland was inextricably bound up with the proletarian revolution in Russia.

One of the leaders of the Luxemburg/Jogiches SDKPiL was Felix Dzerzhinski, who later played a distinguished role in the Bolshevik Revolution as head of the Cheka, the police arm of the early Soviet power. Dzerzhinski, whose Polish accent in Russian became stronger when he was agitated, was chosen for this most sensitive post because he was a revolutionist of outstanding moral integrity. On a far lesser historic scale, there was Konstanti Rokossovski, a young Polish socialist who joined the Soviet Red Army in 1919. Imprisoned in the Stalin purges of the late 1930s, he reemerged to become one of the greatest Soviet commanders of World War II. Marshal Rokossovski was not a revolutionist but a Stalinist military officer. But his service in defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack does him honor—and he played a key role in liberating Poland in 1944-45 from nightmarish Nazi occupation.

In his great essay on "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party," Isaac Deutscher stressed as his main conclusion: "... if the history of the Polish CP and of Poland at large proves anything at all, *it proves how indestructible is the link between the Polish and the Russian revolutions.*" Today it is necessary to revive the tradition of revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian proletariat. Now it must be directed against the Stalinist bureaucracies, in defense of the collectivized economies and proletarian state powers against the threat of capitalist-imperialism.

The leadership of "Solidarity" stands directly opposed to these principles. Walesa and his colleagues see themselves leading the entire Polish nation against Russian "Communism." This is most strongly expressed in their active support to the peasant organization, Rural Solidarity. In fact, the recent near general strike was called primarily on behalf of the peasant organization. Expressing the acquisitive appetites of Poland's numerous landowning peasants, Rural Solidarity aims at the complete reestablishment of capitalist relations in the countryside. Its non-economic demands include the construction of more churches, no restriction of religious education and an end to compulsory teaching of Russian in the schools. Little wonder, then, that Pope Wojtyla himself demanded that the Warsaw regime recognize Rural Solidarity, a potent base for capitalist restoration. The fact that the Stalinist regime has just legitimized this peasant organization, reversing its earlier stand, marks a major concession to the forces of reaction.

The socialist answer to Rural Solidarity is not maintaining the status quo in the countryside. For that situation is disastrous. Poland's inefficient, aging smallholders are a major barrier to balanced economic development. The $10 billion food subsidy—the difference between what the state pays the farmers and what it charges urban consumers—is by far the largest item in the government budget and accounts for a significant share of total national income. Russian and Ukrainian collective farms now supply Poland with food, even though the consumption level, especially of meat, is much higher in Warsaw and Gdansk than in Moscow and Kiev. An immediate key task for a revolutionary soviet government in Poland would be to *promote the collectivization of agriculture*. Cheap credit and generous social services should be given to those peasants who pool their land and labor. Those who want to remain petty agricultural capitalists should be subject to higher taxes and other forms of *economic* discrimination.

Along with the backward smallholding agriculture, an enormous foreign debt is at the root of the current Polish economic crisis. During the 1970s the Gierek regime tried to buy off the workers and peasants with massive loans contracted from the West. His successors have accelerated this disastrous policy. Poland's debt to the West has increased by one-third in the last seven months alone! Repaying the bankers of Frankfurt and Wall Street will absorb all of Poland's hard-currency export earnings for years to come. (And no small share of Soviet hard-currency exports are expended on repaying directly or indirectly Poland's Western capitalist creditors.) The demand to *cancel the imperialist debt* is crucial in breaking the capitalist stranglehold on the Polish economy. But this would be possible only under a revolutionary soviet regime which could counter imperialist economic retaliation by appealing to the workers of West Europe to become comrades in international socialist planning in a Socialist United States of Europe.

As important as appeals to the working class of the capitalist West are to a proletarian political revolution in Poland, still more important is the perspective toward such a revolution in the Soviet Union. Should the Kremlin intervene militarily, the immediate fate of the Polish workers would in large measure depend on their ability to influence and win over Soviet conscript soldiers—that is, young Russian, Ukrainian and Central Asian workers and peasants in uniform. Anti-Russian Polish nationalism, *and especially violence directed at Soviet soldiers or officers*, would sabotage the proletarian cause.

Here it is important to recognize that illusions about "good will" and peacefulness of the Western capitalist powers, common in East Europe and particularly in Poland, do not extend to the Soviet Union. After losing 20 million fighting Nazi Germany, the Soviet people understand full well that NATO's nuclear arsenal is targeted at them. This understanding is now heightened by Washington's open threats of a nuclear first strike. The Soviet people legitimately fear the transformation of East Europe into hostile, imperialist-allied states extending to their own border.

The Kremlin bureaucrats exploit this legitimate fear to crush popular unrest and democratic aspirations in East Europe, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968. But the situation in Poland today is significantly different from that during the "Prague Spring." Anti-Russian nationalism is far more virulent, while Washington and its NATO allies are being far more provocative and militarily threatening. For these reasons the question of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism takes on far greater importance in the present Polish crisis. Revolutionary Polish workers cannot hope to appeal to Soviet soldiers unless they assure them that they will defend the social gains of the October Revolution against imperialist attack.

Only by addressing their Soviet class brothers in the name of socialist internationalism can the Polish proletariat liberate itself from the chains of Stalinist oppression. With this perspective a Trotskyist vanguard in Poland could turn a looming catastrophe into a great victory for world socialism. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S. Imperialists Provoke Soviet Union

Whose Poland?

For Proletarian Political Revolution!

Poland is coming unstuck. The "Solidarity" union movement (*Solidarność*) is polarizing. The Polish Communist party is in chaos. The economy is in a shambles. And United States imperialism is wildly seeking to provoke a Russian intervention. Reagan and Haig have seized upon Poland as a pawn for their superheated Cold War drive against the Soviet Union. And their ultimate aim is to overthrow the remaining conquests of the October Revolution, the main bastion of proletarian state power. Revolutionaries and all class-conscious workers must oppose this imperialist provocation and unconditionally defend the Soviet bloc states against counterrevolutionary attack.

Washington hectors its West European "allies" to stiffen their anti-Soviet resolve with nuclear missiles aimed at the "Russian aggressor in Poland." General Haig tries to line up NATO governments to break off economic and diplomatic relations with the USSR. American secretary of war Weinberger threatens terrible reprisals if the Soviet Union intervenes. He even flashes the U.S.' menacing "China card," threatening to arm Peking, presumably with atomic weapons capable of reaching Soviet cities. And the Chinese are ready, even eager: they don't just want thermonuclear missiles, they want to *use* them!

Ever since World War II the American bourgeoisie has tried to talk itself into the idea that they can nuclear bomb the Soviet Union and live! This goal is now openly stated by the Reagan administration. White House Russia expert Richard Pipes says the Soviets face the choice of "changing their Communist system in the direction of the West or going to war." Reagan/Haig believe that Soviet intervention in Poland will remove all obstacles in their preparations for such a war.

Even if the Kremlin doesn't intervene, the U.S. has already made Poland a focal point of the Cold War with its endless talk of "invasion by osmosis," "indefinite extension of Warsaw Pact war games," etc. The U.S. "seem[s] to be playing some kind of game with a whole nation," exclaimed one Pole angered by Washington's constant alarms (*New York Times*, 6 April). Indeed, Reagan and Haig have made it clear they *want* full-scale Russian intervention, and they're doing their best to spark it. They want to see Polish workers under the eagle and the cross throwing Molotov cocktails at Soviet tanks. They want to provoke a bloodbath in Poland so that they can use the battle cry of "Russian aggression" to push forward on all fronts in their drive toward World War III.

Sipa

Warsaw Pact tanks in Poland.

Imperialist politicians and the Western press all speak of a Soviet "invasion of Poland." In fact the Soviet Army drove the Nazi German forces out of Poland and liberated the country in 1944-45. They have been there since, and today two Russian divisions guard the vital communications links to East Germany and the NATO front. To demand withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland is to demand that Warsaw leave the Warsaw Pact—tantamount to calling for unilateral disarmament of the Soviet bloc. It is not an invasion that is posed, but a Russian military intervention into the civil life and class struggle in Poland. And those processes have undergone important developments during nine months at full boil.

The massive strike wave in the Baltic ports last August brought Polish workers before a historic choice: with the bankruptcy of Stalinist rule dramatically demonstrated, it would be either the path of bloody counterrevolution in league with Western imperialism, or the path of proletarian political revolution. With the clerical-nationalist influence in *Solidarność* and now the emergence of a mass organization of the landowning peasantry, the counterrevolutionary danger remains great. But a process of political differentiation has begun. Above all, "Solidarity" has come to embrace the whole of the Polish working class, with all of its tensions and contradictions. One million Polish party members have joined the new unions, and the party is in deep trouble—hardliners isolated, the leadership weakened, the ranks in uproar. And the church has pulled back from Walesa & Co., hoping to maintain itself as a stable pole for counterrevolution in the face of Russian military intervention.

This political fluidity by no means signifies a fundamental change in the relationship of forces, which is still distinctly unfavorable from a revolutionary standpoint. But if a genuine Leninist-Trotskyist opposition were precipitated, it could quickly grow and have a tremendous polarizing impact. Should the Kremlin, goaded by imperialist provocation, move to restore bureaucratic order in Poland, however, it would in the best case freeze that political differentiation necessary for the only progressive solution to the Polish crisis: workers political revolution. Thus genuine proletarian internationalists must bitterly protest a Russian military intervention, which would represent a *defeat* for the cause of socialism.

But far worse would be violent resistance by the Poles, which could produce a bloodbath. This would be a historic catastrophe. A "cold" suppression would only postpone the confrontation between the Polish workers and their Stalinist rulers. If there is a Soviet tank on every street corner and the Polish people walk by them hissing, what has really changed? But if there is a violent response, the resulting repression would crush the Polish working class into the ground politically and produce an explosion of anti-Russian nationalism that would take years, perhaps decades to overcome. It would also fuel U.S. imperialism's war drive to a white heat, which is why Reagan and Haig are pushing for such a bloodbath. *Proletarian revolutionaries must therefore emphatically oppose all violent resistance, whether mass action or individual terror, against such a Soviet military intervention in Poland.*

The present Polish situation is the product of decades of capitulation by the Stalinist bureaucrats to capitalist forces. It makes revolutionaries yearn for a Trotskyist leadership in the USSR which would make short shrift of the Polish crisis. Only a political revolution throughout Stalinist-ruled East Europe can open the road to socialism. And that requires internationalist Trotskyist parties which can reach out to the Soviet working class in defending the gains of the October Revolution.

Stalinism Fuels Clerical-Nationalist Reaction

The Soviet armed forces entering German-occupied Poland in 1944 were greeted as liberators in a social as well as a national sense. The expropriation of the large landed estates and big capitalists in the mid/late-1940s was a broadly supported measure. Yet three decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule have turned much of the population, and much of the industrial working class, against what they view as the "Russian-imposed Communist system." And this is not simply a reaction to the police suppression of democratic rights and the gross privileges and corruption of the "socialist" officialdom. The present Polish crisis, especially the dangerous growth of clerical-nationalist sentiment, has its roots in the failures and broken promises of *reform* Stalinism.

When Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power in 1956 proclaiming the need for the widest workers democracy, he enjoyed enormous popular authority. Then he turned and suppressed the workers councils and dissident intellectual circles which had supported him against the hard-line Stalinists. When Edward Gierek replaced Gomulka in 1970 after the Baltic coast workers' uprising, many believed his promises of unparalleled economic prosperity. Then he ruinously mortgaged Poland's wealth to Western bankers and also ruinously subsidized the landowning peasants!

So when under the pressure of rising prices and food and other consumer goods shortages the workers exploded last summer, they looked to the powerful Catholic church as the recognized opposition to the discredited Communist regime. The *Internationale* was

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WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 280 8 May 1981

Anti-Imperialist Contingent, May 3

AP

"Leftist Rebels Must Win War in El Salvador!"

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"1, 2, 3, 4—Leftist Rebels, Win the War!" chanted the 500-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent as they swung onto the Arlington Memorial Bridge May 3. "5, 6, 7, 8—Nothing to Negotiate!" they added, in a sharp attack on the Democratic Party liberals and fake-left reformists who spread treacherous illusions in a "political solution" in El Salvador—a deal with the puppet Christian Democratic/military junta or with the puppeteers in Washington to cheat the Salvadoran masses out of the victory they are suffering and dying for. The Contingent's huge red-on-white banners drove the point home: "Avenge the Blood of El Salvador: Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!"

In San Francisco and Seattle another 350 Anti-Imperialists organized by the Spartacist League were the reddest, and just about the *only* militant sections of the rad-lib anti-Reagan demonstrations. They alone took sides with the workers and peasants in the raging civil war against the gang of uniformed murderers backed up by U.S. imperialism. Only the Anti-Imperialist Contingent understood and took on Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War threats, proclaiming "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" The Associated Press photo flashed around the world of the D.C. demonstration of 80,000 against U.S. intervention in El Salvador had the Spartacist League front and center.

There was a sharp political line through the demonstrations, the first big protest marches since the Vietnam War. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent challenged demonstrators, "Which side are you on?" in El Salvador. The People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) made it clear where they stood by provocative "disruption"-baiting of the militants, then sealed it by throwing up a line of "marshals" to physically block protesters from joining the Anti-Imperialist rally. "Stay on the right," they said, "it's a counterdemonstration." *In fact, the PAM march was a counterdemonstration against military victory to the Salvadoran leftists.*

PAM and the other reformist/liberal organizers had appealed to a layer of Democrats looking for a vehicle to take some of the wind out of Reagan's and Haig's sails. And the large turnout, far exceeding predictions, reflected favorable publicity from the liberal bourgeois press. A section of the ruling class is worried that some of the Reaganite binges may go too far. And the march organizers consciously played to this mood of scared liberalism. Their main chant was "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador!" And in a counterpoint that was repeated throughout the march, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent replied, "No draft, *class* war, U.S. out of El Salvador!"

If it were not for the Spartacist League, May 3 would have been an unchallenged celebration of Kennedy liberalism. In the late '60s and early '70s many young radicals chanted "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF has gotta win" and defiantly waved the Viet Cong flag in the face of American imperialism. Among them were many of today's PAM organizers, who today held little green flags of liberal "concern." On May 3, the only flags of the Salvadoran Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) were carried by the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, whose color guard also bore Vietnamese and Cuban banners, along with red flags of proletarian internationalism with the symbol

continued on page 6

May 3 Benefit Packs House

El Salvador: A Program of Protest at the St. Marks Cinema

NEW YORK—"El Salvador: A Program of Protest" at the St. Marks Cinema April 30, a fundraiser for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, turned out to be *the* major building event in NYC last week for the May 3 march. There was a packed house of almost 500 and lines around the block for both performances Thursday night. More than $900 was raised for the Contingent from ticket sales, collections from the audience and later donations. Inside the theater, bus ticket sales moved briskly and scores of Contingent buttons reading "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists" were sold.

The benefit was a double bill, featuring a slide show by Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador, followed by the film "Revolution or Death." For Janota, an eyewitness to the 1979 coup, the St. Marks event was the last point on his East Coast/Midwest tour, which has taken him to five cities and college campuses from Ann Arbor to Oberlin to Brandeis and Harvard. His talk traced the history of oppression in El Salvador including the Indian revolts of the last century and the 1932 Communist-led uprising, brutally crushed by the predecessors of the same military butchers who rule today. Photos of the contested zones in northeastern Morazán and Chalatenango, scenes of "daily life"—such as the repressive forces' sweeps through the working class districts of Soyapango—brought the civil war raging in El Salvador into close focus.

WV Photo

Lines stretch around block at both shows of "Revolution or Death," benefit for Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

And this audience took sides: they cheered for the left advances and hissed at scenes of the U.S. embassy in San Salvador, with the sandbags on the roof, uniformed Marine guards in flak jackets and pump-action shotguns at the ready. Slides of peasants massacred in hacienda takeovers illustrated why the agrarian reform is called "reform by death." He also showed a Mother's Day newspaper ad taken out by one of the guerrilla groups displaying a young woman with a child in one arm and an automatic rifle slung over the other shoulder. "The choices here are very clear," Janota commented. "If the bloodbath is going to stop, it will be when the upper class is defeated militarily in the field."

Janota also pointed out how the bourgeois politicians of the popular-front FDR coalition cannot liberate the masses, for its platform "does not promise to expropriate the coffee wealth which has been left virtually untouched by the agrarian reform; makes no mention of smashing the military officers corps, which is the reactionary reservoir in that country; makes no mention of greater control of the working place for the workers. And so while the FDR, in its attempt to 'broaden its appeal,' makes the cocktail circuit, the conditions in Salvador remain the same."

Following the slide show, the audience sang along with the old miners' strike song "Which Side Are You On?" Then came the movie "Revolution or Death" (see review in *WV* No. 279, 24 April) whose powerful images of gruesome butchery drove home the message, as Janota put it, that "only the military victory of the leftist insurgents can promise a new society for El Salvador."

WV Photo

"After the [January] demonstration the army mobilized, tanks came out into the streets... anyone who was left without a place to hide was considered a subversive and shot on the spot. This is the answer of the government to peaceful, the so-called peaceful road to change."

Phone Militants Call for Leftist Victory in El Salvador

SAN FRANCISCO—Results were announced April 28 in the Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 mail-ballot election for nine delegates to the annual International Convention to be held this July in Boston. Three candidates of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus (MAC), Kathy Ikegami, Kat Burnham and Larry Ackerson, increased their vote totals over last year's elections but fell short of winning a delegate position. Ikegami placed twelfth in a field of 30 candidates with 302 votes, up from 190 last year, while Burnham and Ackerson got 187 and 181 respectively. In Los Angeles CWA Local 11502, the relatively new MAC candidates Barbara Britton, Manuel Delgadillo and Barry Janus received 227, 177 and 139 respectively. These are impressive results for a hardhitting political campaign in the face of the right-wing current in Reagan's America.

MAC didn't mince words about the tasks ahead: to defeat Reagan's war on the unions, the poor and minorities, and to oppose the U.S.' anti-Soviet war drive. MAC took a strong stand for international working-class solidarity, especially for victory to the workers and peasants in the civil war in El Salvador and breaking all CWA ties to the CIA-backed American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in Latin America. This was met with an enthusiastic response especially from a number of Salvadoran workers in the phone company: one young worker in Plant agreed that the workers must win in El Salvador and declared, "I hope they get a lot of guns from the Cubans and the Russians!"

Following is the campaign leaflet issued by the Bay Area MAC.

* * * * * *

The upcoming CWA National Convention will be held at a time when our union faces very grave problems. The new Reagan administration has declared war on the unions, the poor, blacks and Latinos.

At home, Reagan promises union-busting, racism and mass unemployment. Abroad, he is gearing up for World War III with the Soviet Union. The steps along this road to thermonuclear holocaust are clear—first El Salvador, then Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland and finally the USSR.

Feeling that Reagan's election puts the wind in their sails, all sections of the U.S. capitalists are taking the offensive against the labor movement. The bankers and big executives at Ma Bell are going to be leading the charge against the CWA.

How is our union going to respond to this crisis? There are two roads to choose. One is that of CWA President Glenn Watts and the Local 9410 bureaucrats—Imerzel, Mallett, McKenna & Co.—"grieve it and forget it"; lay down and play dead in the face of attacks by the company, the government or the racist anti-labor thugs of the KKK or Nazis. All that Watts, Imerzel, Contreras and the rest of them have to offer is that our union should shovel millions of dollars to the capitalist Democratic Party to get someone like "right-to-work," Mr. Ethnic Purity Jimmy Carter back in office and beg him for crumbs.

The other road is MAC's—for class struggle—of our union, the labor movement and the working class fighting for our own interests. The Militant Action Caucus of Local 9410 is running three candidates for CWA Convention Delegates. If you want delegates—

—who will tell you the truth

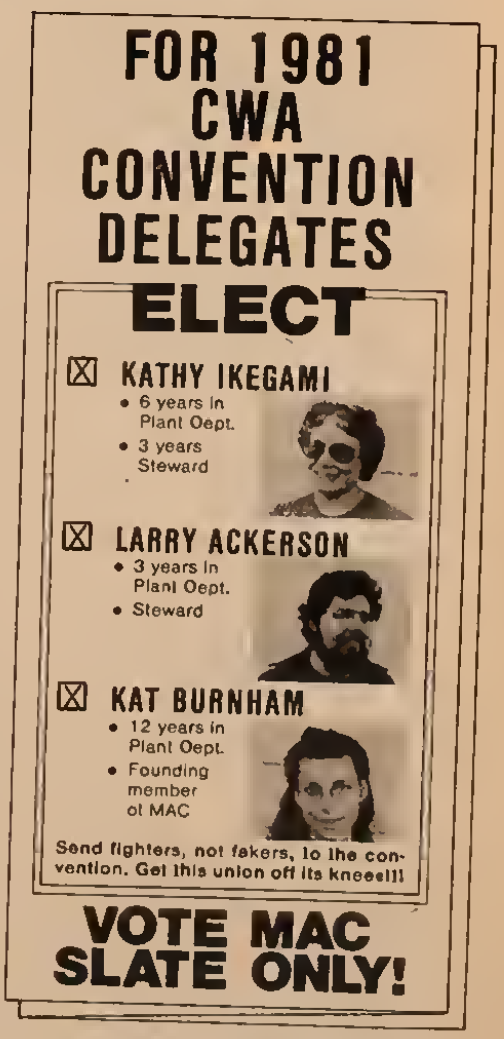
—who know picket lines mean don't cross

—who will fight to make the CWA a union that defends its members

—who fight racial and sexual oppression and stand for labor/minority mass mobilizations to smash Klan/Nazi terror

—who oppose Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive and stand for the military victory of the leftist Salvadoran insurgents against the right-wing junta

—VOTE MAC SLATE ONLY! We want the labor movement to have its own party, a workers party, that will fight for a workers government that will throw out the capitalists and establish a planned economy based on the needs of working people, not profit. ■



MAC candidates' campaign brochure.

No Choice in USWA District 31 Elections

Balanoff: The Wages of Reformism

CHICAGO—The election campaign for director of the Chicago-Gary District 31 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) is in high gear. For eight years a stronghold of forces grouped around dissident bureaucrat Ed Sadlowski, District 31 this year could well swing back to the camp of International president Lloyd McBride. McBride's man Jack Parton, the conservative president of Local 1014 of U.S. Steel's mammoth Gary Works, stands a good chance of unseating the incumbent, Sadlowski supporter Jim Balanoff.

When Sadlowski won district director in 1973, thousands of steel workers believed his "Fightback" slate represented a genuine opposition to the International's notorious no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement (ENA). By 1976 the Fightback opposition controlled every major local in District 31 except for two. But at every crucial juncture the Sadlowskiites betrayed the membership. As a result the ENA remained intact until the *companies* scrapped it last year, and the bosses have utilized a decade of labor peace to soften up the union, attacking the jobs and living standards of its members.

The 1980 contract—which both Parton *and* Balanoff endorsed—provides a *3 percent* wage increase, while inflation rages at 15 percent, and a rip-off of the May 1980 cost-of-living increase to pay pension benefits. Thousands of steel workers have been permanently laid off: District 31 alone has lost 20,000 members over the last five years as more and more plants close for good. A large number of the 18,000 names on file in Inland Steel's employment office are steel workers laid off at neighboring plants.

Confronting massive inflation, speedup and unemployment, it is hardly surprising that increasing numbers of District 31 steel workers see the Sadlowskiites as identical to the gang they threw out eight years ago. One Inland worker who ran a couple of years ago for griever on the Balanoff-supported Rank and File slate told a *WV* supporter that he might vote for Parton because "the Rank and File hasn't done shit." And significantly, Sadlowski's home local at U.S. Steel Southworks voted last month to make Parton its official nominee.

Meanwhile Parton and Balanoff are engaged in an endless mud-slinging campaign. Balanoff calls Parton a "Pittsburgh parrot" for McBride. Parton charges that Balanoff is divisive and a commie. Balanoff accuses Parton of racism over the firing of long-time black union janitor Louise Sheffield when Local 1014 moved to its flashy new headquarters (named Lloyd McBride Hall) last fall. Parton retaliated by suing Balanoff for slander. But neither candidate has an answer to plant closings, anti-union attacks and the growing right-wing mobilization that the membership faces.

Steel workers have heard Jim Balanoff's "fightback" talk for years. They've stopped listening.

WV Photo

Whoever wins, Parton or Balanoff, the workers lose. A case in point was U.S. Steel's decision last year to close its American Bridge subsidiary in Gary. The company offered the workers an "alternative"—accept a wage freeze and cuts in COLA benefits. Three times the workers voted down this blackmail. District director Balanoff announced that he stood behind the USWA members. But when the company made good on its threat and shut the plant, Balanoff did nothing. So today Parton is claiming that Balanoff should have accepted the pay cut. Balanoff's defense, printed in his official campaign material, is that "the members were aware that many would receive better pensions... if the plant shut down than if it stayed open." So what kind of choice is this: a trade-union campaign where one guy campaigns on a platform of wage cuts—and his opponent argues that plant shutdowns aren't so bad!

With leadership like this, workers at Pullman Standard, whose Chicago plant is slated to close this July, have plenty to worry about. Balanoff's answer is to push for a bill sponsored by his sister-in-law, Democratic Illinois state representative Miriam Balanoff, that would provide for one-year notification before a plant is shut. And this is sold as a measure that will benefit steel workers! In any case the pro-capitalist Democratic and Republican parties will do nothing to help workers at the expense of corporate profits. Chrysler workers, subjected to pay cuts as well as plant closings and mounting layoffs, would have a few things to say about government bail-outs.

When the bosses threaten to shut down, unions should respond by sitting down—and mobilizing their power nationally to hit the companies' most profitable operations as well! Militant plant occupations demanding unlimited unemployment benefits, full SUB guaranteed by the government and company-paid job retraining would arouse enormous enthusiasm in the working class and should aim at sparking industry-wide strikes to fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay and jobs for all.

Unleash the Strike Weapon

The gross collaboration of the USWA bureaucracy with the companies, from support to ENA to joining in the chauvinist chorus for import limitations on foreign steel, has led steel workers to a dead end. USWA members can defend their interests only through mass, militant action and this means, first of all, reviving the strike weapon. Not since 1959 has the USWA waged a national strike! For all its hot air a few years ago about the need for the right to strike, the Sadlowski/Balanoff gang has been as reluctant to take on the companies as McBride & Co.

In the entire period since 1970, only the iron ore miners of the Mesabi Range struck against the ENA—and when they did, in August 1977, presenting a golden opportunity to bury ENA—the Fightback team sat on its rear while the iron miners went it alone for 120 days. And when the basic steel contract expired once again in 1980 not only did the District 31 leadership capitulate to ENA, but it went so far as to endorse McBride's settlement. The agreement "answers our most glaring immediate needs. It's not a bad contract," Balanoff told the press (*Hammond Times*, 16 April 1980). Tell it to the thousands of Chicago-Indiana steel workers who have been on indefinite layoff for months!

In District 31, where there's a history of lots of militant talk but very little action, the case of Keith Anwar created considerable interest. Anwar, a worker at Inland Steel Company, was fired for refusing to cross a picket line of another USWA local at his plant. Although Anwar's fight to get his job back was endorsed at successive District 31 conferences in 1979 and 1980, backed by several locals and actively supported by over 1,500 steel workers who signed petitions and donated thousands of dollars—both the International and district director Balanoff sat on the grievance for over a year, refusing to take the case to arbitration. Only when union officials from Balanoff's home local at Inland Steel threatened a public fight at a District conference did Balanoff give way.

Anwar's courageous stand that "picket lines mean don't cross" was borne out within weeks in the strike of two USWA locals against the Northern Indiana Public Service Company (NIPSCO). The company managed to get injunctions limiting the number of pickets, essentially making it impossible to stop scabbing. When the Balanoff leadership did nothing to challenge the injunctions, NIPSCO workers found themselves out on the bricks for a good eight months before they could get a compromise settlement.

For a New, Militant Leadership

It has become abundantly clear that what comes first for Sadlowski/Balanoff as well as McBride/Parton are not the interests of steel workers, but enforcing ENA, the no-strike clause and court injunctions—and then preaching that the racist, anti-labor Democratic Party will grant what the bureaucrats won't fight for on the picket line. Steel workers fed up with mass layoffs, plant closings, company takeaways, routine scabbing when picket lines are set up and the victimization of militants like Anwar who won't cross such lines—must wage a fight to forge an alternative leadership. Time is running short. The bosses, who have run the domestic steel industry into the ground, intend to make the workers pay several times over. Last year, when the companies dumped ENA they made it clear that they are no longer willing to pay the paltry 3 percent and COLA "guaranteed" by that agreement.

WV Photo

Balanoff's home local, U.S. Steel Chicago Southworks. His District 31 has lost 20,000 members to layoffs over past five years.

Just this month, Balanoff told the press that "every day [the corporations] mistreat people in the mills. They're not our enemies, but they're also not our pals" (*Daily Calumet*, 9 April). Indeed, for Balanoff, the bloodsucking steel companies are *not* the enemy. And the phony leftists that consistently supported him—from the Communist Party and its front group TUAD to the SWP, RSL, et al.—have learned nothing but want only to continue supporting such class collaboration. Only the Spartacist League has from the beginning exposed the Sadlowskiites as frauds and fought for a leadership based on a genuine

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No. 280 8 May 1981

French Elections 1978/1981: What Unity?

Why the Union of the Left Fell Apart

Or, How the LCR and OCI Lick the Boots of Mitterrand...and the CIA

When the French Communist Party (PCF) launched its general secretary Georges Marchais as candidate in the presidential election, proclaiming that "for the first time we are going over to the offensive and directly putting the question of voting Communist at the center of the battle," the bourgeois press once again accused the PCF of voluntarily retreating into the "ghetto" of Cold War isolation. The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) responded to this unaccustomed combative tone from the Stalinists by declaring that if the PCF conducted a campaign independent of popular-front entanglements with the bourgeoisie, we could consider

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giving "savagely critical" electoral support to Marchais in April as a class-against-class vote. Since then the "Communist" Party has waged a virulent campaign "against ghettos" of a very different sort—a chauvinist attack on immigrants which makes the Marchais candidacy presently unsupportable by revolutionaries, and indeed by any class-conscious worker. But the bulk of the French "far left" had a very different approach: lining up with the anti-Communist and anti-Soviet propaganda barrage, they condemned the PCF as "anti-unity" for running an independent candidate at all.

What the pseudo-Trotskyist Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) had to say was summed up in a front-page headline, "To beat Giscard: Désistement!" (*Rouge*, 17-23 October 1980). ["Désistement" is the practice of stepping down in the decisive second round of voting, in favor of the PCF or Socialist Party (PS) candidate who received most votes on the first round.] If the PS and PCF would agree in advance to cede to the "best-placed left candidate," they argued, "unity" could be achieved to oust the representatives of big capital from power. LCR perennial Krivine set the tone by presenting himself as the "désistement" candidate par excellence, and the theme was repeated week after week, culminating in the slogan "Against the right, there's one solution! Désistement! For a PC-PS Government!" (*Rouge*, 6-13 February). You can't help thinking back to the days when the "far leftists" of yesteryear chanted, "One solution: revolution!"

Der Spiegel

Before the break-up: Stalinist Marchais, social democrat Mitterrand and bourgeois Left Radical Fabre campaign for Union of the Left.

The reformist Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of Pierre Lambert opined that stepping down on the second round was not nearly enough. When the LCR proposed a propaganda bloc for "désistement," the OCI reasoned that the only truly consistent desisting position was to run no candidate at all. (They've got a point, Krivine, don't they?) And after that, the OCI kept up its role as waterboy for the PS by calling for a first-round vote for Mitterrand!

To listen to these pseudos, one would think that Trotskyism consisted of endless permutations of "unity": unite, united, unified, union, unitary. The OCI tries to dress it up with references to a "strategy" of the workers united front supposedly elaborated by the early Comintern. For Lenin and Trotsky the united front was a series of *tactics* to build an independent Bolshevik party; and the only genuine unity of the workers was that based on their historic class interests. But all the present-day "unity"-mongering means something else entirely. It is a thinly veiled call for reconstituting the popular-front Union of the Left, a class-collaborationist coalition which included the tiny bourgeois Left Radical Movement (MRG) as a pledge that it would not transgress the limits of capitalist class rule. This was clearly shown at the time of the 1978 legislative elections, when both the LCR and OCI called for the victory of the Union of the Left:

- The OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (8-15 March 1978) headlined that "if the PCF leaders commit themselves today to *désister*," then the result would be: "March 12: PS/PCF Majority! March 19: Victory!" The "victory" of the bourgeois popular front, that is.
- The LCR's *Rouge* (15 March 1978) proclaimed, "Everywhere, mobilize in unity to defeat the right!"

Both LCR and OCI wept at the electoral defeat of the popular front! *Rouge* termed it "the price of division." *Lettre d'IO* blamed it all on "the PCF, guardian of the Fifth Republic." "The Union of the Left is dead, long live the Union of the Left" was their common program. Only the Ligue Trotskyste de France put forward a policy of proletarian opposition to the bourgeois popular front. The LTF stated, "The *minimum condition* that workers must set in order to give electoral support to the PCF and PS is that they break with their bourgeois electoral partners and with the Common Program which provides the framework for this class-collaborationist alliance" (*Le Bolchévik*, March 1977). And a special LTF pre-election leaflet warned:

> "By calling for a vote for the PCF/PS, these centrists call directly for the popular front to take power. But when the workers mobilize to insist that their demands be fulfilled by 'their' government, they will find the popular front blocking their path.... With cries of 'defeat the right' and 'Giscard out,' the LCR and OCI have adopted the excuses traditionally offered by the Stalinists to justify popular fronts."

Julienne/Sygma

Portugal, 1975: CP offices wrecked by rightists. Portuguese revolutionary crisis drove European social democrats back into waiting arms of U.S. imperialism.

Behind the Break-Up of the Union of the Left

Already at the time of the initial breakdown of the Union of the Left in September 1977, in negotiations over "updating" the Common Program of capitalist reform, the two greats of French pseudo-Trotskyism had a virtually identical line calling for pasting back together the Humpty-Dumpty popular front. The OCI: "Enough of division! PCF-PS Unity!" And the LCR: "Unity is what's needed." Krivine and friends tended to hold the Stalinists and social democrats equally responsible for the rupture. But the Lambertists went into Stalinophobic conniptions. One week later, *IO* thundered: "Marchais splits, Brezhnev approves," "At the root of the split campaign: the Kremlin's call to order" and "the hand of Moscow." Even Mitterrand didn't go this far with social-democratic demonology, merely coyly remarking on a "conjuncture of interests" between the PCF and the Kremlin.

While the OCI's histrionics are largely peculiar to it and the Meanyite AFL-CIO, its explanation of the collapse of the Union of the Left is the standard bourgeois/social-democratic account, which in a milder form is taken up by most of the "far left" and by "Eurocommunists" fleeing from the PCF. Everything is due to a supposed sudden about-face by the Communist Party, they say. Since this is a blatant Cold War myth, it is instructive to take a closer look at how the French popular front actually broke up. It tells a great deal about the remarkably short life of the Eurocommunist hoopla, and about the pronounced social-democratization of the pseudo-Trotskyist milieu in recent years. In particular, it underscores the decisive importance of the Russian question, which gave rise to Trotskyism some 50 years ago and which in large part determines where various forces stand on the political map today. And it sets the context in which the polemics and political battles of the upcoming presidential elections unfold.

A mainstream liberal politologue, Maurice Duverger, talks of the "neo-Stalinism" of the PCF, and compares its current stance to the early Cold War: "as in 1947, when the PCF locked itself in the ghetto..." (*Le Monde*, 6-7 November 1977). Of course, Thorez and his comrades hardly locked themselves up in the ghetto—they were put there by the hard anti-Soviet line of the imperialist bourgeoisie and international social democracy. Not that the Stalinists were to "blame" for the Cold War, as certain liberal historians today allege. The World War II "anti-fascist" alliance foundered on the fundamental contradiction between world imperialism and the Soviet degenerated workers state, on the bourgeoisie's natural appetite for bloody counterrevolution to recover for capitalist exploitation the vast territory "lost" in the October Revolution. But there is a definite parallel: just as the post-war tripartite "government of national union" fell apart as a by-product of the collapse of the Soviet-American alliance, the Union of the Left was in part a casualty of the decline of "détente" and the resurgence of imperialist anti-Sovietism in the '70s.

In the middle of the 1978 election campaign, the Socialists blamed the PCF's refusal to "disagree with the foreign policy of the Eastern bloc countries on any issue whatsoever," and Marchais' attacks on the "so-called 'Atlanticism' [pro-NATO line] of Socialist policy" as the cause for collapse of the Union of the Left negotiations in September 1977 (*Le Monde*, 1 February 1978). And in fact the first point of sharp discord between the Communist Party and the PS was over French nuclear policy and international alliances. The PCF, seeking as usual to pose as more patriotic than the bourgeoisie, had come out for de Gaulle's *force de frappe* [nuclear strike force] and an "all-sided" nuclear "defense" policy directed in particular at West Germany. In August Mitterrand denounced this as veiled

French Trotskyists Say:

Giscard Never, Mitterrand No!

The following statement on the French presidential elections was published shortly after the first round in France's two-tiered voting system. The second round runoff between Gaullist incumbent Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and Socialist Party candidate François Mitterrand will take place May 10. The statement by the Ligue Trotskyste de France, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, is excerpted and translated from Le Bolchévik *No. 25, May 1981.*

PARIS, April 29—After the first round of voting two points stand out: a possible victory for [Socialist Party candidate] Mitterrand and a defeat for the Communist Party (PCF). The Socialists assert that "the CP's defeat is the price of its divisive policies," and in the SP's wake follow the pseudo-revolutionaries of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire of Alain Krivine] and OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste] who, ever since the [1977-78] breakup of the Union of the Left, have accused the PCF of turning its back on "unity." In fact, the Communist Party is paying the bill for the renewal of the anti-Soviet Cold War (which turned not a few intellectuals, petty bourgeois and sundry Eurocommunists, frightened at being rejected by their bourgeoisie, away from it) and its Union of the Left line.

Marchais says that "the workers who have confidence in the party...thought they should cast a useful vote on the first round [by voting Mitterrand] to get rid of Giscard" (*L'Humanité*, 27 April). Who is at fault? The PCF was the best builder and propagandist of the Union of the Left, as it was of the other popular fronts in 1936 and 1944. Unfortunately workers who have confidence in the Communist Party believed them. And the PCF leadership is still calling to vote for Mitterrand in the name of the Union of the Left! Let's just hope that Communist militants and workers will refuse to vote for this apostle of anti-Sovietism and class collaboration!

At the beginning of Marchais' campaign, while violently criticizing his policies of French chauvinism and repressing struggles, we projected giving electoral support to the Stalinist bureaucrat Marchais, on the basis that he was running (if involuntarily and for tactical and conjuntural reasons) independently of any bourgeois ally. This could have been a class vote. But as we stated in the April issue of *Le Bolchévik* (No. 24):

"His disgusting campaign of racist provocations against immigrants gives a vote for Marchais a meaning which nothing else has superseded so far, namely [it has become] a referendum in favor of Vitry and [the CP's] chauvinist anti-immigrant line. We could understand why, given the absence of any other perspective, workers might want to vote for Marchais based on their disgust for Giscard and Mitterrand and/or their attachment to the state which emerged from the October Revolution. But unless something happens (especially linked to the question of the defense of the USSR) which could change the meaning of voting for Marchais between now and the elections (and still with the minimum condition that he be free from any popular-front link with the bourgeoisie) no revolutionist, no conscious worker, can give Marchais the slightest support, even the most violently critical."

No to the Mitterrand/Gaullist Bloc!

"Vote Mitterrand, get rid of Giscard!" shouts the so-called "far left." "Yes, victory is within our reach," says the LCR in a leaflet put out the morning after the first round. Mitterrand's victory is supposed to be a victory of the workers?! What has Mitterrand promised which creates such enthusiasm in our leftists of yesteryear? To form a popular-frontist alliance with representatives of the bourgeoisie (Left Radicals, Gaullists, etc.). To reinforce the links of imperialist France with the Atlantic Alliance aimed at the USSR. To make the workers pay for the crisis of capitalism. It will be the popular front under the colors of Gaullism! Where in all that is there even a hint of the beginning of an alternative to Giscard for the working class?!

You need all the cynicism of the LCR leadership to write in the leaflet quoted above, "Once elected thanks to the votes of the workers, Mitterrand must be warned that he cannot govern with the representatives of the bosses." You have to be dreaming! But comrades of the LCR, you know that Mitterrand *wants* to govern with the right. And once elected, who will stop him? You? The workers? How? Mitterrand will not be a prisoner of the workers but of the Gaullists (not to mention the Royalists and Poujade, founder of the reactionary movement of small businessmen in the 1950s, who are calling for a vote to Mitterrand).

And a willing hostage! By seeking an alliance with the class enemy, he is telling the working class that he will take no account of its demands and even that he will be an obstacle to its struggles. Remember 1937: The Blum Popular Front government did not hesitate to open fire on the workers, many of them members of its own party! And this incipient popular front is not even trying to entice the workers or pretend to be on the left. Even the American imperialists are prepared to "extend the hand to the socialists" if they can't do anything else. The *Washington Post* presents Mitterrand as "more favorable" than Giscard to "the anti-Soviet mood of the Reagan administration" (*Le Monde*, 29 April).

Bourgeois autocrat Giscard (top) campaigns for austerity and militarism, while pro-NATO Socialist Mitterrand maneuvers for bloc with right.

Therenin/Sipa-Liaison

Nogues/Sygma

The LCR [claims] Mitterrand's victory will unleash a "dynamic" of struggles which will overwhelm the reformist bureaucrats. But if revolutionaries are to lead these struggles which temporarily escape the bureaucrats' control, they have to be an *alternative* to the reformists and their class-collaborationist policies. The LCR is not this alternative. Workers perceive it, and rightly so, as rebuilders of the Union of the Left and as supporters of Mitterrand. Workers looking for a revolutionary alternative will turn only toward those who have no responsibility for the victory of the popular front, those who have from the beginning intransigently fought class collaboration.

The LCR talks a lot about struggles, but all it now believes in is the "unity" of the treacherous bureaucrats and Mitterrand's electoral victory. "If Mitterrand is not elected, we will have to take it for seven more years." Some revolutionaries, making the destiny of the proletariat dependent on a few votes! The only solution for the working class lies not in replacing Giscard by a popular front presided over by Mitterrand, but in its own battles and the capacity of the vanguard organization to organize them, against the reformists, to defend them against the bourgeoisie's attacks and to put forward a series of transitional demands leading to setting up its own power, the workers government. ■

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neutralism and emphatically swore allegiance to NATO: "to leave the Atlantic Alliance without having any alliance in hand would be senseless" (*Le Monde*, 9 August 1977). As a U.S. National Defense University monograph noted, "In the PS-PCF interparty negotiations to update the defense platform of the 1972 Common Program, Mitterrand could just as well have been speaking for the government" (*The French Communist Party, Nuclear Weapons and National Defense: Issues of the 1978 Election Campaign*). Not only were the Socialists vigilant in defending NATO, the United States intervened emphatically in the middle of the election campaign to make clear it would not tolerate Communist Party presence in West European governments. In November 1977, General Alexander Haig, then NATO commander in Brussels, warned that the presence of Communists in the government would "hamper the communication of top secret information and lead these governments to relegate the financing of military expenditures to the background" (*L'Humanité*, 30 November 1977).

In another unusual political intervention NATO secretary-general Joseph Luns threatened that if the Union of the Left came into office, the ministries of defense, foreign affairs and interior must be kept out of PCF hands. In January, the American embassy in Rome issued a highly publicized statement saying that the U.S. was "not favorable to Communists participating in the governments of Western Europe." And at the same moment, Jimmy Carter paid a rapid visit to Paris in which he went out of his way to hold an unprecedented tête-à-tête with Mitterrand and to describe the PS leader's actions as "beneficial." Such open American interference in West European politics had not been seen in years—there was no doubt that the U.S. was issuing a *diktat*.

Portugal 1975: The Imperialists Take Fright

It wasn't simply a CIA plot which kept the PCF out of the government and led to the breakup of the Union of the Left, of course. But it's a far cry from Moscow ordering Marchais to return to "the ghetto," or the PCF having a perverse desire to block a popular-front government, as many social democrats and pseudo-Trotskyists claim. Rather, the imperialist bourgeoisies in unison turned against popular-front "experiments" and this opposition was expressed via their transmission belts into the left. The first crisis of the Union of the Left, on September 14, 1977, came when the leader of the Left Radicals, Robert Fabre, walked out denouncing the PCF's call for expanded nationalizations. This was how such a tiny bourgeois formation, the MRG, acted—just as we had said—as a guarantor for capitalist interests in the left-wing coalition. Yet Krivine/Bensaïd's tailist appetites were so strong that even in the face of such dramatic proof, the LCR continued to deny that the Union of the Left was a popular front.

When the Socialist Party issued its own refusal/ultimatum a week later it was over the same issue of nationalizations. Before that the PS had refused to take a clear position on Communist ministers in a "left government." Its message: no need to fear a revolutionary danger from the PCF, Mitterrand is there. This right turn by the Socialists was not just, or even primarily, a domestic development. It was the outcome of a lengthy controversy inside

continued on page 10

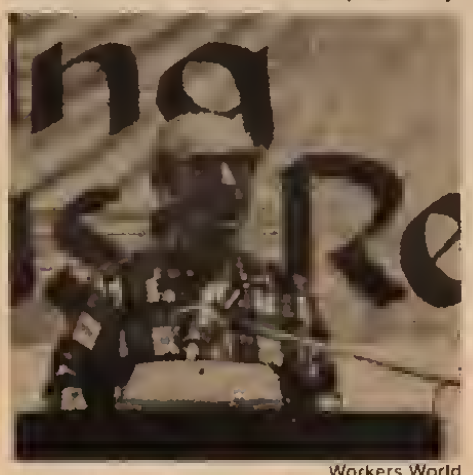
Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!

May 3...

(continued from page 1)

of Trotsky's Fourth International.

While leftist guerrillas have been fighting for their lives and liberation of their people in the hills of El Salvador, their reformist cheerleaders in the United States have been squabbling for organizational control of the protests. Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/ Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF) would ace out the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) which then stalked off in a huff. (The only



Workers World

Sam Marcy, self-proclaimed counter-revolutionist.

SWP presence in Washington May 3 was some *Militant* salesmen and a lit table for its "socialist Watersuit.") The Communist Party (CP) was initially upstaged by YAWF, but remained the main mobilizer of unionists and minorities through its myriad front groups and ties to the "progressive" union bureaucrats. But the crowd built during the day to unanticipated numbers as "no-nuke" kids and anti-Reagan liberals poured in from all over the East Coast and Midwest.

The PAM/YAWF organizers sought to replay the role of the CP/SWP in the Vietnam antiwar movement—delivering young politically heterogeneous protesters to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. So their main job was to get the thousands of protesters to the Pentagon so they could hear Bella Abzug, Paul O'Dwyer, Herbert Daughtry and John Conyers (a no-show). After themselves being subjected to sinister "violence"-baiting by social democrats from the SWP to Michael Harrington's DSOC, the Marcyites turned around and used the same sort of smear against the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, accusing the Spartacist League of being "provocative." When an independent on one PAM bus protested that he knew of no examples of SL provocation, the bus captains threatened to throw him off!

As for disruption, this was the monopoly of PAM on May 3. These waterboys for the Democrats used coercion to prevent marchers from exercising their democratic right to participate in the Anti-Imperialist rally. Like Fred Halstead's SWP goons in the '60s, the YAWF organizers understood that their job was to keep youth "uncontaminated" by communism, so they could be "clean for Gene" (or Bella or Teddy) at election time. These were the provocateurs and disrupters, and it's too bad that they didn't get a taste of their own medicine Sunday, for they could badly use a lesson in workers democracy.

At the assembly site near the Lincoln Memorial a speaker for the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) made it clear that the protest was to be nothing but a pressure tactic, as he spoke of "a groundswell that has forced Reagan to reassess his Salvadoran policy." (Want to bet?) At the Pentagon the political bloc with Bella was explicit. The Democratic loser elaborated on the liberal slogan of "no more Vietnams": "If we learned anything from Vietnam, it's that the time to stop a war is before it begins." She also praised a court suit by 11 Democratic Congressmen against Reagan's arms to El Salvador, and urged the many thousands brought there by PAM/YAWF, CISPES, the CP and the rest to "visit electoral punishment" on the Republican administration. In other words: "Vote Democrat in '82." Only the Anti-Imperialist Contingent—chanting "Remember the Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party, we know what side you're on"—drew a class line against the imperialist "doves."

What About "Two, Three, Many Vietnams"?

Way back when, the Marcyites used to be super-Guevarists, chanting "Two, Three, Many Vietnams." Today one of the main slogans in the PAM/May 3 Coalition march was "No More Vietnams," reflecting the liberals' opposition to another *losing* imperialist war. Today they only carry slogans acceptable to Teddy Kennedy and the *New York Times*. And just in case there are some aging YAWFers around who fondly recall their New Left days, Sam Marcy recently produced an opus, "On Negotiated Settlement and the Right of Self-Determination" (*Workers World*, 17 April) arguing in effect that there is a democratic right to sell out the struggle. Thus Marcy has become a self-confessed *enemy* of revolution.

The Marcyites' appeal to the liberal Democrats is in harmony with that of the bourgeois politicians of the Salvadoran popular front, the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), who faced with the murderous potential of American imperialism fearfully seek imperialist brokers for a deal with Reagan and his puppets. At the Pentagon May 3 FDR spokesman Arnaldo Ramos said the demonstration was part of "millions of progressive and peace-loving people... who are demanding a just political settlement to the internal crisis of El Salvador," which would be "one step in the long and difficult climb to the summit of democracy and social justice in Central America." This is a program for a bloodbath.

El Salvador is a classic case of permanent revolution. The local bourgeoisie has proved itself over more than a century and a half to be implacable foes of even basic bourgeois-democratic demands. Attempts at compromise with the junta will only leave the murderous officer corps and oligarchy intact.

Speakers at the Anti-Imperialist rally stressed the theme that anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home. A *WV* reporter back from the coal fields stressed that the question of "which side are you on" is as crucial in the Appalachians as in Central America: El Salvador is Harlan writ large. While Democrats and reformists at the Pentagon were talking of pressuring Reagan with promises of deals and threats of "electoral punishment," the Anti-Imperialists were underlining the fundamental alternatives for the Salvadoran masses—"revolution or death, workers must rule."

And their voice was heard. Over 21,000 leaflets in English and Spanish were distributed in Washington May 3, and thousands more on the West Coast, calling for military victory to the Salvadoran leftists. Over 1,100 issues of *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* were sold as well as pamphlets and hundreds of buttons. Nine Anti-Imperialist Contingent buses came to D.C., including a group of 24 that traveled 900 miles from Madison, Wisconsin. At Detroit's Ford River Rouge factory nearly $500 was contributed to send a group to Washington. And ex-Peace Corpsman Tom Janota tirelessly got the message out in Midwestern and Eastern cities, ending up in a successful fundraiser in New York City.

May 3 may prove to be a pivotal event as were the early Vietnam antiwar protests of 1965-66: Then, also, the Spartacist League participated in the Revolutionary Contingent calling for an NLF victory in the Vietnamese civil war and as against the petty-bourgeois radicals of the day we fought for labor action against the war. Today the SL is far larger, with roots in the factories and an audience on campuses from coast to coast. And many of the thousands of

WV Photo

San Francisco: Anti-Imperialist Contingent chants "No Draft, Class War—U.S. Out of El Salvador!"

Leftist Rebels Must Win the War!

WV Photo

young protesters who walked miles to hear Bella and the Democrats will remember that the Spartacist League told the truth: "Defeat Reagan's Cold War, The Line Is Drawn in El Salvador!" ■

San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO—Upwards of 10,000 people marched here May 3 from the Federal Building to Dolores Park, demanding "U.S. Out of El Salvador!" The Anti-Imperialist Contingent of over 300 people which filled the streets with its chants of "Smash the Junta—Workers to Power!" was the only revolutionary contingent and the largest political tendency to march that day. From the moment its banners went up, the Contingent's energy and hard class stand on the side of the armed struggle of the Salvadoran insurgents were a pole of attraction to youth and working-class militants throughout the Bay Area.

In contrast to the New Leftovers dominating the rest of the mushy liberal crowd, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, organized by the Spartacist League, stood out for its youth and energy. Marching with it were students under the banners of University of California/Berkeley, UC Santa Cruz and San Francisco State. A busload of marchers came up from Los Angeles. A dozen high school students from Mendocino County joined the Contingent with their banner, "Our generation missed the last war, let's keep it that way."

The Contingent swelled along the line of march. Scores joined up, knowing in their guts there is nothing to negotiate with the kill-crazed Salvadoran junta butchers, that only the military victory of the leftist insurgents can build a future for the masses of this besieged land. Some 180 "Military Victory" and other Contingent placards were distributed to demonstrators. Some took them to other parts of the march—when the liberals kicked them out, they returned to march under the Contingent banners. The size and spirit flabbergasted the SL's reformist opponents in the area. "I didn't know there were that many Sparts in the world," one dismayed bystander cried.

The SF march was jointly organized by the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) and the May 3 Coalition, two reformist outfits dominated by Workers World Party and the Communist Party respectively, and representing between them the spectrum of Bay Area Stalinist and social-democratic organizations. While politically indistinguishable in their refusal to take sides against their "own" bourgeoisie, the weeks before the march were dominated by squabbling between the two groups for organizational position.

That both coalitions were united in tailoring their demands to the interests of Democratic Party liberals was graphically demonstrated in the line of march. As the Anti-Imperialist Contingent filled the streets with its chants, the Harvey Milk Gay Democratic Club behind took up a chant of its own: "Stop Your Macho Chants Now!" They were especially incensed at the Contingent's chant, "Remember Bay of Pigs, Remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, We Know Which Side You're On!" A rag-tag dozen of anti-communist anarchists plunked themselves down in front of the Contingent—correctly sniffing out the Bolsheviks as a target for their red-baiting ire. Their ox was really gored at the Contingent chant, "Cuba/USSR—Arms to El Salvador!"

Notably absent from the demonstration was the legal cretinist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) which did not march, but sent a few *Militant* sellers to the rally site. When asked why there was no SWP contingent, YSA leader Bill Baker dismissed the 5,000 demonstrators as "a lot of jaded leftists." The CIA/fascist "Moonies" were expelled from the area: they obscenely hung a Latin guerrilla in effigy and were attacked, their banner and effigy ripped down.

After the long march, the crowd marching five abreast filed into Dolores Park. Here it divided, the reformists marching off to the right, the Anti-Imperialists turning left to their own rally site.

At the rally Diana Coleman, Spartacist-supported candidate in the 1980 elections for SF Board of Supervisors, noted that "The repression continues in El Salvador as it has for decades." She told of the 1932 insurrection of predominantly Indian coffee workers under the leadership of the Communist Party, and the 30,000 killed when the junta crushed that insurrection. "We want a workers revolution in El Salvador that will avenge the blood of the martyrs of 1932," she said.

The crowd cheered when Coleman said "We want the Soviet Union to send guns to El Salvador. We want them to send anti-aircraft guns so they can shoot those American helicopters out of the sky!" She concluded,

> "As long as U.S. imperialism exists, they will continue to support every military dictatorship around the world, from El Salvador to Somoza in Nicaragua, to the shah of Iran, to Marcos in the Philippines, to the junta in Chile, to the junta in El Salvador. And they'll continue their drive against the Soviet Union. So we say we need a workers revolution in the United States. And we will see to it that the blood of El Salvador and the blood of a million Vietnamese who were killed by U.S. imperialism will be avenged."

At the conclusion, while the liberals and preachers across the way were still droning on, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent enthusiastically adjourned to a well-attended party.

Vancouver

VANCOUVER—As in Washington, D.C. and San Francisco, a militant, spirited Anti-Imperialist Contingent demonstrated in Seattle, joining over 3,000 who paraded despite a drenching downpour. Thirty-five militants from Vancouver, Seattle and Portland marched to demand "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists." Scores more picked up the chants, "Smash the Junta—Workers to Power!" and "Leftist Rebels Must Win the War, Avenge the Blood of El Salvador!"

Several times during the march, PAM marshals limply asked the contingent to chant only the liberal slogans they had "authorized," but the Anti-Imperialist marchers refused to allow the politics of the liberals and their left hangers-on to monopolize the protest. Earlier in the week, PAM had unsuccessfully attempted to exclude from the demonstration all organizationally identified banners except their own.

While differing organizations insisted on the right to march under their own banners, the politics they marched under were practically indistinguishable, with the outstanding exception of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. The anti-draft coalition CARD, the "feminist-socialist" FSP and the "peaceful, legal" reformist SWP/YSA all carried as their main slogan, "No Draft, No War," with CARD and YSA adding "U.S. Out of El Salvador." To this liberal pacifism, the Anti-Imperialists countered, "No Draft, *Class* War, U.S. Out of El Salvador!"—a chant that was also taken up by other marchers.

The sharpest political confrontation centered on the pivotal question of the Soviet Union. The U.S. imperialists have targeted their nuclear missiles at Russia, while Reagan and Haig want to draw the line against communism in rivers of blood running through El Salvador. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent's most spirited chant was, "1, 2, 3, 4—U.S. Out of El Salvador! 5, 6, 7, 8—Defend the Soviet Workers State!" This slogan resounding up and down the line of march drove into a frenzy an unholy alliance of the Albania-loving Marxist-Leninist Party, the bizarre pro-"Gang of Four" Revolutionary Communist Party, the State Department Socialist Party and a rag-tag crew of self-proclaimed anarchists. When the MLP tried to spit out their anti-communist venom with the chant, "Smash Red Army in Afghanistan," they were completely drowned out by the Anti-Imperialists who proudly proclaimed, "Down with the Bride Price, Down with the Veil, Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" ■

Celtics Rally to Beat 76ers, 91-90, Move to Final Round — Page D1

The Washington Post

MONDAY MAY 4 1981

Mass Slaying Suspect Last Seen in Ill.

Husband of Victim Tied to Abduction Of Va. Woman, Son

Allies Accept A New Plan On Namibia

U.N. Urges Changes to Prevent Armed Takeover S. Africa

25,000 March in Mixed Protest

Sands, in Coma, Brings Attention to Ulster's 'Troubles'

AP photo of Anti-Imperialist Contingent flashed 'round the world.

"The Line Is Drawn in El Salvador!"

Speeches at D.C. Anti-Imperialist Contingent Rally

WV Photo

Tom Janota: In El Salvador you have to take a side.

Tom Janota

The last Peace Corps teacher to leave El Salvador. Janota was expelled from a Madison-area CISPES affiliate for criticizing the FDR popular front and endorsing an SL-initiated rally for military victory to left-wing rebels in El Salvador. He has just completed a Midwest/East Coast tour to build the May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

I was in El Salvador last year at this time and saw what the reforms by this civilian-military junta mean. I was there in October of 1979, when the first actions of that junta were to crush workers strikes in San Bartolo, in Soyapango. Following the October 15 coup, I watched as workers in the working-class suburbs of San Salvador—Cuscatancingo, San Marcos, Mejicanos—as they rose up to extend the "revolution" and to make it real. I also saw what the reaction of the military was: they brought in the troops, they brought in the tanks and they massacred working people. This was the reform junta, so-called, this was the progressive colonels and their changes for El Salvador—nothing but a continuation of 50 years of military rule.

I was there in January of last year when on January 22, 1980 more than 200,000 leftists marched in the streets of El Salvador—a march stretching 70 blocks from the outskirts of the city into the center.

I was there in March of last year when the so-called land reform was called, the reform that is known in Salvador as the "reform by death." The agrarian reform was followed the next day by a state of siege that allowed the military to occupy the countryside—so that the countryside became already in March of last year a militarized zone. I watched as the peasants of Colima hacienda in Chalatenango organized themselves—took over the estate and said, "Alright, the agrarian reform has been called. Let's see if it applies to us." The government's answer came quickly: they were surrounded by tanks and blown away.

I watched in April of last year as the Frente Democrático Revolucionario was formed. Somehow they had to use the same leaders that had already been tried once before. So that Guillermo Ungo, the current president of the FDR, was also a member of the first junta—that first bloody junta that came to power by crushing workers strikes in the Free Trade Zone in San Bartolo. And the first president of the FDR, Alvarez Córdova, was also a member of that first junta, the first try at a coalition government.

Those events have led me to take a side in the civil war, just as my friends right now in El Salvador, my friends in Atiquizaya, my friends in Chalchuapa, my friends in Morazán, my friends in Soyapango—*must* take a side in the war. Just as they must confront the military, confront the so-called Duarte government, the facade for the military repressers. Just as they must take a side in the civil war, so must we all.

That's why I say there is no way, there is no way there is going to be a negotiated settlement made in Mexico City, a negotiated settlement in Stockholm, a negotiated settlement in Washington, D.C. Victory on the battlefield, victory in the factories of El Salvador, victory in the countryside of El Salvador for the leftist insurgents—that will be the change in El Salvador. That will bring the social revolution that that country has so long needed.

There is a civil war in El Salvador. We here cannot stand idly by. We must take a side. Our brothers and sisters are already fighting and dying every day. Victory to the leftist insurgents in El Salvador! Long live the social revolution in El Salvador!

Jan Norden

Spartacist League Central Committee. Editor, Workers Vanguard.

I'd like to appeal to the people who are leaving the PAM rally to come down to the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. This is the only rally which takes a side in the civil war in El Salvador. We have here the flag of the FMLN [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front, military organization of the Salvadoran leftists]. You won't see that flag in the other rally. You know why? The FMLN is the enemy of the American government. And they don't want to side with "the enemy." They just want the American government to have more intelligent policies. That's why they *refuse* to call for military victory.

Our flag, the Trotskyist flag with the hammer and sickle and four, is the flag under which the Russian Revolution was made, the October Revolution, which was the first and only time that the workers of the world had been able to take history into their hands. This flag flies at our demonstration as well. You won't find red flags at that other demonstration because they might offend Bella. They might offend John Conyers. They might offend Teddy Kennedy.

So their rally is in fact counterposed politically to ours because this is a rally to deal a defeat to imperialism and theirs is a rally to side with the Democratic doves of imperialism: the same people who were Democratic doves over Vietnam and who one year later were imperialist hawks over the Mideast.

So I ask you now: the American bastion of what it calls the "Free World" says it's fighting against an international terrorist conspiracy. Communism equals terrorism, say Reagan and Haig—that's General "Just-Call-Mc-Douglas-MacArthur" Haig. And who are the terrorists?

Take El Salvador. Who are the killers who shot down four American nuns with American guns, as the slogan goes? Were those agents of Moscow? Their men from Havana? No. Even the FBI admits that it was the Salvadoran National Guard, the forces of law and order—bourgeois law and order, that is. They also gunned down the leaders of the left-wing opposition, even dissident landlords. They don't care. They even murdered CIA-connected land reform officials in the Hilton Hotel coffee shop.

And now they just murdered another Maryknoll missionary from Chicago—a courageous man who had just gotten out of an American jail for planting wheat in the Pentagon lawn. More often they try to intimidate the masses with random terror, shooting peasant women in cotton dresses and leaving their bodies alongside the dusty roads to serve as a lesson to all.

They make My Lai look like child's play. And why not? They've got Green Beret advisers who assassinated "Che" in Bolivia. They've got Huey helicopters, 105 mm bazookas, phosphorus bombs. They hired Cuban *gusano* marksmen to put Archbishop Romero between their cross hairs while he was celebrating mass. These are the terrorists. And they're terrorists made in USA.

At the Pentagon they have some Democrats and liberals saying that Yankee imperialism should have another policy—spend American dollars in America, self-determination for El Salvadorans, hands off. Well, we're for *imperialist* hands off, but we can see the reality—that there's a civil war going on and if the workers and peasants do not win it, the Salvadoran colonels will stage a bloodbath whether or not they are accompanied by American army advisers. We stand with the exploited and oppressed. We fight for *our class to win*, for workers revolution.

And we tell the truth to the masses. The truth is that El Salvador has become the focal point of American imperialism's anti-Soviet Cold War. That's why we say that the defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in El Salvador. It's the issue that the reformists want to duck and it's the issue that the liberals are opposed to, because they stand with Reagan four-square in that anti-Soviet Cold War. It was started by Carter.

Now, all of the "human rights" imperialists—excuse me, today it's the "anti-terrorist" imperialists—announced last year they were just helping freedom fighters in Afghanistan. Those "freedom fighters" sell young girls as chattel slaves. They shoot anyone trying to teach young girls how to read as communist subversives! And now, it's in the paper today, the U.S. is giving military aid to the "Kampuchean rebels." Well, who's that? That's Pol Pot, right? Two years ago Pol Pot was supposed to have carried out communist genocide—well, it was genocide all right, but it wasn't communism. But today he's a defender of the "Free World" for Reagan.

So they say, "No more Vietnams." How come you see a Vietnamese flag up here and they don't want to put a Vietnamese flag there. Because Vietnam to the liberals was a *losing* war. Well, Vietnam to anybody who stands on the working-class side of the class line was a *winning* war. We called, in the last stages of that war, for "Viet Cong Take Saigon!" We were notorious in the antiwar movement because we said "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" That was the program of the Trotskyists.

They published a poll last week. Seventy percent of the American people are opposed to any U.S. involvement in El Salvador. And the reason is simple. If you've learned one thing from Vietnam, it's that the interests of the American working people and the interests of the masses in this country are counterposed to the interests of the government, which *has* to sow death and destruction around the world, because it is imperialist.

What really defeated the movement in the '70s was that everything was divided up into sectoralism. You had a movement for gays, you had a feminist movement, you had a movement for everybody. Even the workers could get their movement. Everybody could do their thing. It was called sectoralism, and it wasn't united because it didn't have the crucial element to unite all these elements, and that's the vanguard party.

The era of sectoralism is over. Reagan has killed it. And what's needed now is to struggle in this country as well, to unite all of those forces of the working class and the oppressed behind a struggle for proletarian power. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home.

So it's the Spartacist League that has said, you have to prepare for the Reagan

WV Photo

Don Alexander, SL Central Committee member.

years by fighting for the class line, whether it's in El Salvador, whether it's fighting to smash the Nazis, to defend black people from racist terror in this country, whether it's a question of defending democratic rights for homosexuals. We defend the class line and the democratic rights of all the oppressed. That is what it means to be a communist vanguard party.

That's why this demonstration exists today. If it were not for the Spartacist League, nobody would have come out for military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. That is a great honor, that we have done that, and we intend to continue that movement. We're very proud of the fact that we've drawn several hundred here today. Because it is a promise for the future, and we intend to fulfill that promise.

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Miners Heckle "Sellout Sam" at Pittsburgh Rally

PITTSBURGH, April 30—Over a thousand miners rallied in Point Park here today in response to a call from so-called "dissident" local officials of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). But miners who came expecting to hear a militant strategy found the "dissidents" were rallying around union president Sam Church, who spoke at the rally—and the miners did not like the fake "unity" one bit.

"Hey, Sam, how's that Wheeling feeling?" one miner heckled—a reference to Church's attempts to sell the first contract proposal in March. (When Church appeared at a radio station in Wheeling on March 27, the station was picketed by 150 miners who pounded on his car yelling, "Sellout, sellout, sellout.") Another miner summed up his feelings about Church in one word: "Scab!"

Church indicated his desire to settle for yet another sellout contract when he soft-pedaled criticism of B.R. Brown, the chief negotiator for the bosses' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), by asserting that Brown "is not in control of his actions"(!) but is merely being "held hostage by 'Big Oil'." AFL-CIO leaders in attendance gave their usual perfunctory pledges of support.

But what is needed is solidarity *action*—in particular, a joint coal/rail strike—to defeat the coal bosses' take-away demands, which threaten the union's existence. The UMWA must not only maintain pension funding and jurisdiction over coal jobs but must win back the health card lost in the 1978 strike and make real gains (right to strike, full COLA) if it is to carry off a successful organizing drive in the growing number of non-union mines.

So-called "dissidents" like District 17 (southern West Virginia) president Jack Perry and District 6 (Ohio) president Ed Bell clearly have no alternative strategy, and Bell actually tried to quash miners' militancy at the rally. "Don't break us up, don't split us up," Bell appealed to the miners in his three-minute speech. District 17 vice-president Cecil Roberts spent his speech calling for a false unity around the leadership and uttered no criticism.

The dissidents had been pushing the illusory and dangerous idea of settling with "independent" companies (outside of BCOA) and reducing the strike to concentrate on the giant Consolidation Coal Co., whose head, B.R. Brown, also speaks for the BCOA. The rally organizers went so far as to allow a speaker from one of the independent *companies!* But even Perry admitted to a UPI reporter recently that such a deal was not probable because "it only takes seven large [BCOA] coal companies to control a majority of the tonnage."

Coal, Rail: Strike Together!

The strike was strengthened when 2,000 UMWA hard-coal miners in Pennsylvania voted to strike May 1 for their own contracts, which are normally negotiated separately. In the coal fields, strike battles have flared up since talks broke down again two weeks ago. In Virginia, where 240 state troopers are trying to keep the mines open for the bosses, 23 miners were arrested on May 1 for allegedly pelting two police cars with stones on Route 606. And in Kentucky 200 state troopers with police planes were placed on alert against the strike.

In late April there were incidents of snipers firing on scab coal trucks in Kentucky, where independent truckers are seeking to unionize. In Raleigh County, West Virginia miners began gathering in front of Philpott Coal Company offices on April 23 when they heard the company might try to process scab coal. Company guards fired shots. Eventually the company president, the mine superintendent and five guards were escorted out of the offices and *out of state* by the local sheriff and UMWA officials!

The favorable response by railroad workers in respecting UMWA picket lines makes clear the potential for a joint coal/rail strike, key to victory. (Contracts for thousands of rail workers expired in April, but no strike has been called.) On April 2 and 3 miners from District 29 in southern West Virginia picketed the train yards in Hinton. For 36 hours trains were stopped by railroad workers, until federal marshals came in with an injunction. On April 12 and 13 railroad workers stopped trains for 24 hours in Williamson, West Virginia until pickets were removed by SWAT teams with high-powered rifles and .357 magnums.

Joint strike action is urgently needed to smash the injunctions, stop the government attacks and bring the bosses to their knees. But the key to all this is to forge a class-struggle leadership with the program and determination to lead the struggle to victory. And for all the militant and imaginative tactics, the "dissident" UMWA local officials stumble over the crucial question of leadership. Thus after the bitter 1977-78 strike, when Miller was virtually run out of the coal fields, the only effect on the International was to put in "Sellout Sam" Church.

David "Blue" Lamm, editor of the *Coalfield Defender* and member of UMWA Local 633, whose pickets shut down the rail yards in Hinton, has been touring the country raising money from unions in steel, garment and elsewhere for the West Virginia UMWA Strike Committee. Speaking at a showing of "Harlan County" in New York on April 30, Lamm correctly noted that it is imperative to "move outside of the legal restraints of the labor laws" like Taft-Hartley to "defend our class."

This is certainly a step forward, but Lamm falls down on the critical question of Church and the International. When a *WV* reporter commented that Church has clearly been repudiated by the ranks and should be recalled along with the bargaining council, Lamm commented that recall would be "a foolish thing to do" because it wastes energy, and the ranks should just "ignore the International" right now. Thus Lamm would leave the union crippled at the top, as in the 1977-78 strike, which was lost by Miller's (and Church's!) conscious sabotage.

At the UMWA's rally in Washington on March 9, Lamm showed his true colors by trying to feed off the right-wing atmosphere with the assurance that his paper was "not a communist paper." Indeed it isn't!

Already over a month on strike, the miners cannot hold on alone forever, and a defeat would be disastrous for the entire working class. Strike committees must be formed not only to spread the strike but to dump the discredited sellout leadership. Railroad workers: strike now! For a joint coal/rail strike! Victory to the UMWA!■

20,000 Rail Workers Protest Reagan Cuts

Some 20,000 railroad workers from 21 unions demonstrated in Washington, D.C. April 29 against Reagan's proposed cuts in federal aid to Amtrak and Conrail. (So many Conrail workers were absent from work that day that there was a 20 percent cut in rail service.) The administration's cuts threaten to eliminate 72,000 rail jobs. Although contracts for thousands of rail workers expired in April, conservative craft union officials are afraid to defy the anti-strike Railway Labor Act of 1926. With 160,000 coal miners already on strike, there is an urgent need for a joint coal/rail strike! Railroad workers—strike now!

USWA Elections...

(continued from page 3)

militant program to sweep out all the pro-company hacks from union office.

As early as the 1974 District 31 elections, we warned:

> "The Sadlowski story has been played out many times before: an 'honest' union official breaks with the incumbent team, leading a 'rank-and-file revolt' to 'clean up the union.' Once elected the 'maverick' is miraculously tamed, and things go on much as before."
>
> —"Ed Sadlowski: Out-Bureaucrat on the Make," *WV* No. 57, 22 November 1974

This, of course, is exactly what happened. But it didn't stop virtually the entire left, except for the Spartacist League, from lionizing the phony "steel rebel" with his cheap "progressive" rhetoric and no action to fight for the urgent needs of steel workers. About the only other group to oppose both Sadlowski and McBride, the Maoist October League (now the crisis-wracked CP-ML), has since renounced this unaccustomed militant posture as "ultraleft" (see article this issue). Certainly for people who now stand with U.S. imperialism against Vietnam and Afghanistan, opposition to a sellout social-democratic labor faker is out of character. They, along with other reformist "best builders" of the Sadlowski/Balanoff campaigns like the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, simply want to climb aboard the bureaucratic gravy train rather than build a class-struggle opposition that can lead steel workers to victory over the bosses and their government.

Steel workers were presented with a class-struggle program for their union when Sam Hunt and Millie Leonard ran last July for election as delegates to the 1980 convention from Local 1010 at Inland Steel. In the local, which is Balanoff's strongest base and the home base of the Rank and File Caucus, these militants racked up over 800 votes each on a program which included full support to the Keith Anwar picket line case and the right to honor picket lines, plant occupations to stop shutdowns, a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to end layoffs, no government interference in the union movement, labor/black defense against fascist terror, a workers party to fight for a workers government, and opposition to both chauvinist protectionism and the reactionary anti-Soviet war drive.

It is a program like this, not the tweedledum-tweedledee Parton-Balanoff contest, which poses a real choice for steel workers, that gives them a chance to beat back the escalating attacks of the steel companies and the capitalist government. It is the only program that can win.■

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Union of the Left...

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the Socialist International over cooperation with West European Communist Parties. On one side were the northern social democrats (particularly Helmut Schmidt's West German SPD), hardliners against any form of CP alliance; on the other were their Mediterranean colleagues who saw popular fronts as a means of "moderating" Communist Party influence in a more left-wing context. This led to a clash between Mitterrand and Schmidt at a Second International conference in Helsingor, Denmark in January 1976. In particular, the West German chancellor stressed the "threat" to NATO and the Common Market from "any kind of cooperation" with the Communists.

Mitterrand defended the Union of the Left and held a conference of southern European social democrats in Paris a week later to endorse his position. Yet one month later the "southern front" had been broken, as both Mário Soares of the Portuguese Socialists (PS) and Felipe González of the Spanish PSOE announced in Vienna that no alliance with the Communists was possible. "Mr. Soares was categoric: his party cannot collaborate with the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), principally because of the latter's Stalinist positions," reported *Le Monde* (14 February 1976). And in mid-March European SP leaders gathered in Porto for a meeting where Soares got the endorsement for his absolute refusal of any alliance with Alvaro Cunhal's PCP. This rejection was all the more significant as throughout this period the PS and PCP had a comfortable majority in the Portuguese parliament and Cunhal was calling for a "left government." Instead, Soares preferred an unstable PS minority government that eventually opened the way for right-wing forces as revolutionary fervor died down.

Now how did this turnaround of the social democrats come about? There was indeed a conspiracy, but it is hardly the one alleged by the OCI et al. Prior to the Helsingor meeting, the United States went all-out "urging West European Socialist parties to reject feelers of cooperation by the Italian and French Communists":

> "Socialists and Social Democrats in Bonn, Paris and Stockholm say that the ambassadors called on them on orders from Dr. Kissinger.
> "The gist of their message, according to several sources, was that despite increasing signs of independence among the French and Italian Communist parties, communism had not essentially changed its aims and the Socialists would be making a fatal mistake in believing that communism was less dangerous than before....
> "'They haven't heard talk like this since the days of John Foster Dulles,' one American official said.
> "The American lobbying was intensive and widespread. In Paris, Ambassador Kenneth Rush told Claude Estier and Gilles Martinet of the Socialist Party that the United States would 'not tolerate' participation by the Communists in any French government, they said."
>
> —*New York Times*, 5 February 1976

As for the famous "Solidarity Committee for Democracy and Social Progress in Portugal" which called the Porto meeting, this was a device whereby the CIA channeled several million dollars *monthly* to the Portuguese Socialists through Schmidt's SPD. Felipe González' party, also, lived in good part on massive doses of D-marks during the crucial period following the death of Franco. To complete the picture, there have been numerous reports of heavy SPD financing of the PS campaign in the 1978 French legislative elections. And there is no doubt that if any of these parties had been in a coalition with a Communist Party, their subsidies would have been cut off down to the last pfennig.

Let's be clear: heavy bourgeois political pressures, threats from Washington, dollars and D-marks played an important role in keeping southern European Communist parties out of governmental participation during the period 1975-78. The imperialists said no and the social democrats danced to their tune. But, again, it was not simply a conspiracy. Even as such operations go it was not on the scale of the American intervention to get the CPs thrown out of the French and Italian governments in 1947-48. And the European bourgeoisies and SPs were more than willing. Portugal was a real watershed, as they watched with anguish the revolutionary ferment on the banks of the Tage, where Cunhal's PCP was under tremendous pressure from centrist forces on its own left flank. The bourgeoisie wanted iron-clad guarantees of the "Communists'" undivided loyalties. But while the PCF tops talked of Eurocommunism, even dropping references to the dictatorship of the proletariat from the party program, they refused to join the imperialist/social-democratic wolf cries over the supposed danger of a "Prague coup" in Lisbon led by the Stalinist Cunhal. The bourgeoisie demanded guarantees that Marchais was not prepared to give because he wasn't sure what he was getting in return.

Le Bolchevik

French Communist Party (PCF) pushes chauvinist anti-immigrant campaign and economic protectionism.

Eurocommunism with its Back to the Wall

As we have pointed out, Eurocommunism is a transitory stage in the social-democratization of the Stalinist parties. As reformists for almost half a century (ever since they allowed Hitlerite fascism to march to power unhindered), the Stalinists have definitively passed over to the side of the bourgeois order against proletarian revolution. But their primary loyalties were originally to the Kremlin bureaucracy, and when the Soviet Union came under attack from imperialism they were capable of withdrawing into a besieged fortress condition. Trotsky pointed out that over the years Stalin's nationalist policy of "socialism in one country" would lead to the breakdown of the Comintern, as Communist parties outside the USSR increasingly swear fealty to their "own" bourgeoisies. But to be accepted as "normal" governmental partners like the British Labour Party or the SPD, and not just as a last resort to stave off the imminent threat of revolution (as in the case of the mid-'30s and post-WWII popular fronts), then the Stalinists would have to fulfill the imperialists' demand that they break totally with Moscow. This is what they required of the PCF.

But the reformists want guarantees as well. In spite of all their parliamentary deputies, mayors, municipal councillors and an annual budget of 80 million francs [more than U.S. $20 million], Marchais and his bureaucratic colleagues at Place Colonel Fabien occasionally wonder what would happen to them in a crisis. Their fears were expressed at the PCF conference which nominated Marchais for president, as party leaders noted that "three times," in 1936, 1947 and 1972, "the PCF-PS union, although born in enthusiasm, came to a bad end." And just look at the fate of Mr. Eurocommunism himself, Spanish PCE leader Santiago Carrillo, who threw caution to the wind and came out 100 percent for king and country. What does he get? Kidnapped by the Guardia Civil, and next time perhaps a successful coup d'état that would drive his party deep underground.

So when the imperialists and social democrats began pulling back from popular-front "experiments," Marchais & Co. responded by cooling off their own Eurocommunist flirtations. In December 1979, the PCF launched a mini-campaign against the American missiles targeted against the Soviet working masses. In January 1980 Marchais condemned imperialist interference in Afghanistan and came out for the Soviet intervention there. (In contrast, the treacherous PCI of Enrico Berlinguer and Carrillo's PCE joined in the imperialist chorus against the Soviet Union.) This is taken by the bourgeois press as the point where the PCF parted ways with Eurocommunism. These are also the issues which the Socialist leaders seize upon in the present electoral campaign to declare that a new Union of the Left is impossible. On the TV program "Cards on the table" Mitterrand spoke of a "kind of wished-for return to the ghetto in which they [the Communists] have again shut themselves up"; asked about the possibility of PCF ministers in the government, the PS candidate replied: "...as long as they remain aligned with foreign positions on matters as serious as Afghanistan, it does not seem to me reasonable to think...there would be Communist ministers" (*Le Monde*, 18 March).

So the Communist Party can legitimately talk of blackmail by the bourgeois and the PS—but by now (three times is enough?) even without the guidance of the Trotskyist program, the most vulgar empiricist could figure out that this is a political constant. Question: what then is the PCF's alternative? Answer: it hasn't any. It would sign up for a new popular front tomorrow if the international political climate changed. In his report at the party's nominating convention, Marchais' lieutenant Charles Fiterman reaffirmed: "Our line ...is to seek the union of all the popular forces, the union of the left" (*L'Humanité*, 13 October 1980). For the PCF leaders created the Union of the Left not for the conquest of power by the working class, but rather as a means to *hold in check* the combative energies shown in May 1968. Their complaint is that only they aren't given sufficient influence. The Ligue Trotskyste de France is the sole tendency that openly proclaims the Marxist lessons of history: that the popular front is a roadblock to revolution. That is why we raised the possibility of critical support to the PCF candidate when he was forced to run independently of a popular front.

. The LCR and OCI, though they lay claim to the mantle of Trotskyism and have many times our forces, are calling not for a *break* from the popular front but for its *reconstitution* under the guise of "PS-PCF unity." Moreover, their de facto rejection of the Trotskyist position on the Russian question—political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy, as an integral part of our unconditional defense of the conquests of the October Revolution—leads the LCR and OCI to draw fundamentally false lessons from the break-up of the Union of the Left and to present a pro-imperialist program in the present election. Blaming the "hand of Moscow" for the collapse of the French popular front, they propagate imperialist myths, acting as waterboys for Mitterrand. And on Afghanistan the positions of the Eurotrotskyists followed in the wake of Jimmy Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, while the reformists of the OCI go even further, calling for the export of Islamic counterrevolution to the USSR itself!

In France today, "unity" has become the codeword for pro-imperialist anti-Sovietism and reconstituting the defunct popular front. We agree with what Lenin wrote on unity in April 1914: "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the *unity of Marxists*, not unity between Marxists and opponents and distorters of Marxism." Militants of the Communist Party, demand a real break from the bourgeoisie—not poisonous French chauvinism but genuine proletarian internationalism! Not a new Union of the Left but a new 1968 that goes all the way! ■

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Speeches...

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Don Alexander

Spartacist League Central Committee. A longtime antiwar activist and fighter for the rights of black people, in 1979 he was one of the organizers of the Detroit November 10 rally which stopped the KKK from marching in the Motor City.

When "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher came to the United States a couple of months ago and had a chat with Reagan they concluded one thing, that they long for nothing more than to have this world rid of communism, leftism. And of course, in El Salvador that's precisely where it is beginning, their anti-Soviet Cold War drive. That's where the blood of the working people is running right now, and we're the only ones that want to avenge the blood of El Salvador. So that this Anti-Imperialist Contingent today—we built this contingent because we understand the necessity of taking a side in the civil war going on in El Salvador.

In fact, the organizers of this other rally were really organizing a pro-imperialist contingent, because they refuse to take a side. They actually *aid* and abet in committing enormous crimes of betrayal against the worker and peasant masses in El Salvador. And in doing so they echo the bourgeois liberal critics like Ted Kennedy, who simply want to cut off military aid to El Salvador and not cut off economic aid which keeps that junta alive, which keeps it afloat. So for example, some of the groups represented here, like the Socialist Workers Party, the Communist Party and the Youth Against War and Fascism, they say let's take some of the military aid that's going to El Salvador and use it for the investigation of the racist child killings going on in Atlanta. They tell black people in the North to put faith in this racist capitalist state, its cops, its court, its Congress, its politicians. They tell us to look to that racist dog Reagan to fight for our rights, to fight the Klan terrorists.

And what is very important, when we talk about the independent mobilization of blacks and workers in this country, we're talking about a strategy that actually works. So in Detroit when the Klan threatened to march in celebration of the Greensboro massacre, it was only the Spartacist League that mobilized labor and blacks in this city. We mobilized over 500—black auto workers and black youth and socialists—to stop the Klan from marching in downtown Detroit. Now of course we were facing Coleman Young's administration, who threatened to arrest us, but we had faith that the working class could be mobilized. We based our strategy upon that. So labor militants in the Ford River Rouge plant and the Spartacist League stopped the Klan from celebrating that massacre.

Derek Hirst

For the past two years elected chairman and political spokesman for the Gay Activist Alliance. The New York-based GAA, founded as an outcome of the 1969 Stonewall protests against cop repression of homosexuals, is perhaps the best-known gay rights organization in the country. Historically, GAA was known as a single-issue gay rights organization, but it has recently been undergoing political change and now defines itself as a revolutionary propaganda organization. Formerly, Hirst was managing editor of the Torch, *newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League.*

GAA calls for military victory of the leftists in El Salvador, to make a clear anti-imperialist statement. To all issues raised in El Salvador, and in our daily work, the resolution is *permanent* revolution. However, a large concentration of those slaughtered in El Salvador by the Christian Democratic junta and across the globe by imperialist might are youth.

El Salvador inherits the issue of freedom of youth. To GAA this means the destruction of the nuclear family—replacing it with the freedom to create, rather than submitting it to the dictate to procreate. In this country youth, and all of us, are under attack by sub-minimum wage legislation, the draft, the family protection act, age-of-consent legislation, attacks on abortion rights, and on and on. The economic and emotional deprivation this causes gay and lesbian youth demands the strongest possible response. GAA has responded actively to each and every one of these issues.

We are here, not only to voice the support of working-class homosexuals for the leftist military victory in El Salvador, we are also here to help to build a revolution in this country. To all male homosexuals and lesbians: it is not a question of protest, it is a question of power.

Frank Hicks

A spokesman for the Rouge Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group at UAW Local 600, the largest local union in the country. Hicks and other militants mobilized Rouge workers to run two KKK-hooded foremen out of the plant in October 1979. A month later the militants joined with the SL to organize the November 10 anti-Klan rally, the first labor-centered anti-fascist rally in decades.

We have a side in El Salvador. We must do everything in our power to guarantee that the workers and peasants of that country *win*, and win big! For us in the labor movement that means fighting to hot-cargo military goods to El Salvador. For the UAW, that means political strikes against Reagan if he sends in the Marines. But the hacks in Solidarity House in the UAW International, they're calling for the so-called political solution in El Salvador. They want to leave the army and the right-wing death squads intact, to kill and kill again, and that's the bitter truth. They don't want the brothers and sisters in El Salvador to win any more than they want *us* to win against Ford, against General Motors, against Chrysler.

Listen, brothers, the working class in Detroit is getting ground into dust. We *need* some class struggle at home, we need it real bad. We need sit-down strikes against plant closings and mass layoffs. But all we get from the labor bureaucracy in this country is a bunch of "Buy American" crap. This only fuels Reagan's patriotic fever, his anti-Soviet war drive. That's his real target in El Salvador—Cuba, Poland, the Soviet Union.

But for working people: listen, and listen good! There are *not* 300,000 auto workers laid off in Russia! And the Klan damn well doesn't ride in Moscow! Sure, they need to get rid of their bureaucrats like Brezhnev, just like we need to get rid of the bureaucrats in our unions, like Fraser and Kirkland. But we had better know that if we don't stop Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, we're gonna be in real trouble. Because those guys will push the button. And this patriotic fever—watch out! Reagan's so-called safety net is being rewoven into nothing but a lynch rope for minorities in this country.

So brothers and sisters, we're gonna make some hard fights in this country, against the Klan and the Nazis, with labor/black mobilizations like November 10 in Detroit, and like ANCAN in San Francisco. We're gonna take a side in El Salvador that calls for the workers to come to power. Nothing less is what they need. And likewise in this country, we're gonna make a fight for a workers party that will build actions like this Anti-Imperialist Contingent. So to those of you who broke through the Democratic Party lines up there: brothers and sisters, time is running short. I got one question: which side are you on? ■

"Butcher Thatcher—Blood on Your Hands"

MAY 5—Bitter protest against the killing of Bobby Sands began to explode this afternoon. In New York City over 5,000 picketed the British Consulate for hours. An effigy of Margaret Thatcher, draped in the British flag, was set afire to chants of "Burn the bitch!" A sign read "Bobby Sands, MP: Latest Victim of Pox Britannica" while bagpipes and drums accompanied a coffin.

But the big Irish politicians weren't at the biggest NYC Irish demonstration in ten years, even though Irish nationalist organizers had brought the American flag and appealed to "Mr. President" Reagan who calls the IRA just a bunch of crazy terrorists—and probably Soviet-backed, to boot. The Tip O'Neills and Pat Moynihans sure put aside their Irish blarney awfully fast. Thatcher's bloody policies have the full support of the American bourgeoisie, and the hack politicians know it—all their talk of "moderation" means: don't fight back!

The Spartacist League was at the protests, the only socialist organization with a large, militant contingent. Our chants like "Smash H-Block! Butcher Thatcher Must Go!" were picked up by many demonstrators. The organizers graciously brought Spartacist representative Kevin Quinn onto their flatbed truck to address the rally. Quinn insisted, "The ignominious murder of Bobby Sands must be avenged! We stand here in solidarity with the Irish workers, and say that H-Block must be smashed! We stand for unity of the Irish working class: not Green against Orange, but class against class. Only revolutionary unity of the Irish workers, linked up to the British working class, will free the Irish and all the people of the British Isles."

WV Photo

New York, May 5: "Smash H-Block!"

In London itself, heart of decaying, vicious British imperialism, most of the so-called British "left" abstained from protesting Thatcher. But at the Trafalgar Square rally the Spartacist League of Britain stood out as the most militant contingent among the largely Irish protesters. The contingent's chants—"Smash Britain's torture camps! Troops out now!" "Tories, Labour have blood on their hands, bloody butchers of Bobby Sands!" won wide support.

In the next days, reformist politicians will weep about the "terrible tragedy"; Thatcher/Reagan will continue to slaughter rebels against imperialism as "terrorists," to be shot or starved. And we will continue our fight to *avenge* Bobby Sands, through united working-class struggle to crush the imperialists and their torture-prisons once and for all!

Sands...

(continued from page 12)

the Republicans' fight for cross-class Catholic unity—a capitalist united Ireland? What sort of future does a capitalist Ireland hold that is worth dying for? Looking south, a fellow Republican faces the death sentence in Charles Haughey's Republic right now. The economy is floundering and unemployment and inflation are especially desperate in the deliberate absence of state benefits. With elections impending Haughey has only the "Irish unity" card to play in his bid to dodge the issue of the economy. But even here Haughey and other Irish bourgeois politicians are deliberately coy and evasive faced with the explosive H-block issue.

Workers Revolution Against British Imperialism

If the Republican solution offers no solution to the plight of the Catholic masses it is not for lack of courage but for lack of a political perspective to focus a death blow against their imperialist oppressors. But the so-called "revolutionaries" in Britain don't even have that courage. They scrambled after the handful of liberals and "left" Labourites who wanted a vague "commitment to withdrawal" only in order to better "defeat the gunmen." They dropped campaigning for "Troops Out Now!" What is needed in Britain as in Ireland is a perspective *of class* mobilisation against imperialism and for a proletarian socialist solution.

A militant Spartacist League contingent marching behind a banner reading "Smash Britain's Torture Camps, Troops Out Now!" fought for such a perspective against the Labour traitors and fake-lefts at a May Day demonstration called by the Birmingham trade-union movement on May 4. To the labour movement we say: Black [boycott] all military transport to Northern Ireland! Demand troops out now! Throw out your misleaders who uphold imperialist repression in Ireland just as they betray your own struggles at home.

Bobby Sands must not simply become another addition to the long list of martyrs for Irish freedom. He will only be avenged and British imperialism defeated when the united Irish working class puts an end to the rule of capitalism, Orange and Green. An Irish revolutionary vanguard must be forged to lead the fight for an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. ■

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri: 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat.: 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone: (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues: 5:30-9:00 p.m., Sat.: 2:00-5:30 p.m.
523 S Plymouth Court, 3rd Floor
Chicago, Illinois Phone: (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues: 6:00-9:00 p.m., Sat: 12:00-4:00 p.m
41 Warren St (one block below
Chambers St near Church St)
New York, N Y Phone: (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat., 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone: (416) 593-4138

WORKERS VANGUARD

British Troops Out!

Thatcher Kills Bobby Sands

Workers Unite to Smash British Imperialism!

LONDON, May 5—IRA prisoner Bobby Sands died last night of starvation in the Maze Prison. The deathwatch continues for three other Republican prisoners on hunger strike for political status, who wait behind Sands in a grisly queue. With arrogance and even relish Margaret Thatcher faced the prospect of their deaths and raced in British imperialism's repressive forces to crush the inevitable response of mass anger and outrage. The loyal Labour opposition backs her to the hilt: "No concessions! Defeat the terrorists!" they say in a disgusting display of imperialist bipartisanship.

Meanwhile the British Army shoots down and kills unarmed H-block protesters in the streets of Belfast and Derry, and dozens of protest leaders are arrested in Gestapo-style dawn raids. The hatred for the army of occupation grows. While Labour traitors join the chorus of support for "our boys" in Northern Ireland, we say: Get the Armed Imperialist Butchers Out Now! For the Immediate Unconditional Withdrawal of the British Army! Smash the Imperialist Torture Camps!

In Belfast and Derry the population, Catholic and Protestant, prepares for an explosion and a bloody showdown. The Protestant paramilitary Ulster Defence Association held a show of strength on the Shankill Road. Irish Republican

Martyred Irish Republican Bobby Sands.

citizens' defence committees prepare contingency plans in Catholic West Belfast. Households are stocked up on bread, bottled gas, tinned goods, powdered milk.

The army's Spearhead Battalion stands ready for dispatch across the water to the Six Counties and all police leave has been cancelled. Her Majesty's government provides a steady stream of war propaganda: "IRA Plans to Burn Belfast" read one *Daily Express* headline. And all the while Westminster arrogantly refuses to accede to the Republican prisoners' eminently just, even minimal, demand for political status. With autocratic disdain, Margaret Thatcher has condemned Bobby Sands and his comrades to a slow and painful death.

Belfast, April 26—Mass rally supports IRA prisoners' hunger strike for political status. UPI

Years of Myth-Making Out the Window

When the voters of Fermanagh in South Tyrone elected Sands their MP in a by-election on April 9, the government's long propaganda campaign to "prove" the IRA were isolated fanatics was demolished forever. As a *Guardian* (11 April) editorial put it, "Years of myth-making go out of the window with the election of Bobby Sands." This was a sweeping well-nigh unanimous vote by the Catholic community against imperialist oppression.

The full pressure of imperialist opinion and scare-mongering has been unleashed on the voters of this border constituency and tested in the straight contest between Sands and Protestant Unionist leader Harry West. Imperialism's labour lieutenants pitched in to do their bit as well. In an unprecedented polling day appeal from Westminster, Labour spokesman on Northern Ireland Don Concannon told voters that "a vote for Mr Sands is a vote of approval for the perpetrators of the La Mon massacre, Warren Point, the murder of Lord Mountbatten and all the other senseless murders that have taken place in Northern Ireland over the years."

Yet in his fortieth day without food Bobby Sands was elected a member of the imperial mother of parliaments on an 87 percent turnout. There was an outcry from the gentlemen of Westminster, who engage in polite debates about policies of mass deprivation and bloody repression, about having this "criminal" seated among them. Eventually the MPs decided not to expel Sands from their sovereign body in the expectation he would soon be dead anyway. Less than a score of Labour "lefts" could even be heard to murmur that the government might consider *negotiating* ("imaginatively") with Sands. Left hero Tony Benn graciously hinted that "someone" (someone else, that is) should propose feeding Sands at Westminster. Of meeting his demands not a word was heard from Benn or anyone else.

Meanwhile Bobby Sands was also the target of more subtle "humanitarian concern" by emissaries from Dublin, Rome, Brussels and almost everywhere else to put pressure on *him*, not the murderous Thatcher, to concede. Snivelling pro-imperialist reformists like Belfast MP Gerry Fitt and the former Officials (now "Sinn Fein the Workers Party") condemned the desperate hunger strike as "violent," while others simply whined their "peace" message. But there can be no peace so long as Britain lords it over Northern Ireland.

There is real tragedy in the death of this man with the courage to die in protest against oppression. The imperialists claim he is a criminal, but Bobby Sands' dignity and determination have made him an honourable symbol for the oppressed Catholic minority of Northern Ireland in the struggle against the obscene British presence. He is an IRA officer who would not ask his men to do what he would not do himself. Sands and his fellow hunger strikers simply demand that Republican prisoners should not be treated as criminals. They are right. Free the Hunger Strikers! Free All Victims of Imperialist Repression in Ireland!

Bobby Sands' only "crime" is that he fought against oppression. He was moved to join the Provisional IRA after his family was driven out of their predominantly Protestant neighbourhood and he was threatened out of his job at gunpoint. He has spent only six months out of prison in the past eight years. Some old handguns were found in his home in 1972. This earned him five years in the Maze. Six months after his release in 1976 he was stopped in a car with three others and the RUC [Royal Ulster Constabulary] found one revolver in the vehicle. Each of the four received 14 years.

Contrast the British troops armed to the teeth, killing with impunity. On Easter Sunday an army Land Rover ploughed into a group of protesting children in Derry at 50-60 miles an hour. Two young boys were killed and the vehicle was reversed over the broken dead body of one. The army commander "regretted" this "traffic accident." Fourteen years for possessing a handgun if you are in the IRA, "regret" over a "traffic accident" for cold-blooded murder if you are in the army. Such are British imperialism's scales of justice.

But the other tragedy of Bobby Sands is the sad fact that his death, however honourable his intentions, will not further the cause of ending oppression in Northern Ireland. And the reason is political. The bankruptcy of the Republican strategy was shown with the defeat of the last hunger strike, whose "humanitarian" focus and emphasis on a recognition from notables in foreign capitals did nothing to stop the manoeuvring and arrogant refusal of elementary rights by Britain. The whole strategy of pressuring imperialism, whether by civil libertarianism or by the bomb, offers no road forward. And with the situation in the North about to boil over, it is undoubtedly the Catholics who will be on the receiving end of stepped-up repression from the British imperialist army, police and Loyalist paramilitary terror gangs.

The IRA may well be the only force defending no-go areas and Catholic communities from Paisleyite atrocities and imperialist rampage. But it is in the very nature of Republicanism that as and when the conflict deepens, polarising along the lines of the early 1970s and worse, their nationalism will lead to an exacerbation of reactionary sectarian violence on both sides. Republican nationalism directs its acts of terror not only against imperialist targets like Earl Mountbatten and the British army of occupation but is also capable of such indefencible atrocities as the killing of thirteen innocent Protestants in the La Mon firebombing of early 1978. Class unity can and must be forged against sectarian terror as well as against imperialist rampage through the struggle for integrated workers militias.

And what about the political goal of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 281 22 May 1981

U.S. Heats Up Cold War Over SAM-6 Crisis

Near East War Threat

MAY 18—The Near East missile crisis of 1981 burst on the international scene April 29 when Syria moved Soviet-built SAM-6 anti-aircraft missiles into Lebanon. For five years Israeli jets massacred Palestinians and Lebanese villagers at will. But when the Israelis shot down two of Syrian ruler Assad's helicopters, the SAM missiles went up in the Bekaa Valley. Now, resorting to blatant provocation, Begin says he is going to knock them out. And there could be full-scale war if Israel tries to take them out by force.

The Zionists' arrogance is truly astounding. When Prime Minister Begin moans about Lebanese Christians being "annihilated" by the Syrians, his idea of the peaceful status quo is his "right" to systematically destroy the PLO. Since neither Israeli bombs nor pilots discriminate between civilians and "terrorists," destroying the PLO means destroying every Palestinian in southern Lebanon. That Assad had a deal to allow the Israeli air strikes clearly shows that his claim to be today's champion of the Palestinians is nothing but hypocritical bombast. But as former

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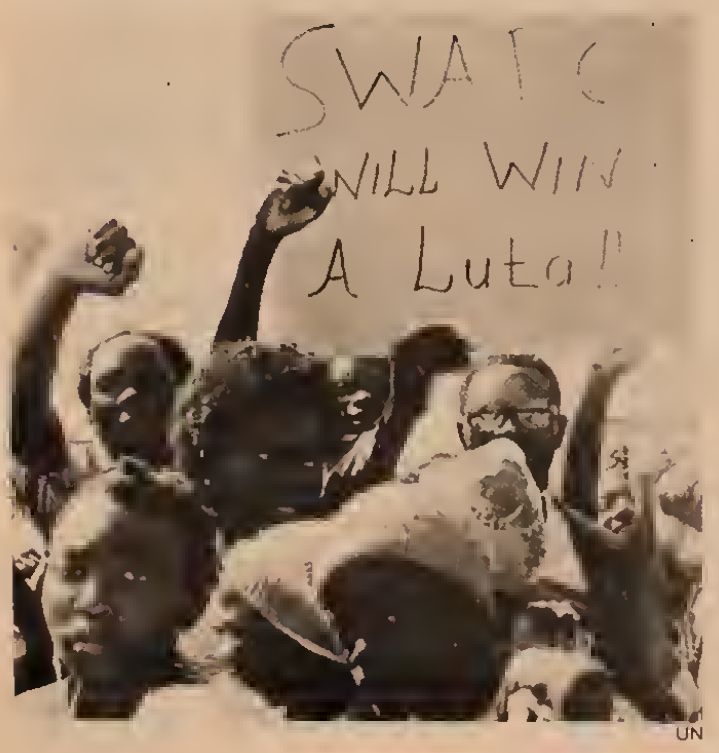
U.S. Army

U.S. helicopters train over Egypt. Reagan seeks to strengthen anti-Soviet alliance in Near East.

Targets Angola, SWAPO

Racist U.S./South Africa Axis



UN

"Reagan's program could have been written by the Klan," declared the Imperial Wizard from the deep South last November. And the rulers of the white supremacist hell that is South Africa also felt immediate kinship with the new U.S. president. South African government radio hailed Reagan's victory as a sign that "Western Christian culture" might yet triumph over Communism. Whether it is suppressing the black African guerrillas in Namibia or attacking the Cubans in Angola, the racist, imperialist U.S.-South Africa axis is stronger than ever.

In order to give its essentially anti-Soviet "human rights" campaign a semblance of "even-handedness" for the liberals, the Carter administration distanced itself from the apartheid state. But throwing off this liberal imperialist hypocrisy, Reagan embraces the butchers of Soweto as his own. And so they are. Visiting the U.S. recently, South African foreign minister Roelof Botha had what were described as "friendly" meetings with Reagan and Haig, meetings designed to work out a strategy for the Washington-Pretoria alliance.

On the key issue of independence for Namibia (South-West Africa), Washington has moved to frustrate black African diplomatic moves to ease out the occupying South African forces. Reagan has tried, unsuccessfully so far, to reverse the Clark Amendment restrictions on U.S. military aid to South African-backed guerrillas in Angola. And Reagan's UN ambassador, right-wing academic Jeane Kirkpatrick, has held secret, technically illegal, meetings with top South African military leaders.

The Reagan shift on South African policy is in harmony with his overall foreign policy, which amounts to an intensification of Carter's Cold War drive against the Soviet Union, Cuba and Soviet-bloc aid recipients such as Angola and Nicaragua. Kirkpatrick provided the ideological cover for this policy with her claim that racial dictatorship in South Africa is less "totalitarian" than Marxist "dictatorship." The Carter administration flirted with the idea of drawing nationalist regimes like Angola and Nicaragua away from the Soviets into the U.S. camp à la Sadat's Egypt. The Reagan administration seeks instead to "destabilize" and eventually overthrow these petty-bourgeois

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No to SWP Anti-Trotskyist Exclusionism!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S.

BOX 1377 GPO. NEW YORK, N Y 10116 212/732-7861

18 February 1981

Dear Friend,

On February 7, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) held a publicly-advertised rally to publicize its "socialist Watersuit" against the U.S. government's COINTELPRO program of harassment and disruption of the left. Members of the Spartacist League (SL) and other leftists were forcibly prevented from attending that "public" meeting by an SWP goon squad. At the same time that the SWP is seeking to build support for its lawsuit—billing the suit as a major blow in defending all socialists, unionists, blacks, etc. against repression—the SWP is itself violating the elementary democratic rights of other avowed socialists through cowardly exclusionism aimed at sealing off its own supporters from political debate.

The SWP hopes it can persuade civil libertarian supporters of its suit to countenance its anti-democratic exclusionism by telling them the excluded comrades are "disrupters." This is a simple slander, in the time-dishonored Moscow Trials tradition of Stalin who—using his authority as leader of ostensible Communism—sought by slander to cut off Trotskyist critics from a sympathetic hearing among leftists, "progressives" and liberals. Now the SWP wants to make Marxists into non-people, undeserving of workers democracy. These same methods have played no small role historically in undercutting genuine solidarist defense of victimized leftists. During the first Smith Act trials (1941-43), the Communist Party cheered the government's prosecution of "Trotskyite fifth columnists." Everyone knows that the Smith Act was soon turned against the CP itself.

Especially in the present context, to slander socialist opponents as lawless, violent, crazy "disrupters" is itself a tactic which facilitates witchhunting against the far-left, dovetailing the media's portrait of leftists as "extremists" and "terrorists" in seeking to create a climate favorable to their violent suppression (as in the case of the Panthers) and legal repression.

We are not disrupters, as the SWP knows full well. We are socialists who simply seek as members of the public to attend public meetings and speak from the floor during discussion periods. Far from "disrupting" SWP meetings, we are well known as consistent defenders of workers democracy, and have defended the SWP against disruption, gangsterism and slander. The SWP's exclusion of us and other members of the socialist public from its February 7 "public" meeting was a provocation, a genuine "disruption" of the left.

As socialists who have had our share of government persecution, we appreciate and have sought to publicize the revelations of COINTELPRO "dirty tricks" that have emerged from the SWP court suit. But the need for anti-sectarian unity in defense of socialists' civil rights is not served by the anti-democratic conduct of the SWP. Those concerned with civil liberties cannot countenance the attempt to suppress by exclusionism and slander (and ultimately by violence) the expression of dissident opinions on the left.

As a supporter of the SWP suit, you can effectively raise with the SWP your concern over its shameful exclusionism. If you would like further information about the February 7 incident or about us, please contact us at the above address/phone number. Please be sure to send a copy of your protest to the SWP to us as well.

Fraternally,
Walt Sloan

ACLU Activist Protests

May 5, 1981

Ms. Ramona Ripston
Executive Director
ACLU of Southern California
633 South Shatto Place
Los Angeles, CA 90005

Dear Ramona,

Last month, I—as a board member and school desegregation activist—was asked by the ACLU Speaker's Bureau to speak before the Socialist Workers Party's Militant Labor Forum on the issue of school desegregation.

The forums, held regularly by the SWP as a general public informational, discuss progressive social issues, this night's being, according to them, pro-busing.

As I arrived at the SWP meeting hall, I was met by a woman with whom I have worked politically since the mid-70s. She, along with four or five of her comrades, were selling the Spartacist League's Workers' Vanguard on the sidewalk outside the SWP headquarters. After a couple of congenial "hellos," I asked her if she was ready to come in to the forum. Then she told me that she and members of the organization were denied admittance by the SWP. Thinking that she was either mistaken or—more foolishly—that I could persuade them to let in the Spartacist League so that they too could participate in the discussion, I went inside and met with the organizers of the forum.

Not only were the Spartacist League members present that evening prohibited from attending the forum, but indeed—much to my surprise—no member of the Spartacist League in any part of the United States is allowed to attend a Militant Labor Forum or any other forum organized by the SWP. The forums are open to all other political organizations, as well as the general public.

This national exclusionary policy—enacted over a year ago, according to SWP members, by the party's central committee—is particularly distressing to me on several counts. As an avid reader and admirer of Trotsky, I find this prohibition especially offensive and a smear against the democratic traditions for which he lived and was murdered.

Moreover, the SWP itself has historically fallen victim to left sectarianism, the most virulent of which sent many of its most courageous and talented leaders to prison in the early 40s. There members of other left organizations during the Minneapolis labor trials rose as witnesses against the SWP and for the State, resulting in the first convictions under the infamous Smith Act. It is ironic that the SWP would, just a mere 40 years later, act in ways which discredit and evoke widespread condemnation of other left organizations—in this case the Spartacist League.

Finally, the concern of an organization for issues of justice, equality and democracy are belied by instituting a national, organization-wide exclusionary policy, so intractable as to defy reconsideration after a year's time.

And for me—well I couldn't go before an audience at the Militant Labor Forum and talk about the exclusionary policies of the Los Angeles Board of Education, and the West Valley's parents' cries against integration because black children "are disruptive and ill-behaved." Not when political allies were standing outside, barred from entry on the same baseless charges.

These practices are offensive to all of us—whether it's the California Club or the SWP. And I urge the ACLU to consider whether it can ask its members to share or participate with the SWP as long as this policy is in force.

Warm regards,
Linda Hunt

cc: The Socialist Workers Party
The Spartacist League

Linda Hunt is on the Board of Directors of the southern California ACLU and was formerly an ACLU staffer for five years. She coordinated the campaign in southern California against the anti-busing Proposition 1.

WV Photo

March to Defend Abortion Rights

Stop Moral Majority Tyranny!

On May 16, proclaimed "Reproductive Rights Day," thousands demonstrated across the country in defense of abortion and other women's rights. The protest came as Reagan's "Moral Majorityites" are hellbent on once again making abortion a crime, forcing women back to deadly back-alley practitioners, and turning doctors into "sex police" against teenage girls.

The most ominous development is the current Senate hearings on a proposed "Human Life Statute," sponsored by ultra-rightist North Carolina senator Jesse Helms, which would declare a fertilized egg a human being with full constitutional rights! If enacted, this grotesque anti-humanist law would subject doctors who perform abortions to prosecution for murder!

Spartacist contingents marched in New York and Boston under the banner of "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution." Our socialist program called for "Free Abortion on Demand!" and the extension of free, quality health care, including contraceptives and birth control information for all.

Spartacist Educational Weekend

- American Communism: 1915-1980
- Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Detente, Cold War II
- Lessons of the 1905 Revolution
- El Salvador: Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents

For more information, contact:

San Francisco Bay Area May 23-24
P.O. Box 935
Oakland, CA 94604
(415) 835-1535

Chicago May 29-31
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680
(312) 427-0003

New York City June 6-7
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10116
(212) 732-7860

Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League • registration fee: $5 (students $3)

U.S. Hands Off Irish Northern Aid!

Avenge Irish Martyrs!

Francis Hughes died on May 12, the second Irish Republican hunger striker killed by the bloody arrogance of British prime minister, "let 'em die" Margaret Thatcher. Mass demonstrations and protests, which broke out May 5 on the death of Bobby Sands in the Maze Prison, have continued throughout the past two weeks across the United States and Canada. The great courage with which Sands and Hughes met their death at the hands of British imperialism compels respect, while the cold cruelty of butcher Thatcher's government has sickened and horrified millions around the world. Meanwhile, more violence is awaited—even eagerly anticipated, it seems—by the British troops, as yet more coffins of hunger strikers are likely to come out of the hellhole Maze Prison. Just last week a fourteen-year-old girl was buried in Northern Ireland, cut down by British riot police bullets.

Both the ruling Tories and the Labour Party opposition in Westminster have refused to grant the IRA hunger strikers' just—even minimal—demands for political prisoner status, although the hundreds of H-block inmates were put there by special political ("anti-terrorist") tribunals where normal standards for witnesses, evidence and jury trials are dispensed with. The "crime" of Bobby Sands, who was elected a member of British parliament from his jail cell in Long Kesh Prison, was being present in a car where a handgun was found. And for this, "Iron Lady" Thatcher condemns him to death as a "common criminal" and even "murderer"! The real murderers are the British imperialists, who have subjected the oppressed Irish Catholic minority of Northern Ireland to years of bloody military occupation.

In the U.S., the Reagan administration has seized upon the H-block protests as part of its campaign to whip up an anti-Soviet "terrorist" frenzy. On May 1 the U.S. Justice Department obtained a court ruling to force the Irish Northern Aid (INA) to register as a "foreign agent" of the IRA. This would require the INA to turn over its financial records, lists of contributors and essentially anything else the government wants. Such McCarthyite witch-hunting against Irish Northern Aid is an attack on the entire left, labor and socialist movements in the United States and must be vigorously protested. Thus Spartacist League demonstrators in recent H-block demonstrations prominently carried signs demanding, "Hands Off the Northern Aid Committee!"

WV Photo

New York, May 7: Enraged by death of IRA leader Bobby Sands, proleslers burn Iron Lady Thalcher In effigy.

So far, at least, protests in the U.S. and Canada have been largely limited to Irish nationalist supporters. Most self-proclaimed socialist groups are conspicuous by their absence. Representatives of important trade unions spoke at a New York City rally May 7, including John Lawe of the Transport Workers Union, and the International Longshoremen's Association called on its members to boycott British ships for 24 hours. Such working-class actions against British imperialism are welcome and powerful weapons, which must be extended! Unfortunately, many of the Irish American trade-union leaders saw their actions as simply token gestures of support to "their people," and refuse to lead their ranks in a united struggle against the U.S. imperialist government, intimately linked to Thatcher's torturing, murdering policies.

The Spartacist League in the United States and the Trotskyist League of Canada have actively participated in most of the H-block protest demonstrations in North America. "Butcher Thatcher Has Blood on Her Hands! Avenge the Murder of Hughes and Sands!" and "Smash H-Block! British Troops Out!" were among the militant slogans of the SL and TL contingents. In New York on May 5, SL supporters were brought before television cameras by demonstrators who appreciated the militancy of the Spartacist participation. In Toronto, a Trotskyist League contingent joined with several hundred protesters outside the British Consulate May 9 and a TL banner demanding "Avenge Bobby Sands, Smash British Imperialism" appeared on national Canadian TV coverage of the demonstration. In the San Francisco Bay Area an impressive Spartacist contingent of 70—the only left organization with more than a token presence—joined the INA-called demonstration on the night of Sands' burial, May 7. Youths in the crowd of 2,000 picked up the Spartacist chant "British Troops Out Now!" as the gathering dispersed.

Above all, our fight to avenge the wanton killing of the IRA martyrs Sands and Hughes is a fight to forge a united working-class struggle against British imperialism, for an Irish workers republic and a socialist federation of the British Isles. The Spartacist tendency's strong participation in the protest demonstrations is part of our commitment to wage this fight to victory. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 281 **22 May 1981**

Ten Acquitted in Racist Frame-Up

Free All the "Pontiac Brothers"!

CHICAGO—After little more than five hours of deliberation, on May 9 a jury of seven blacks and five whites acquitted the ten black "Pontiac Brothers" on charges of murder, attempted murder and mob action—charges for which the state of Illinois had sought a mass death penalty. The "not guilty" verdict came in response to one of the flimsiest prison frame-ups in recent history—testimony to the immensely racist character of so-called American justice. Revolutionaries applaud this derailing of a "legal" racist atrocity.

The trial stemmed from a 22 July 1978 prison revolt at the Pontiac State Penitentiary in rural downstate Illinois, during which three prison guards were killed. The revolt was provoked by tremendous overcrowding and 110-degree temperatures in the decrepit institution. In its wake, the director of the Illinois Department of Corrections cynically stated that "it came a year later than most of us anticipated."

The state responded with brutal repression, putting the entire prison population of 2,000 under 24-hour deadlock, without work, visits, showers or even soap and toilet paper for eight months! It was under these barbaric conditions that the authorities were able to coerce "testimony" from prisoners who were given privileges, time-off sentences and transfers to less heinous minimum-security institutions.

Subsequently, an all-white grand jury brought down indictments against 17 black prisoners for murder and 14 others for lesser riot charges. As a defense attorney observed, "There are dozens of people accused of murder in the investigation's discovery and the state in arguing before the Grand Jury just picked out whichever prisoners they wanted. They don't know who really did it" (*Chicago Reader*, 3 October 1980).

Yet the prosecution announced that for those charged with murder it would seek the electric chair. Attorneys for these defendants were able to shift the trial from rural Livingston County to Chicago. Murder charges are still pending against six of this original group.

From the beginning, the state tried for a "Greensboro jury" which would convict out of prejudice despite the evidence, as did the jury which acquitted six Klansmen and Nazis who shot down left-wing anti-KKK protesters in North Carolina in November 1979. Judge Benjamin Miller eliminated a 63-year-old welder from jury service because he stated that "these boys are black and I'm black" (*Chicago Sun Times*, 20 September 1980). But Chicago is not North Carolina,

continued on page 10

P.P.S.C.

Ponllac Brolher John Balley.

Near East War Threat...

(continued from page 1)

Irgun terrorist Begin seems inclined to shoot down Assad's planes, the missiles will stay put. The attempts of American shuttle diplomacy to strike a deal (read: remove the missiles) have thus far failed.

The U.S. imperialists have tried to play up the crisis as another instance of Soviet designs on the Middle East. Secretary of State Haig claimed that the initial shooting which led to the crisis may have been "instigated from Moscow" (*Newsweek*, 20 April). To back this up the U.S. engaged in some "aircraft carrier diplomacy," moving the *USS Independence* from the Indian Ocean to the Mediterranean. Rabidly anti-Soviet columnist William Safire, ever alert for the Red Menace, stated: "The Syrian missile crisis is the first Soviet test of the Reagan administration's will. The Reagan response to the Kremlin's probe has been dangerously soft" (*New York Times*, 18 May). Safire doesn't indicate how "hard" Reagan should have been—tell Begin to bomb Damascus, or perhaps send out the Polaris submarines? Beyond the local conflict looms the possibility that the Middle East crisis could ignite World War III.

Ever since the shah of Iran fell, the U.S. has been seeking to reestablish a military foothold in the Persian Gulf. Carter declared that no Soviet meddling would be tolerated in the region and that the U.S. was ready to defend its "strategic interests" there with nuclear weapons. Egypt's Sadat welcomed this and has since agreed to the placement of U.S. troops in the Sinai in April 1982—in effect, putting detachments of the Pentagon's Rapid Deployment Force on site. Reagan's strident anti-Soviet policy has translated into the search for a "strategic consensus" in the Persian Gulf, i.e. to subordinate regional Arab-Israel hostilities in an alliance against Moscow. To sweeten the deal, the advanced surveillance aircraft (AWACS), which Carter sent to Saudi Arabia when the Iran-Iraq war broke out, are to be sold outright to the sheiks, along with 62 F-15 fighters, air-to-air missiles, ground radar stations and U.S. personnel to maintain and operate them.

When Haig visited the region last month he tried to sweep the local animosities under an anti-Soviet rug. A participant in the Jerusalem talks caught the flavor: "You know the type that winds up talking about sex no matter what the subject you raise? Haig is like that but his angle is communism" (*Newsweek*, 20 April).

But it didn't float. After 30 years of murderous nationalist wars, neither Begin nor Prince Fahd leaped at the chance to become blood brothers in the fight against Moscow. The Saudis emphasized Israeli attacks on the Palestinians while Begin fumed that the Saudi AWACS "could detect movements throughout Israel and would neutralize Israel's ability to make a surprise attack" (*New York Times*, 16 April).

The deeply anti-communist Saudis' pronouncements about the Palestinians and their resistance to direct U.S. military forces have more to do with the fragility of their regime and their xenophobia than "Arab unity." In fact, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union are concerned that the fragility of all the regimes in the region makes them vulnerable to war.

The true believers now running the U.S. think they can recapture the short-lived "American Century" of the 1950s. So Reagan/Haig came into office intent on strengthening ties to the traditional U.S. ally, Israel, taking a harder line against Moscow-allied nationalist regimes like Syria and deepening its anti-Soviet alliance with the Saudi feudalists. Well, it won't work. The Arab-Israel national conflict is real and cannot be exorcised by anti-Soviet incantations. Haig's exhortation won't get Prince Fahd and Begin to march together, Koran and Torah held aloft in an ecumenical holy war against godless Communism. To the extent that the U.S. encourages Israeli attacks on Syria and the PLO, it is easier for nationalists like Assad to appeal to the Saudi monarchy for aid against the Zionist enemy. The endless vacillations of the U.S. Near East policy since the 1967 war show the impossibility of simultaneously backing Israel 100 percent and fully directing the major Arab states against the USSR.

If another Arab-Israeli war breaks out, it would be merely a repeat of Arab and Israeli workers killing each other to serve their respective capitalist masters. However, should the crisis escalate into a direct U.S.-Soviet conflict, revolutionaries would unconditionally defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack.

Assad: No Friend of Palestinians

All the Arab nationalists *claim* to defend the Palestinians. The Syrians shouted it when they fought Israel in 1973. But then in 1976 their planes massacred Palestinians at the Tel Zaatar refugee camp in Lebanon. Now they say it again as they point SAM-6 missiles at Israeli jets. The blood of the victims of 1976 proves that Assad is no friend of the Palestinians. Within Syria, Assad practices the same murderous bonapartism as the other Arab bourgeois nationalists, suppressing the Syrian proletariat in the name of Ba'athist "socialism."

Der Spiegel

Haig obsessed by anti-Communism.

The Syrians invaded Lebanon in 1976 when increasing Palestinian activity on the side of the Lebanese Moslems threatened to blow apart the dominance of the Maronite Christian minority. Syrian troops "pacified" the Palestinians and installed a new Maronite leader. Typical of the Byzantine intrigues and constantly shifting allegiances is that the former president of Lebanon, whom the Syrians removed in 1976, is now in exile in Syria on good terms with Assad. Further, the Syrians' Maronite allies in 1976 are now their enemies. The 1976 Lebanese civil war, just as the fighting today, is a striking confirmation of our position that all sides are equally squalid in this conflict of competing nationalist and religious groupings.

In spite of the sordid history of these communal wars, for which you need a daily scorecard to keep track of friend and foe, the fake lefts still push the "Arab Revolution" as the way forward for the Palestinians. Standing firmly as ever in the shifting sands of nationalism, the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) now declares that the Syrians have adopted "a firmer anti-imperialist stance" and have "aligned themselves with the colonial liberation struggles against imperialism" (*Intercontinental Press*, 11 May).

The criterion for being either anti-imperialist or pro-imperialist seems to be the intensity of rhetoric about Israel and U.S. imperialism. The epitome of this brand of "Marxism" is that the SWP's favorite anti-imperialist is Ayatollah Khomeini, who supplements denouncing the U.S. with stoning adulterers and butchering Kurds. The methodology is also flexible—it enables the SWP to declare Syria anti-imperialist in 1973, then pro in 1976 and anti once again today despite the fact that the Syrian leadership has remained *unchanged* for over 10 years! The fake lefts' capitulation to nationalism is in fact a program which binds the oppressed to their bourgeoisies, will never liberate the Palestinians and offers the Hebrew-speaking workers no basis to fight for their international class interests.

The provocations of the aggressive Zionist war machine could take the current round of threats and brinkmanship to another full-scale Mideast war. The reason that Begin insists on Israel's right to send fighter-bombers into Lebanese airspace unhindered by Syrian SAMs is that he wants to be able to continue massacring Palestinian refugees in the PLO camps in Lebanon. From the Gaza Strip to the West Bank to the Golan Heights, wherever the Zionist army goes genocidal terror and organized murder are sure to follow. Even beyond the ever-expanding Israeli frontiers the Zionists arrogantly assert their "right" to butcher the Palestinian people.

Domestic Israeli politics have also played a role—Begin was lagging in the polls for the June elections and saw a confrontation with Syria as a way to boost his popularity. With Egypt removed as a war threat and with over 100 percent inflation, the Zionists need a new focus of national unity to keep the lid on their working class. Taken by surprise at Begin's offensive, the opposition "Labor" Party has taken as hawkish a stance. Labor leader Shimon Peres whined that Begin's speech in the Knesset (parliament) about a scrubbed attack on the Syrian missiles gave away too many secrets (*New York Times*, 12 May)!

Despite its dependence on U.S. weapons and support, Israel is not simply a puppet on an imperialist string. The Zionist leadership certainly shares Reagan's anti-communism, but it also has national/territorial ambitions of its own. Begin's mad dog provocations, from the routine savage repression of Arabs on the occupied West Bank to the daily terror bombing of southern Lebanon to the increasing expropriation of Arab land for new Israeli settlements, elicited mild criticism from the Carter administration because such actions stood in the way of a U.S./Saudi/Egyptian/Israeli alliance against the USSR. Reagan has so far kept quiet, hoping for his anti-Soviet "strategic consensus," and this has served to embolden the Zionists. But in the long term, Zionist provocations run counter to the larger U.S. ambition to forge anti-Soviet unity in the Persian Gulf.

Capitalist rule in the Near East means the continuation of national degradation and fractricidal wars. Only its elimination by the revolutionary proletariat, led by its Leninist vanguard, will break the cycle of bloodshed. Not classless "Arab Revolution" but socialist revolution is needed to sweep away the bourgeois nationalist butchers and the poisonous national hatreds they exploit to maintain their power. It is only the revolutionary proletariat which can rise above the historically accumulated antagonisms, rallying to its banner the oppressed and exploited masses.

The stakes are high. The Middle East, long a powder keg, is a strategic part of imperialism's drive against the Soviet Union. The Saudi AWACS go alongside "Euromissiles," large-scale aid to Pakistan and the U.S.-China alliance. The capitalist class is trying to forge an unbroken anti-Soviet chain from Asia, through the Persian Gulf and into Europe. A local explosion anywhere along that chain could be the spark which sets off World War III. It will be socialist revolution, not détente or phony liberal disarmament schemes, which will remove that threat of nuclear mega-death once and for all. ■

Khomeini Jails Dissident Poet

Free Saiid Soltanpour!

Saiid Soltanpour, a prominent Iranian poet, playwright and director who was imprisoned and tortured several times under the regime of the butcher shah, is once again behind bars in Iran, a victim of Khomeini's clerical reaction. Soltanpour became a marked man when he began to oppose the anti-democratic rule of the Persian Shi'ite mullahs and their atrocities against the left, the national minorities and "immodest" women. Earlier this year Soltanpour, along with other prominent writers, academics and jurists, signed a statement condemning the regime's "destructive policies and its repeated violations of the rights and freedoms of the people."

The left and labor movement in this country and internationally must demand the immediate release of Saiid Soltanpour and the thousands of other victims of the mullahs' reactionary theocratic terror. Even before Khomeini came to power, the international Spartacist tendency warned that the mullahs' rule would be just as reactionary and repressive as the bloody dictatorship of the shah. As we stressed from the outset, what is needed in Iran is a workers revolution that will smash the capitalist class and its turbaned torturers, who continue the bloody work of the shah.

The case of Saiid Soltanpour is being publicized in this country by Iranian student organizations such as the Iranian Student Association (Northern California), which is urging all who stand for democratic rights to send letters and telegrams demanding the release of Soltanpour to the following addresses:

President Abolhassan Bani-sadr
Presidential Office
Teheran, Iran

Prime Minister Ali Rajaii
Premier Office
Teheran, Iran

Mr. Hashemi Rafsanjani
Chairman of the Islamic Parliament of Iran
Teheran, Iran

The Islamic Republic
PO Box 2130, 571 South Saadi Ave.
Teheran 11, Iran

The Islamic Revolution
Imam Khomeini Ave.
Across Post Office
Teheran, Iran

Avakian Flees, Klonsky Deposed

End of the Line for American Maoism

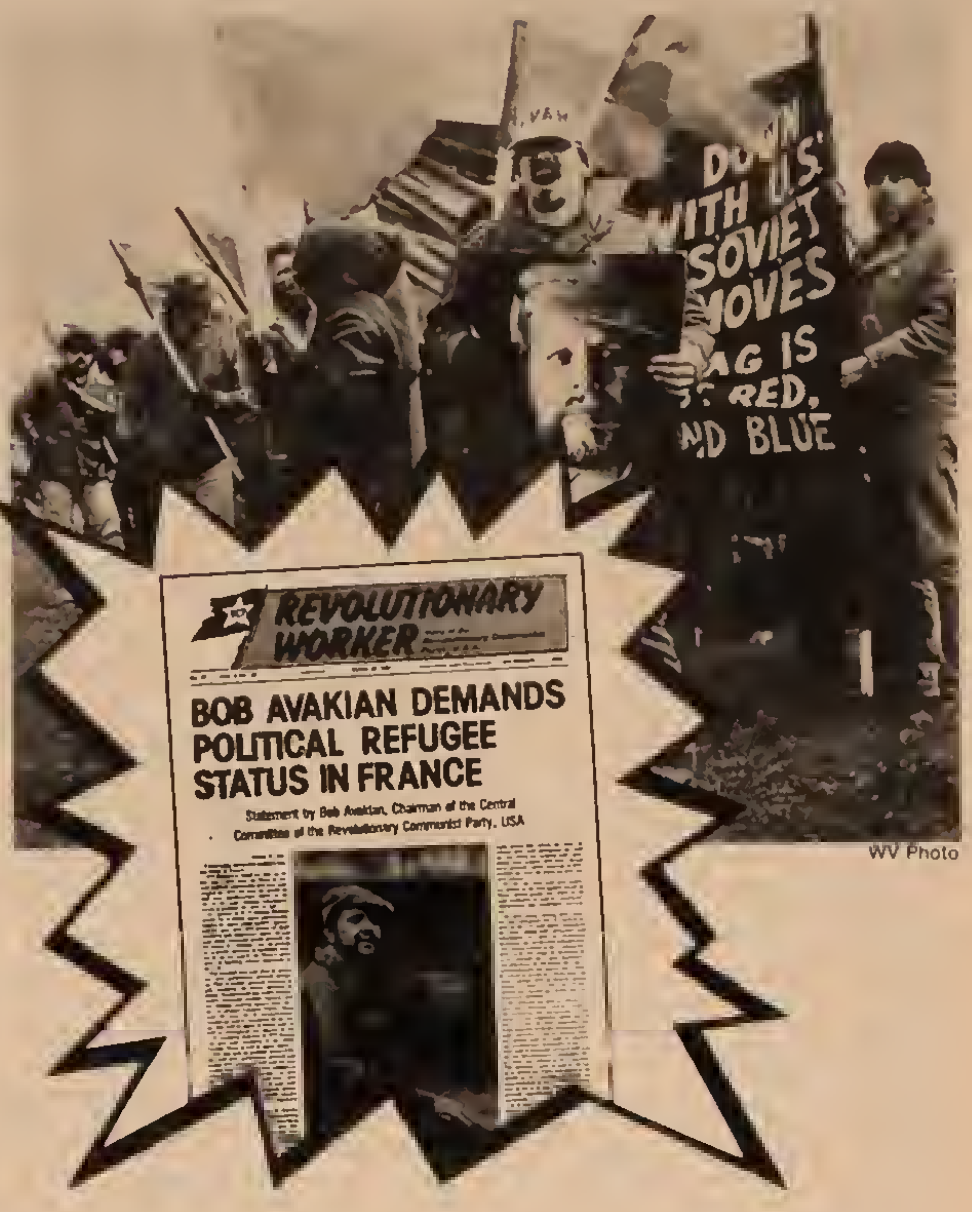
Deeply discredited by China's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism, demoralized facing the prospects of hard struggle in the Reagan years, American Maoism has come to the end of the line. A spectacular symptom: in the space of a couple of months this spring the two top dogs of New Left Maoism—Mike Klonsky and Bob Avakian—suddenly departed from the scene. And speaking for those of us who have known these macho ego-tripping phonies since their days as anti-working-class SDS honchos, it couldn't happen to a more deserving pair of jerks.

A protracted upheaval in the slavishly Peking-loyal Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (CPML) has deposed the Klonsky Family regime while its central committee dissolved itself. Reportedly CPML members have been leaving in droves as an ongoing internal debate questions the very reason for existence of the group. Meanwhile Avakian, the *líder máximo* of the pro-"Gang of Four" Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), now facing a lengthy jail sentence on charges stemming from the RCP's frenzied 1979 Chinese embassy attack, has fled to France where he is requesting political asylum.

A signed editorial statement in the April issue of the CPML's *Call*, entitled "The Crisis in Marxism and M-L Unity," begins starkly: "Any reader of the last few issues of *The Call* can plainly see the CPML is in the midst of a serious ideological, political and organizational crisis." Its one-sentence summing up indicates the rightist thrust of all sides in the dispute: "The basic reason for this crisis is the ultra-left orientation, line and method that held back the CPML's development from a small sect into a political force in the United States." "Ultra-left"?! On every key international issue the Peking Stalinists stand *to the right of the liberal bourgeoisie*.

From Angola to Afghanistan, they saw their task as stiffening the resolve of Western imperialism to fight the "main enemy," Russian "hegemonism." And as this role as anti-Soviet Cold Warriors increasingly turned U.S. Maoists into despised sects, the crisis set in. Beginning last year, the CPML began publishing fundamental self-criticisms rejecting its whole previous "party-building" line and denouncing its orientation in the unions as "sectarian." The *Call* lost its Spanish-language section, *El Clarín*, went from weekly to monthly, changed its masthead from "Organ of the Communist Party Marxist-Leninist" to "Voice of Socialism in the United States."

In March came the laconic announcement that "the chairman resigned his position." Citing "organizational disintegration," the CPML reported that an emergency delegates conference had been held where an Interim Political Committee was formed and the question of party liquidation was openly debated: "For example, many CPML members feel our mistakes of sectarianism flowed from our conception of ourselves as *the* vanguard party. But there is disagreement over whether the whole concept of vanguard party is invalid or whether it was misapplied" ("CPML Holds Special Meeting to Rebuild Organization," *Call*, March 1981). Indeed, outright dissolution of the CPML is not out of the question, as a number of leading members have since quit heading in the direction of mainstream social democracy.



WV Photo

CPML: To Be or Not To Be

What is going on in the "official" U.S. Maoist organization? In the welter of documents and letters, the frankest piece was "A Message to the Movement" (*Call*, February 1981) by former staff writer Jim Hamilton. After years of double-talk Mao-think jargon, Hamilton's piece is a straight out call for American nativist populism. In the face of the rightward shift in U.S. politics signaled by the Reagan election, Hamilton speaks for demoralized New Lefters who see the CPML's prospects drying up and want to throw in the towel as a "vanguard" tendency. Instead they hanker after the old "movement" they used to know. Hamilton's indictment:

> "Nearly ten years of difficult and dedicated mass work by our hundreds of cadres has yielded little result in terms of building a truly mass revolutionary movement. Neither our press nor our political approach has really 'caught on' among any significant section of the population, and they show no signs of doing so unless fundamental changes are made in our work. Our membership has declined by several hundred over the past two years...."

Basically, Hamilton says they were wrong to form a party at all:

> "...it is evident that our conception of a single, vanguard communist party playing the *only* leading and revolutionary role in society was more than a little to blame for our hegemony-seeking and for the poor state of our united front work. Furthermore, the notion that the CPML *was that vanguard party* only added to the problem." [emphasis in original]

Hamilton rips the CPML's "disdain for electoral work" and the "apocalyptic vision of the U.S. revolution" rooted in "the anti-Marxist notion that armed struggle is the only strategic component of the revolutionary seizure of power." The "Chilean experience," he writes, must be reinterpreted in the light of a "possible parliamentary transition." Shades of Khrushchev! But in reality, Hamilton's main line is in the direction of American national-reformism: "Isn't there something wrong when many in our movement know the names of Chinese officials but not the names of their own Congressmen?"

The message of "A Message to the Movement" is nativist populism:

> "The New Right, for instance, is a real phenomenon, reflecting not only the latest shift in ruling class policy but also the fact that racists and reactionaries have often spoken to the people's genuine fears and frustrations better than we have."

Hamilton wants to beat the right-wing populists at their own game. For him and many others in the CPML, the "left" should lead the racist "tax revolts" instead of the likes of California state senator Howard Jarvis. Following the logic of his positions, Hamilton has since quit the CPML, along with former *Call* editor Daniel Burstein. Others who support this line are talking about a fusion with Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), a pressure group for Kennedy liberalism, and the slightly less openly pro-Democratic Party New American Movement (NAM).

While Hamilton's "Message" was openly liquidationist, the response of the Interim Political Committee was hardly less so. The differences were over how the CPML should be liquidated. While the dissidents want to merge outright with the social democrats, the leaders of the rump organization long for the amorphous New Left that was their breeding ground in the late '60s. This perspective is spelled out by the editorial in the April *Call* signed by PC spokesman John Martin:

> "The CPML's self-conception of being *the* vanguard party undoubtedly caused difficulties in uniting with other organizations.... Further, the organization that will be formed through any merger will approximate a pre-party organization and not *the* party itself." [emphasis in original]

The main targets of this pitch for good old "M-L unity" are Mickey Jarvis' Revolutionary Workers Headquarters (a split from Avakian's RCP) and the West Coast-based League of Revolutionary Struggle (Unity) group.

The China Connection

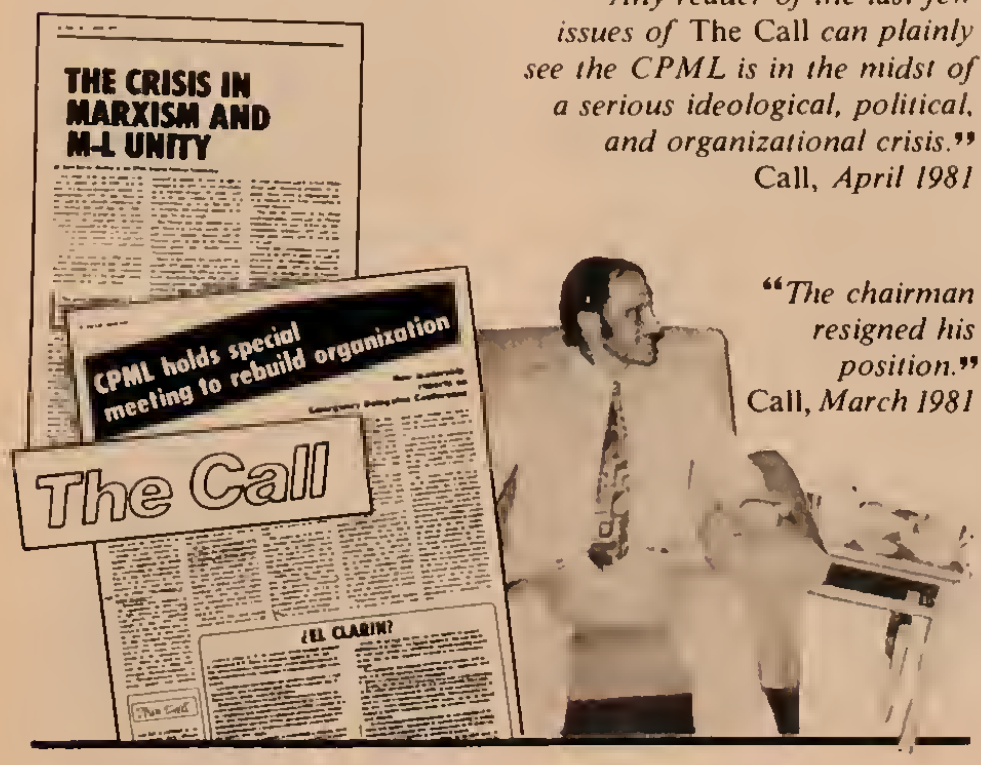
Among their numerous *mea culpas* for "ultraleftism," both CPML leaders and dissidents single out their ineffective policies in the labor movement going back to the days of Klonsky's October League (OL). An article last year, "Summing Up the Party's Trade Union Work," states:

> "The most vivid example of the practical results of incorrectly aiming the main blow (with a particular emphasis on attacking the most social democratic

continued on page 9

"Any reader of the last few issues of The Call *can plainly see the CPML is in the midst of a serious ideological, political, and organizational crisis."*
Call, *April 1981*

"The chairman resigned his position."
Call, *March 1981*



Which Side They Were On

PAM Marches for Imperialist Doves

WV Photos

Big-mouth Bella (above) calls on PAM rally to "visit electoral punishment" on Reagan, that is, to campaign for liberal Democrats.

The workers and peasants of El Salvador are fighting a life or death struggle against the junta, its sadistic killers and its godfathers in Washington and Wall Street. Every class-conscious worker and socialist, every defender of social justice must desire victory by the Salvadoran insurgent masses against their torturers and exploiters.

Military Victory to the Leftist Rebels! This was the rallying cry of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent initiated by the Spartacist League at the El Salvador demonstration in Washington May 3. We were the only militant contingent there. Our red banners of revolution, not the pale green flags of liberal "concern," captured the attention of the press, and the AP wire photo of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was picked up by the major bourgeois papers and run as *the* picture of the demonstration.

The reformist organizers of the May 3 protest understood that the red banners of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent posed the "spectre of communism." For the "People's Antiwar Mobilization" (PAM), dominated on the East Coast by the Workers World/YAWF group led by Sam Marcy, our call for military victory to the anti-imperialist fighters in El Salvador is a *split issue*. PAM "marshals" forcibly prevented protesters from joining the Anti-Imperialist rally, instead herding them to the "official" rally to hear liberal Democratic politicians like Bella Abzug, Paul O'Dwyer and John Conyers (who didn't show but sent a telegram) call for more butter/less guns and a cagier policy in the "best interests" of American imperialism.

Gooning for the Democrats, PAM/YAWF made it explicit that their followers were marching *against* military victory for the Salvadoran leftists. Why is Sam Marcy in such a hurry to draw a hard line against revolution in El Salvador? Because he and his fellow reformists are hostile to a perspective of mobilizing the working class for *power* in the U.S. and in America's Latin American neo-colonies, deeming it more "realistic" to pressure the liberal wing of American imperialism to bring "human rights" to El Salvador. Their strategy is predicated on the illusion—even here in the citadel of world imperialism!—of a "progressive" wing of the ruling class. Desperately searching for such a thing, they find only the Democratic face of the world's number one warmongering imperialism.

Workers World

Sam Marcy

The Democratic "doves," who disagree with anti-Soviet militarism only when it looks like it's *losing* (as in Vietnam), are no less than the Republicans racist strikebreakers at home and bitter foes of international revolutionary struggle. But for Sam Marcy, wedded to the popular-front strategy of collaboration with the "peace-loving" servants of imperialism, they are the only game in town, and their tender sensibilities had to be protected. So the PAM "marshals" had to herd people past the Anti-Imperialist rally and its chants of "Take a Side—Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador!" and "Remember Bay of Pigs! Remember Vietnam! Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!" For the Anti-Imperialist rally—where people could hear a socialist perspective for El Salvador, where they could express their solidarity with the U.S. miners' strike and the Irish nationalist prisoners, learn about the Russian Revolution, sing "Which Side Are You On?" and the "Internationale"—clearly posed the question: reform or revolution. So the Marcyites organized violence against the Anti-Imperialist rally. Now they are stuck with justifying it.

Accordingly, the Marcyite paper couples the Anti-Imperialist Contingent with a Moonie counterdemonstration in support of the junta's white terror as "Two Disruptions That Fizzled" (*Workers World*, 8 May). At the demonstration too, the Marcyite-led disrupters lied to the marchers, telling them the Anti-Imperialist rally was the right-wing counterdemonstration. But nobody believed it. Everyone knew our rally was against the Democrats and for red revolution. That's why the "marshals" had to forcibly prevent people from joining us, as is openly admitted in *Workers World*, which quotes a "PAM coordinator": "PAM guides prevented this from happening by forming a barrier between the disrupters and the antiwar protesters...."

By way of political cover, *Workers World* supplies the following:

> "Their call for 'military victory' to the left-wing insurgents is a cover for their hostility to the Salvadoran liberation forces. Thus in a newspaper distributed at the demonstration they demanded that 'the workers and peasants of El Salvador must break with the FDR'."

What? We call for victory to the Salvadoran liberation forces in this civil war because we are hostile to the Salvadoran liberation forces? Those unfamiliar with classical Stalinist "logic" will find this a little hard to understand.

Because we stand in solidarity with the heroic Salvadoran workers, peasants and leftist intellectuals, we oppose their popular-frontist leaders of the FDR, who are using the blood shed by the insurgent masses to intensify pressure for a "political solution." What this would mean is a replay of the made-in-USA "human rights" junta of October 1979, which included among its ministers the first president of the subsequently formed FDR, Alvarez Córdova (who was killed by a rightist death squad) and its present head, Guillermo Ungo. Yet this "reform" junta, among its very first acts, massacred workers who took over the factories. All the talk of a "peaceful solution" in El Salvador simply means more death and destruction for the working masses.

In El Salvador, a military victory for the insurgency, destroying the existing capitalist armed forces, would lead to a situation of dual power, opening the possibility for workers revolution despite and against the flimsy FDR popular front, whose program is a "reformed" capitalist government. At the very least, rebel military victory would allow the masses a taste of vengeance against the brutal killers who have ruled the country with fire and death for decades. On the other hand, defeat at the hands of the U.S. puppet junta would mean the destruction of the workers movement and the left and an immense strengthening of imperialist counterrevolution throughout the region.

Marcy: "Self-Determination" Is the Right to Betray

As they seek to become brokers for the Democratic "doves," the WWP/YAWF organizers of PAM have been feeling the heat both from liberals and social democrats to their right and from the SL-organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent to the left. Shortly before the May 3 march, Marcy himself wrote a pathetic apologia for counterrevolutionary betrayal in El Salvador, titled "On Negotiated Settlement and the Right of Self-Determination" (*Workers World*, 17 April). He attempts to argue that when the liberal imperialists argue for a "political solution" this is a bad thing, but it's okay for ostensible leftists to do so. Evidently ashamed to say straight out that he stands for a coalition government between the FDR and the blood-drenched ruling junta, he appeals to liberal guilt in the name of national sovereignty:

> "Under any and all circumstances, it is the right of the oppressed country to set the conditions and the specific immediate objectives for which it is struggling....
>
> "The oppressed and the oppressed alone have the right to determine whether to fight for full withdrawal under the circumstances, how and by what means to arrive at a political settlement, if that is desirable, and what conditions should be embraced in any agreement."

The right of self-determination means one thing and one thing only: the right of a nation to an independent state. El Salvador is engulfed in a *civil war*. Thus the call for "self-determination" is an irrelevant piece of rhetoric dredged up to cover Marcy's tailism: first identify the flimsy, contradictory FDR with the will of the Salvadoran nation and then pronounce any opposition to its policies a violation of self-determination. If some gang of bourgeois nationalists set up an American military base in their country, would Marcy support this in the name of self-determination?

Marcy appeals to the precedent of Vietnam, arguing that it was correct to support the 1973 "peace" settlement there. The Spartacist League pointed out then that this treaty would settle nothing, and indeed it took two more years of bitter fighting until the Vietnamese workers and peasants won the victory on the battlefield. But calls for a "negotiated settlement" or "political solution" in El Salvador are far more dangerous. As an SL spokesman noted at the May 3 Anti-Imperialist rally:

> "...there's one crucial difference, because in Vietnam the Soviet Union against its will was forced to deliver some arms and they had the ability, militarily, to defeat the U.S. on the battlefield. The United States in this case is operating in what it considers its own backyard and the people who are talking about a political solution are talking about a bloodbath in Central America—*and you'd better know it.*"

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Tom Janota on NYC Black Radio Forum

Anti-Imperialist Contingent Fights for Leftist Victory

We reprint below excerpts from a panel discussion with Tom Janota, June Jordan and Judy Simmons broadcast May 8 on WLIB radio in New York, a major black NYC station. Janota, a former Peace Corps volunteer in El Salvador, was a featured speaker at the Anti-Imperialist Contingent rally at the Pentagon May 3; June Jordan is a poet and black activist; Judy Simmons is the WLIB moderator.

WV Photo

At the May 3 El Salvador protest only the Anti-Imperialist Contingent drew the class line. Against Democratic Party liberals! For workers revolution!

Simmons: Reagan was talking about the people who were fighting against the right in El Salvador, and he called them rebels and terrorists. But he designated as "freedom fighters" those people who were fighting against the government of the left in Poland and Afghanistan.

Jordan: And he talks about the murderers and the tyrants in Argentina and Chile as moderate father types!

Simmons: I'm talking now with June Jordan and Tom Janota, the last Peace Corps volunteer to leave El Salvador. He left in May of 1980, a little over a year ago. But things were pretty hot there then. Tom is a teacher and he went to El Salvador to teach eco-systems. Tom, how long was your commitment in El Salvador. How long do you sign up for?

Janota: It was a two-year assignment. The Peace Corps decided to leave in February 1980, the whole Peace Corps shut down. I stayed on until May because I was interested in how things were going to develop. There had been many promises made when the coup was first declared in October 1979, promises about land reform—to make social changes in El Salvador.

Simmons: Who couped in '79?

Janota: Basically, it was a change of colonels. You had Colonel Romero in charge and he couldn't deal with the rising wave of strikes by the unions, which were becoming very militant, taking over the plants. So, in October 1979 the new so-called progressive colonels came to power with all kinds of fancy promises about what they were going to do. And Jimmy Carter immediately rushed in to bolster these guys.

So, on October 15 of 1979 there were about five plants occupied by the workers in Soyapango, a working-class suburb of San Salvador.

Simmons: Sort of like the people who occupied Sydenham Hospital.

Janota: Right. And on the 15th then, after the coup was declared.... And Romero, I might add, took the next jet to Miami to join his bank account there. On that day the army pulled up to each of these plants with their little tanks, something called a tanqueta....

Simmons: A baby tank!

Janota: A city tank, not for your heavy-duty warfare, for shooting at people that don't have anything to shoot back at you.

Simmons: Sort of like the small armored vehicles used in the cities of the United States by the police force.

Janota: Riot Control.

Simmons: Yes, exactly, which have become part of the general police arsenal since the rebellions of the '60s... in case anybody wants to know what would happen in future rebellions.

Janota: So the workers, if they were armed at all, were armed with sticks, a few old guns. They were surrounded, probably not even asked to vacate the premises. Just blown away. The official death toll was four killed. We know about official death tolls in Vietnam, the body counts. And those that weren't killed were arrested, and the whole strike wave broken.

Simmons: That was a year after you got there?

Janota: Right. And I might mention Carter supported those acts. Although there were promises of reform, the repression actually intensified.

Simmons: Now, June, you were at this rally in Washington, one of whose major themes was that the U.S. stop sending aid to El Salvador. Did you go to that rally because you are aware of the kind of things Tom was talking about?

Jordan: Yes, I did. One of the things that I felt about the rally, though, is that it was an opportunity to let people know what was happening who may not know. I happen to have made it my business to find out. But one area of information that was not really

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WV Photo

Tom Janota

WV Photo

Anti-Imperialist Contingent

Janota...

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addressed well at the rally was what exactly is going on in El Salvador, who knows that and how is it being supported.

Janota: I'd like to make a comment on that May 3rd rally, because I think there were some very important points that came up at that rally. The main rally, organized by the People's Antiwar Mobilization, or PAM, one of the problems that I found in that part of the march was that all they wanted to do was to get the United States out of Salvador militarily. They didn't necessarily talk about the economic aid that is propping up that government right now.

Simmons: Even as economic arrangements prop up the government of South Africa.

Janota: Right. They didn't come out very squarely for the leftist insurgents in El Salvador, but instead were trying to talk platitudes about peaceful change—maybe this can be a negotiated settlement and so forth.

It's important to note, too, that the only contingent at that march taking a side in the war was the Spartacist League contingent, which organized the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, that actually said, "Look, there is a civil war going on. We take the side of the leftist rebels there." Not only do we say no military aid, no economic aid for the government in El Salvador, we also say "Military victory to the leftist rebels." And I think that hard line—it was very important that it was drawn.

Simmons: Well, you've been there, so you can see very clearly that a military solution is what is required there. That the thing is on now, as they say.

Janota: The landed class has to be defeated once and for all, militarily, in the field, and a new society then could be built, drawing from the resources of the working class and the peasants of that country. Any kind of compromise with the ruling class is going to allow them to keep their power and to allow for another counterrevolution and another bloodbath in El Salvador. So I think one of the problems with that May 3rd march was that it was very vague, very unclear on its very politics.

Jordan: That's what I mean by rhetoric. As against rhetoric, I think we should have, first of all, information, so people can make up their own minds. And then take a position and give people the credit to think for themselves to decide whether they want to go with your position, or not. But take a position! We're not talking about namby-pamby anything. Haig, for example, hysterical to get 35 million dollars more aid for El Salvador. He knows what he's talking about. He's just taking a side. Are you on his side? If you're not on his side, then something follows from that, something real, you know, a concrete proposal. But there was much hot air.

Janota: That's right. It's important to note, too, that as the march neared the bridge to go to the Pentagon, the Spartacist League had offered an alternative. An Anti-Imperialist banner was put across trying to give the people in the march an option of taking the harder path, the clear path toward fighting with the military victory in the conflict in El Salvador. But the very organizers of the march linked arms in front of that fork to keep people from taking that path. Rather than allowing the people who are marching in that demonstration to decide to take the turn for a clear left-wing victory in the country, they were even blocking off

Spartacist Canada

Seattle, May 3: Anti-Imperialist Contingent marches on the side of the Salvadoran leftist insurgents.

even the potential for people to leave the main march.

Jordan: I think that what we're seeing also is that, as you said, the '60s have not gone, and I don't think we should have a rerun. For example, many of the people who were prominently active in the May 3rd rally were people who first came into political activism during the anti-Vietnam War movement. And many of the people in that anti-Vietnam War movement were really what the press called "peaceniks," that is to say, they were against violence, they were against war. But I would like to point out to people, if they haven't thought of it before, and I hope they have, that there are two reasons why the war in Vietnam concluded in victory. And one was this, to be sure there was the movement here. And the other was that the people of Vietnam *fought a war and won it!* They did not stand around and rally. They *fought* for a victory and they *won* a victory.

And I think this is something that we're going to see coming up now dealing with El Salvador. Within the next year or two we're going to see, if not sooner, it coming up as an issue again in Angola, where Haig has publicly said he intends to destabilize the government in Angola. He intends to do this. And we know that next we're going to see the United States allying itself with the regime in Pretoria. And the question is—are we going to have "antiwar" rallies? Is that a moral position in a circumstance...to at least consider the morality of another position, which is to say: there is a war on and I will take this side....■

PAM...

(continued from page 6)

At bottom the Marcyites' appeal is to nationalism and liberal guilt. "We Americans can't tell other peoples what to do" is the line of argument. Well, the Spartacist League is not "we Americans." We are Marxist *internationalists!* The German socialists Marx and Engels rallied the European workers movement in support for a military victory of the North in the American Civil War—and while sharply opposing Lincoln's policies on many occasions. That is our tradition. We are part of an international class, the world proletariat. And we support the victory of *our class* in El Salvador!

Teddy Kennedy's New Waterboys

With the May 3 demonstration, the Marcyites make their bid for the role played by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the Vietnam antiwar movement—organizers of radicalized youth for the liberal Democrats. The SWP was too worried about winning its current court suit against the FBI (by getting the government to acknowledge the SWP is too tame to warrant secret police surveillance and "dirty tricks") to compete for the mantle of "best builder" on May 3, especially after having tried to demonstrate its respectability by joining with DSOC to red-bait the march as "violence"-prone. (This didn't stop the SWP's *Militant* after the fact from hailing the demo as the "Biggest Antiwar March Since Vietnam"!) The SWP's abstention left the Marcyites a clear shot at becoming, along with the Communist Party and its numberless front groups, the aspiring brokers for a new bloc between anti-Reagan youth and the Democrats.

The Marcyites have come a long way down even from their origins as a pro-Stalinist split from Trotskyism in 1958. During the Vietnam era, the Marcyites were among the most raucous cheerleaders for all manner of Stalinists and petty-bourgeois nationalists. While slavishly tailing Vietnamese Stalinism and its popular-frontist strategy, the Marcyites on occasion criticized the official antiwar movement led by the SWP and Communist Party (the "Mobe" and the "New Mobe") from the left:

> "...American troops have intervened again and again in dozens of countries to establish corrupt regimes that serve the interests of U.S. corporations....
> "The Mobe leaders know all this, but are so anxious to have the support of the doves of the ruling class that they refuse to alert the American people to the dangers that lie beyond the Vietnam war....
> "Anyone genuinely opposed to war must, in the long run, oppose imperialism and fight for the destruction of its foundation, monopoly capitalism."
> —*Workers World*, 13 November 1969

For years YAWF trained its members to tail every kind of "Third World" nationalism and Stalinism. But to get Teddy or some other mainstream liberal Democrat onto the speakers' stand, YAWF will have to shed even nominal anti-imperialism. If you want Teddy, you can't have the PLO, just for instance; at the "multi-issue" May 3 rally there was no demand about Zionism. To be successful brokers toward the liberal establishment, Marcy will have to wean his membership away from any residual attachment to national liberation struggles and especially from even lipservice to the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. With May 3 this process has more than begun.

Once the Marcyites liked to posture as hard-guy defenders of the USSR against U.S. imperialism. Under the theoretical rubric of the "global class war" they slavishly supported the Kremlin's foreign policy, especially its most counterrevolutionary aspects (what precipitated their split from Trotskyism was their support to Khrushchev's crushing of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution). But now that the U.S. imperialists are making El Salvador the front line of "Cold War II," these "global class warriors" are found in the bourgeois liberal camp. They organized the May 3 demo on the liberal line that the Central American upheavals have no bearing on the "East-West conflict."

Reagan declares El Salvador the forward point of "Soviet expansionism." Haig threatens Cuba with military action if it doesn't stop arming the Salvadoran insurgents. Yet the Marcyites eagerly seek a blood line between themselves and our slogan, "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador." The rightward shift in the bourgeois political climate finds internal reflection in the Marcy group, which now aspires simply to the social-democratic role which earned the SWP the just contempt of many tens of thousands of subjectively anti-imperialist youth during the Vietnam War.

The rightward shift of liberalism and its left apologists is palpable in the El Salvador protest milieu. Che Guevara's call for "two, three, many Vietnams" used to be a standard chant among New Left radicals. Everyone understood that the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese was draining U.S. imperialism of its strength. But today the liberal slogan of "no more Vietnams" is pervasive. Ironically one of the clearest statements of this shift to the right comes from the academic Castroites of the North American Congress on Latin America, which actually begins a fund appeal, "Help save the people of the U.S., and the peoples of Latin America, from the tragedy of two, three, many Vietnams"!

PAM pushes the same line. In endorsing the May 3 PAM rally, a Detroit city council resolution warned against "entering into another no-win Viet Nam-type internal conflict." The key here is "no-win." Liberals fear "another Vietnam" only because U.S. imperialism *lost* there. Speaking for the resurgent hawks, Richard Nixon declared in a Seattle television interview that El Salvador "is not another Vietnam. It is not going to be a place where we're going to fail." This is the flip side of the imperialist defeatism which PAM appeals to. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent, in contrast, stood with the working masses of Central America and appealed to their class brothers and sisters in the U.S.

The Spartacist League fought for the victory of the Indochinese revolution and we fight today for *victory* to the toilers in the Salvadoran civil war—by posing a clear *class line* in El Salvador and at home. The choice is between preaching faith in the Democratic wing of the capitalist warmongers or building a massive anti-imperialist movement with a perspective of workers power in Latin America and here. We know which side we're on. And we know which side Sam Marcy's on, too. He stands for "anti-Reaganism" under the hegemony of Carter/Kennedy's Democratic Party. We stand for class solidarity and class struggle. The reformist charlatans *oppose* the defeat of the blood-soaked Salvadoran junta, in the interests of appealing to the pro-imperialist "doves" who above all fear the spectre of revolution. That is what makes a Sam Marcy, by his words and by his deeds, a self-proclaimed counterrevolutionist on El Salvador.

We demand: Military victory to the leftist insurgents! Smash junta terror in El Salvador—For workers revolution!■

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Maoism...

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> union officials) was our boycott of the Sadlowski election in the Steelworkers union."
>
> —*Call*, 9 June 1980

Back in 1977, the Klonskyites accurately called liberal bureaucrat "Oilcan Eddy" an "Opportunist Out of Office." But as we pointed out then (see "Maoist OL Somersaults Over Sadlowski," *WV* No. 144, 11 February 1977), this refusal to support a liberal bureaucrat-on-the-make was only a momentary aberration for these Mao-Stalinists. More representative of the practice of the OL/CPML was their craven support to the bureaucratic Brotherhood Caucus in the Fremont (California) United Auto Workers. Here their only deviation from mainstream labor reformism was to initiate an *anti-union* court suit for "super-seniority" for women and minorities (in reality a call for "preferential layoffs" of white, male fellow workers).

But the real source of the near-terminal crisis of American Maoism is not that it didn't sell out enough in the domestic class struggle. At that level, they were certainly on a par with the reformist Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party. The specific origins of the Peking Stalinists' decline are to be found in their links to the ruling bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state and its deepening alliance with U.S. imperialism. For years, Peking-loyal Maoists tried to disguise China's support for NATO with Mao-talk about Russia as the "main enemy." And now that their isolation has reached catastrophic proportions, one would never know from the documents of the current explosion in the CPML that Klonsky & Co. ever had anything to do with "People's China."

But the Chinese connection is there. Both sides try to distance themselves from some of Peking's most rabid anti-Soviet theses. Hamilton writes, "Isn't there also something wrong when we insist on describing the Soviet Union as 'capitalism restored' even though no one in our movement can offer a coherent proof of that contention?" Martin, for the Interim Political Committee, talks of a need to "reassess" the "change of tactics of the USSR internationally": "This new left posture of the Soviet social imperialists, along with the Chinese experience of the Gang of Four and their internal influence, show that revisionism today comes from the left as well as the right."

The idea of Brezhnev as an ultra-left is absurd, but it does indicate some awareness by the CPML leaders of their own position in far right field. Obviously, they are worried that their hundreds of ex-members (and many who have stuck it out this far) may be attracted to the so-called "anti-revisionist, anti-dogmatist Trend" which has lately been picking up disoriented former New Left Maoists (see "Where is the 'Trend' Going?" *WV* No. 273, 30 January). As we pointed out, the main line of the Trend is slouching towards Moscow as these perennial fellow travelers oscillate from one Stalinist bureaucracy to another in the eternal search for the popular front. But even "critical Brezhnevism" may look a lot more appetizing than supporting the CIA-backed 1975 South African invasion of Angola and China's 1979 attempt, in collusion with U.S. imperialism, to teach Vietnam a "bloody lesson."

RCP: Back to Weatherman

From the time Klonsky's OL and Avakian's Revolutionary Union (RU) were squabbling over the fallout products from the 1969 split in SDS, the two have feuded over who would be Numero Uno in the New Left Maoist milieu. By the mid-1970s the OL/CPML's main claim to fame was its recognition by Peking. Avakian's RU/RCP lost out in the battle for the Chinese franchise, and following Mao's death supported the "Helmsman's" widow Chiang Ch'ing and her "Gang of Four" deposed by Hua and Deng. But Klonsky's well-photographed handshake with Hua didn't catapult him into the big time—if anything, it had the opposite effect. So not surprisingly the RCP is gloating over the current tribulations of their archrivals:

> "...the Chinese had made their own belly crawling peace with U.S. imperialism and penny ante parties were an embarrassment to them at best.... Thus, Klonsky's magic carpet franchise of tailing after the Chinese revisionists, upon which he staked his own career and the prestige of his organization, was pulled out from under."
>
> —"The Rocks the CPML is Crashing On," *Revolutionary Worker*, 3 April

The Avakianites are hardly in a position to crow, however. Their own adventurist antics have landed them in a heap of trouble which could spell curtains for the RCP. It's been a while now since this crazed leader cult went off the deep end. To the accompaniment of Avakian's clanking bullet necklace, punk Maoist RCP youth brigaders went wild in the streets: Weatherman-style high school "breakouts," arrests for planting their miniature red flags atop the Alamo. Building for its Mayday 1980 happening, the Avakianites pulled scores of cadres out of the factories chanting, "Chairman Bob is our leader, Long live the RCP!" In L.A. this craziness took on tragic dimensions as RCPer Damian Garcia was stabbed to death and two others injured in a confrontation at Pico Gardens housing project.

There was the United Nations stunt, when the Avakianites drenched U.S. and Soviet deputy delegates with red paint. But the most dramatic was a pistol-waving assault on the Chinese embassy in Washington in January 1979 protesting the U.S. visit of Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping (Teng Hsiao-p'ing). After a lower court had dismissed charges, on appeal federal prosecutors won reindictment on charges which could total 241 years imprisonment for Avakian and 16 other "Mao Tse-tung Defendants." Sizing up the meaning of Reagan's election, the RCP "Chairman" fled to France. That Avakian ran to Paris rather than to someplace like "socialist Albania" is about the only sign of sanity in this whole insane affair.

At the time that the more staid Jarvisite pro-China reformists split from the Avakianites three years ago, we wrote:

> "An unstable, demagogic tendency, the Avakian faction is capable of both extreme adventurism and slavish capitulation to the worst backwardness of the working class. The post-split RCP will likely be simply a personality cult, crassly opportunist, violently sectarian and programmatically extremely unstable. It could go anywhere—from trying to seize Solidarity House to blocking with the Ku Klux Klan (as it did in hailing the anti-busing mobilizations in Boston and Louisville as 'fightback')."
>
> —"RCP Splits!" *WV* No. 190, 27 January 1978

This has certainly been borne out as the RCP has gone every which way but loose. While the CPML harks back to early New Left social-democratic populism, the RCP is reverting to a Weatherman period.

With Avakian and Klonsky out of the picture, who's left in the Maoist firmament? Jerry Tung's Communist Workers Party (CWP), once the most obscure of obscure Mao sects, was thrust into national attention as a result of the brutal November 1979 Greensboro KKK/Nazi massacre of five CWP workers. As the CPML falls apart and the RCP parades around cloud-cuckoo land, the CWP appears as the only run-of-the-mill Maoist group on the scene—yet the Tungites are plenty out of kilter themselves. In the case of the NASSCO 3, unionists at a San Diego shipyard trapped in frame-up bomb charges, CWP supporters couldn't differentiate between union militants and a well-known provocateur who goes around talking of blowing up power stations.

The CWP ("Gang of Four" supporters who split from Progressive Labor in the early '70s), like many Maoist cult/sects, has been known for its wild gyrations between adventurism and opportunism. Following its "Death to the Klan" confrontations in the South and the tragic assassination of the Greensboro martyrs, the CWP has swung sharply to the right, trying to gain broad support through building popular fronts with the bourgeoisie. Last year they accurately labeled the National Black Independent Political Party as a bourgeois trap, while today they are beating the drums for the NBIPP. Now we learn that CWPers are not only attending church regularly but are teaching Sunday school. We also hear on the grapevine that Jerry Tung changed his line on the Russian question six months ago, though nothing has been said in public as yet.

With Whimpers and Bangs

Most likely the CPML and RCP will not long survive the departure of their respective maximum leaders. More importantly, this dramatic double-exit throws a sharp light on the death throes of American Maoism. As we noted a year ago, when the Maoists were beating the drums for Carter/Brzezinski's Cold War frenzy over Afghanistan:

> "The rapprochement of China with American capitalism has demonstrated that the Maos and Dengs, under the guise of building 'socialism' in *their* country are as willing to sell out revolution as the Stalins and Brezhnevs—and prepared to join a global counterrevolutionary alliance with the main imperialist power, aimed at breaking the strength of the main anti-capitalist power (the Soviet Union), besides. Increasingly confronted by the reality of these betrayals, the Maoist movement has degenerated into a collection of politically irrelevant sects like Progressive Labor, macho cults like Avakian's RCP, or open apologists for U.S. imperialism à la Klonsky."
>
> —"Maoists United with Uncle Sam," *WV* No. 250, 22 February 1980

How, then, can you fight draft registration, initiated by Jimmy Carter as part of his anti-Soviet war drive, if like China and the CPML you actively support CIA-backed feudalists in Afghanistan? It's no accident that in the last year the Klonskyites have waffled all over the map on military conscription for the imperialist war machine. Responding to the same Cold War pressures, the Stalinists-without-a-country of Progressive Labor have recently come out for *volunteering* for the U.S. army (see "PL 'Picks Up the Gun' for Uncle Sam," *Young Spartacus* No. 91, May 1981).

Or what about El Salvador? At the May 3 Salvador demonstration in Washington, far and away the largest protest of this kind since the Vietnam War, the CPML was nowhere to be seen while the RCP's presence was minimal. The only exception was the CWP, with Tung speaking at the reformist/liberal PAM rally. The reason for the Maoists' embarrassment is obvious. How can they unequivocally oppose the bloody U.S.-backed Salvadoran junta without being seen as aiding "Soviet social-imperialism"? Thus Avakian's *Revolutionary Worker* (27 March) warns:

> "None of this implies that the Soviet Union is giving up and just leaving Central America to the U.S.—far from it. In fact, it is preparing to make a grab for it in the future while attempting to increase its influence in the region."

At the May 3 protest it was the right-wing Reaganite counterdemonstrators who chanted "End Soviet imperialism" and "USSR and Cuba out of El Salvador."

Aside from the specifically Maoist aspects of their present crisis, what is going on with the CPML and RCP more generally reflects the response of ex-New Lefters to their stagnation and decline during the dog days of the late 1970s. They yearn for the late '60s, when they had a mass audience. But where the New Left moved from social-democratic populism to the left—from cheers for Kennedy's "New Frontier" and "part of the way with LBJ" to "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, NLF is gonna win"—now many Maoists are looking for a populist road out of their present isolation by competing with Reaganism on its own terrain of racist reaction.

Following ex-New Left honcho Tom Hayden, now a loser Democratic Party politico, CPML leader Lyn Wells declared at an anti-KKK conference this January: "Why does [California senator] Jarvis have to lead a tax movement? Why can't we lead one?" Why not? Revolutionary socialists have no program for how the capitalist state should finance its programs; generally we abstain on tax referenda, pointing out that tax cuts are almost always followed by wage-cutting inflation. But the present tax revolt is really the "white backlash" at one or two removes—a racist middle-class mobilization to cut back social services in general and especially government aid to minorities, the unemployed and poor. Perhaps the CPML's next slogan will be, "They say cut back! We say cut back!"

We are witnessing the final demoralization of the "classless" New Left. As the CPML Interim Political Committee noted about its own crisis: "All this was happening at a time when the right wing was on the warpath and Reagan galloped into office." Lacking a proletarian Bolshevik program enabling them to swim against the stream, the degenerated Maoists want to go with the tide of reaction. The response of the Trotskyist Spartacist League is quite the opposite. In a recent forum, SL central committee member George Foster warned about political dives by so-called leftists in the face of Reagan reaction:

> "We're going to see other stuff, too, a loss of nerve and a loss of will. Which is going to find a program: run and hide, drop out. Suddenly Michael Harrington and DSOC seem to be the wave of the future—right?—we'll work in the Democratic Party. That stuff is going to find a program."
>
> —"Facing the Reagan Years," *WV* No. 273, 30 January

The disintegrating New Left Maoists have found this program. As some of these big-talking hotshots flee for asylum, others seek refuge in the Harrington/Kennedy camp of Democratic Party liberalism and still others are heading down the road of American nativist social-populism. Unlike these impressionistic and weak-willed petty-bourgeois radicals, as Marxists we understand that the popularity of the Reagan "honeymoon" is superficial. The war drive against the Soviet Union and the drive to step up the exploitation of American workers, intensifying virtually every form of social oppression, will produce a new wave of class struggle. And the Trotskyists will be there fighting to lead the working class and its allies to power. ■

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South Africa...

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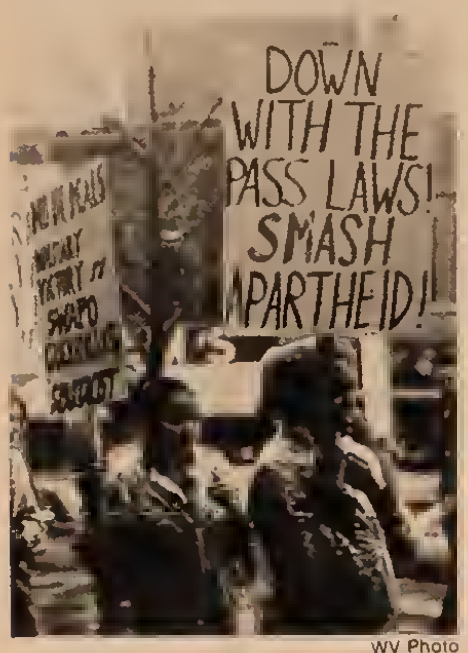
nationalist governments.

As a first step in this direction, Reagan supporters in Congress have been trying (so far unsuccessfully) to overturn the Clark Amendment, adopted in 1975 to prevent direct U.S. overt or covert aid to pro-South African guerrillas in Angola against the Cuban/Soviet-backed MPLA. U.S. military aid to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA movement would not in itself change the relation of forces in Angola. (Savimbi already gets all the weapons he needs from South Africa.) But reversing the Clark Amendment would be a declaration of political solidarity with South Africa and a virtual declaration of war on Angola, which is already subject to frequent air and land attacks by South African forces. Given Reagan's bellicosity, an attempt to reverse the imperialists' 1976 defeat in Angola by another Washington-backed South African invasion is possible.



WV Photo

Ann Arbor, May 13: SYL protests apartheid state foreign minister Roelof Botha.

Military Victory to SWAPO!

South African troops and settlers took possession of Namibia, the former German Southwest Africa, a mineral-rich but barren territory lying between South Africa and Angola, during World War I. Seventy thousand South African and black puppet troops are still there, preserving Namibia's wealth for the apartheid rulers and holding off the forces of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), which has been waging guerrilla war for 15 years to win Namibian independence. Diplomatic moves sponsored by black African states to force South Africa out of the territory culminated in 1978 with a United Nations resolution calling for a UN "peacekeeping" force to oversee elections for an independent Namibian government. The Carter administration backed that unanimous Security Council resolution, and South Africa reluctantly claimed to accept it.

Three years later, however, nothing has changed. South Africa continues to wage a murderous military campaign to suppress SWAPO and massacre its supporters based in Angola. And the U.S., under Reagan and Haig, is running interference internationally for the apartheid butchers. The State Department now says that a Cuban withdrawal from Angola must precede any moves to get South Africa out of Namibia. Haig insists that there is "no deadline" for a South African withdrawal and the State Department, together with other NATO powers, is trying to alter the terms of the UN independence mandate to insure a pro-U.S./South African regime in any "independent" Namibia.

The key to imperialist plans to frustrate self-determination for the peoples of South-West Africa is the so-called UN "Transitional Assistance Group," a force of 7,500 troops which would supervise elections and the transfer of power. Foreign minister Botha, mindful of growing hard-line apartheid pressure on his government back home, told Reagan that such a UN force was no longer acceptable to Pretoria because it would be "biased" in favor of SWAPO. And there is no doubt that in any reasonably fair election SWAPO would soundly defeat the South African puppets at the polls.

Revolutionaries stand for the military victory of SWAPO and the complete withdrawal of *all* South African or United Nations troops from South-West Africa! As the Korean people know only too well, there is no such thing as a neutral "peacekeeping" force. UN troops, no matter what their country of origin, would only substitute for direct imperialist intervention. With the imperialist powers united in their determination to prevent a Soviet-allied nationalist government from assuming power in Namibia, any UN force would seek to disarm SWAPO militants and impose a "coalition" regime amenable to South African pressure.

That SWAPO leader Sam Nujoma now looks to the UN (and through it to the U.S.) to bring his movement to power reflects more than SWAPO's military weakness. The experience of Zimbabwe should warn working people in South-West Africa of what can be expected from an imperialist-arranged "solution" of the Namibian independence struggle. Robert Mugabe's ZANU government, eased into power by elections overseen by British troops, runs a strikebreaking, anti-working class regime. Despite South African fears about his so-called "Marxist" militancy and anti-Western aims, Mugabe has refused to expropriate the white settler landlords and has yet to allow the Soviets even to open an embassy in Salisbury! Little different could be expected from an independent Namibia born out of a U.S. imperialist deal with the apartheid rulers.

The only road toward genuine independence from imperialism is socialist revolution in southern Africa. Above all, this means workers revolution to smash the South African white supremacist regime. The black working class of South Africa occupies a strategic position in the heart of the industrial powerhouse of the continent. Black workers have the power to break the chains of apartheid slavery and free the entire region from the white racist gold-and-diamond capitalists of South Africa. South Africa out of Namibia! No to UN troops, military victory to SWAPO! For a socialist federation of southern Africa! ■

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"Pontiac Brothers"...

(continued from page 3)

and more blacks responded to jury duty call than is normally the case. The result was a jury which did not buy.

The prosecution knew it had no case, so it simply concocted a scenario whereby prison gangs grew tired of fighting each other and banded together to get the guards. But prisoner and guard witnesses called by the state repeatedly contradicted themselves and their immediate post-riot stories, while charges that prisoners had been bribed were verified.

Meanwhile, throughout the trial, defense lawyers were harassed with contempt charges and refusals of fee. Now after the verdict a livid Illinois senate appropriations committee has refused to grant funds to complete the payment of defense lawyers for acting as public defenders and may force them into court just to get their fees settled!

The depth of the prosecution's bankruptcy is illustrated by an incident which occurred during the summary of head prosecutor Thomas Breen. When Breen asked rhetorically whether the jury really believed that the state of Illinois would perpetrate the frame-up alleged by the defense, jurors began to nod visibly! Breen abruptly requested a five-minute recess and came back to announce that the state rested. Shortly thereafter, the not-guilty verdict was in.

It all reminds one of the famous 1969 frame-up of 21 New York City Black Panther members on charges of plotting to bomb public buildings, a case in which the jury immediately acquitted and denounced the entire prosecution through the press.

Three of the ten Pontiac defendants had completed their original prison sentences and were released the night of the verdict. One had been cleared of the original charge and now stands vindicated as a completely innocent man whom the state of Illinois attempted to fry because he was poor, black and a prisoner. But seven remain in prison, six are still awaiting trial on charges of murder, and another six prisoners have trials still pending downstate on lesser riot charges.

None of these prisoners are safe! Now that all the Pontiac Brothers stand a chance at acquittal there is nothing to stop prison guards from handing down their "own" sentences. In an incredibly provocative statement, prosecutor Breen lamented that in light of the verdict "no prison guard will be safe now." One can imagine eager prison guards rubbing their hands together at the prospect of insuring their own safety! *All* the Pontiac Brothers must be freed now!

In this racist society, mass unemployment and ghettoization breed crime, violence and police terror and pack the prisons with the desperate, mainly minority poor. Marxists solidarize with prison rebellions while emphasizing that the real solution lies in a radical overturn of society through workers revolution. As we wrote in the aftermath of the desperate 1971 Attica prison rebellion:

> "The prison system cannot be reformed; it must be abolished. While it is correct to struggle for demands which meet the immediate needs of the prisoners, it is essential that we raise the banner of Smash the Prisons! We must point out that the main bulk of the reforms proposed can only be realized when bourgeois property relations are overthrown. To abolish the prisons, we must abolish the bourgeois state of which they are part, and the class in whose interests that state is administered."
>
> —"Massacre at Attica,"
> *WV* No. 1, October 1971

Drop the Charges! Free the Remaining Pontiac Brothers! ■

Local 600...

(continued from page 12)

Fraser, just like every other member of the Chrysler board of directors, helped to rip up the Chrysler contract over and over, while the plant closings and layoffs continued unabated. The RMC and other militants from Local 600 and Local 140 (Dodge Truck) pointed the way forward for workers at Lynch Road and other Chrysler plants being put on the scrap heap after the bankers had bled them dry. When the companies pleaded bankruptcy, they called for sit-down strikes and for a workers' auction to seize and dispose of the Chrysler assets—without a penny of "compensation" to the bloodsucking bosses. The RMC program of audacious class struggle stood out sharply against all the phony social-democratic nationalization and bail-out schemes cooked up in Washington.

Rinaldi Spits on Ranks: "You're Gone, I'll Be Here"

While the incumbent bureaucrats in Local 600, president Mike Rinaldi and his running mates, Ernest Lofton and Bob King, were working overtime to secretly negotiate pay cuts for Rouge steel workers, the RMC cut through the lie that the company's offensive against the union can't be fought. At the Dearborn Assembly Plant, Rouge Steel Division and Michigan Casting, the RMC called for sit-down strikes and a union-wide fight for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. This struck a chord among militant auto workers who know full well that whether the UAW wins or Ford wins is a question of strength. Rinaldi's contempt for the UAW membership comes through loud and clear. Every couple of weeks he appears on the 6 o'clock TV news in Detroit to promise that if only the "Deuce" (Henry Ford II) comes back and makes some lousy promise to keep Michigan Casting Center open for a while, he (Rinaldi) will reach into auto workers' wallets and give their money to Ford Motor Company in Chrysler-style "concessions." At a meeting of over 700 MCC workers, many with eight or ten years seniority and facing permanent layoff, Rinaldi arrogantly told angry workers that: "Long after you're gone, I'll still be here."

The other slates in Local 600 offer more of the same. Walter Dorosh (Local 600 president and chairman of the National Negotiating Committee for ten years), Larry Bronson and Bill Brown are praying Rouge workers have a short memory. They hope workers will forget it was Dorosh who gave away thousands of dollars in COLA money in 1967, while he let hundreds of scabs into the plant during the 67-day strike. But Rouge workers remember the brother who was shot at the Local 600 hall in 1973 for protesting the revotes that Woodcock and Dorosh held until the count came out the way Ford wanted.

Meanwhile, a shaky lash-up calling itself the "United Front Slate" briefly put forward Nick Qasem for Local president. The main operators in this maneuver were the skilled-trades-based "Local 600 Organizer" and the misnamed "Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW." Their idea of a militant union was to *oppose sitdowns* at the Steel Division and Michigan

NLRB Takes Up Anwar Case

CHICAGO—An important development in the picket line case of United Steelworkers of America (USWA) member Keith Anwar was announced here May 11. The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) office for the Chicago-Gary area has issued a decision invalidating a previous arbitrator's ruling and accused Inland Steel Company of engaging in unfair labor practices in firing the USWA Local 1010 militant. Anwar, an apprentice millwright at Inland in East Chicago, Indiana had honored a picket line set up by another USWA local at his plant in 1979.

Anwar acted in defense of a tradition that built the industrial unions in this country—picket lines mean don't cross! And the thousands of District 31 steel workers who signed petitions, mailed postcards, fought in union meetings and donated hard-earned cash to the campaign to reinstate Anwar are still foursquare behind him. Although the case has been on ice since the arbitrator's decision last December, the shop floors and corridors of Local 1010 were buzzing with the news the minute a leaflet issued by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee (KADC) hit the plant.

The bosses at Inland Steel immediately stated their intent to appeal, thus barring Anwar's return to the job. They doubtless intend to litigate the case to the hilt, with ample resources drawn from the corporation's immense profits. Anwar supporters say they are collecting funds for what will be a costly and arduous legal battle.

In a motion passed at Local 1010 in June 1980 the local pledged to take the case to the NLRB, but the KADC notes that its central problem still is to get the local to back the case in *action*. What is needed is not only full union financial backing, but also that the union actively participate in the case and mobilize the ranks to take action against the company. Local president Bill Andrews and District 31 director Jim Balanoff (both so-called progressive "dissidents" in the union) have dragged their feet at every crucial point in the case and welched on turning every paper motion into action. Not one penny of the thousands of dollars collected from the membership by the Anwar defense committee has come from USWA coffers! A KADC leaflet issued May 19 observed that "Local 1010 is the biggest local in the USWA, with millions of dollars dues money... only a few months ago the local gave several hundred dollars to send police forces belonging to the strikebreaking Lake County Sheriff's department to the Rose Bowl. Meanwhile, Anwar's NLRB suit has yet to get the time of day in this local! We've got to turn things around and start fighting for *labor's interests*."

All Balanoff cares about right now is back-slapping to keep his job against Jack Parton, president of Local 1014 at U.S. Steel Gary Works and a supporter of USWA International President Lloyd McBride, in an election set for May 28. But beyond this, bureaucrats of both the "progressive" and more conservative, pro-USWA International ilk are terrified by the militant traditions of the 1930s. These fakers never set up picket lines themselves because they negotiate and honor sellout no-strike agreements with the companies.

The NLRB is no friend of labor because it is an arm of the bosses government—steel workers cannot rely on such means to defend the principles of class struggle. In fact, the whole purpose of such government bodies is to prevent strikes by channeling unrest into time-consuming legal quibbling. And the whole point of the Anwar case is to show that gains are won by class struggle, not legalistic maneuvers. This case should never have come before the NLRB because Anwar should never have been fired in the first place. Unions must honor picket lines, the battle lines in the class struggle, and use the strike weapon if necessary to prevent victimizations!

In the face of plant closings and tens of thousands of layoffs, the District 31 leadership under Jim Balanoff has done exactly nothing. A clear victory for Anwar could play an important part in reversing this chain of defeats. When Anwar walks back into the plant, labor solidarity will get a big shot in the arm. Balanoff and his fellow bureaucrats may not wise up, but the thousands of rank-and-file members who have supported this case will continue to fight because they know that to defend the picket line is to defend the union.

Casting unless and until the International calls for them! (The political leaders of the CMDUAW are an Ann Arbor student-based group which defends scabbing as a "tactical" question.) But the ill-fated block soon fell apart as Qasem withdrew as presidential candidate. Thus on June 9-11 Rouge workers will have the choice of voting for class-struggle candidate Frank Hicks for president, or the Tweedledum-Tweedledee Rinaldi/Dorosh candidates of the giveaway Fraser bureaucracy.

Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

Brothers Hicks and DuBois are the *only* candidates for top office in River Rouge who defend black workers against rising Klan/Nazi terror. When the Nazis opened up a bookstore to organize their racist terror less than a mile from the Local 600 hall in 1977-78, Rinaldi and the rest of the Rouge bureaucrats set up a "labor-community council"... to guarantee that the anger of the workers would be channeled into "peaceful, legal pressure" on Mayor Coleman Young—whose cops were defending the Nazi headquarters. Brother Hicks instead fought for the UAW to take the lead in organizing a united-front demonstration at the Nazis' lair, to drive the fascist race-terrorists out of Detroit.

When in 1979 Hicks and DuBois, together with other militants, mobilized Dearborn Assembly Plant workers to drive out two foremen who wore Klan hoods in the plant, Rinaldi and Lofton covered for the company and allowed the foremen to be transferred to suburban plants. And when the RMC candidates built the successful 10 November 1979 500-strong labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square to stop the Klan from riding in Detroit, the Local 600 bureaucrats opposed it. Instead they sent a telegram to Jimmy "Ethnic Purity" Carter pleading with him to "investigate those responsible" in Greensboro. The "investigation" by the racist, capitalist state resulted a year later in the acquittal of these fascist killers.

In a recent interview with *WV*, Rouge Militant vice-presidential candidate Charles DuBois stressed that the UAW must *lead* the fight for blacks and other minorities, for genuine equality:

> "Our union misleaders don't fight racist conceptions or the racist status quo, and in fact perpetuate it so that blacks, Arabs, women and other minorities aren't represented proportionately in skilled trades, for instance. The labor misleaders pretend to be color-blind, but as long as workers hold the conception that there are a limited amount of jobs, white workers will see gains for blacks and minorities as at their expense.
>
> "We want to use our union's power and organization to answer the cries of working-class and ghetto youth to fight for jobs for all, with aggressive recruitment of minorities and women to learning skills, upgrading their jobs, and put an end to blacks and Arabs being segregated into the more dangerous and dirtiest jobs. And when we, and our program, are running the show, Local 600, not "911," will be the emergency-line to call whenever the fascists with their sheets and swastikas dare to raise their scurvy heads.
>
> "We want to show the workers and oppressed masses the power of black and white workers smashing the Klan, and fighting the bosses side by side to create genuine equality with a new and just social order."

A Program to Win: Detroit to El Salvador

The RMC candidates are the *only* ones who have fought for real labor solidarity against the capitalist offensive and Reagan's reactionary Cold War drive. During the 110-day 1978 miners strike, brother Hicks campaigned in the Steel Division's Rolling Mill Unit demanding the International shut down the Big Three auto companies when Jimmy Carter slapped the strikebreaking Taft-Hartley injunction on the miners. But Rinaldi would only collect canned beans and Fraser did everything in his power to bolster the sellout Miller leadership which was sabotaging the miners strike at every step.

Now with a civil war raging in El Salvador, the RMC stands with the workers and peasants of that embattled land, facing a murderous U.S.-backed military junta. More than $500 was collected in the plant to send a delegation of militant Rouge workers to Washington on May 3 to join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, the only group standing for the military victory of the leftist insurgents in El Salvador. In a leaflet to the plant these brothers said:

> "The labor movement in America must do everything in its power to help workers and peasants in El Salvador *win*... if Reagan sends in the Marines, the UAW must be prepared to strike against it!"

But the International bureaucrats tell workers in El Salvador to make a deal with the junta butchers, just like they tell Chrysler and Ford workers to knuckle under to the companies' union-busting takeaway demands.

While the bootlickers who sit in Solidarity House push their "love the companies, hate Japanese auto workers" campaign, Reagan whips up the same chauvinist frenzy in his war drive against the Soviet deformed workers state. Hicks and DuBois' forthright defense of foreign workers is a powerful answer to the racist "Buy American" crap from Rinaldi and Dorosh and the cowardly refusal of the (now headless) United Front Slate to even mention the bureaucracy's poisonous protectionism.

There is not much any of the capitalist politicians can do about the deteriorating economy and they are no longer faking it. Chrysler chief Iacocca says: "It's freeze time boys." And the UAW bureaucrats make sure the ranks stay in cold storage. All the empty talk of the union's "great militant tradition" just stays on the shelf. All that Fraser & Co. offer auto workers was summed up in one of their banners at last year's UAW convention: "Hungry? Eat a Toyota."

A *workers party* is urgently needed to stop these savage attacks and put the bosses and their capitalist politicians on the run. Detroit today is more like "Murder City" than "Motor City"—with the Big Three holding the gun and Fraser pulling the trigger. The weekly "indefinitely unemployed" figures drop only because workers are losing their recall rights. Today's workers with ten years seniority have no more security than "89-day probationaries," and the hottest-selling newspaper is the *Houston Chronicle* advertising jobs in Texas. While the government and auto bosses slash jobs and living standards, the Klan and Nazis attack blacks in their homes. What is most criminal of all, the cowardly racist sellout UAW leadership cracks the whip of austerity to prove their "good faith" to the bosses.

The Rouge Militant Caucus is the only group in Local 600 with the program and guts to put this once-proud union back on its feet. They are the only ones to call for sit-down strikes against mass layoffs, labor/black defense guards against fascist terror—the kind of militant union action that built the UAW in the class battles of the '30s. These are the only candidates who fight for a workers party and a workers government, for a socialist planned economy to eliminate the boom-bust economic chaos that has put *half a million* auto industry workers out of jobs since 1977. RMC candidates Frank Hicks and Charles DuBois tell it straight and fight for their program and their fellow workers. Brother Hicks has been a dedicated union man at Rouge for more than eight years, both at the foundry and in Maintenance and Construction. Brother DuBois is a three-year UAW militant in M & C who ran for convention delegate last year. Both were among the organizers and speakers at the November 1979 Kennedy Square "stop the Klan" rally. The Rouge Militant Caucus has lived up to its responsibility to *lead*, their program offers auto workers a way out. Vote Hicks and DuBois! ■

CORRECTIONS

A picture caption on page 3 of our last issue (*WV* No. 280, 8 May), in the article on elections in United Steelworkers Chicago-Gary district, referred to Southworks as the home local of District 31 director Balanoff. As the article stated, the U.S. Steel plant is the home local of former district director and Balanoff supporter Sadlowski.

In *WV* No. 277 (26 March), the article on an anti-deportation demo in Los Angeles refers to the endorsement of Phil Russo of the ILWU; it should have read ILGWU. Also, the Valley City College chapter of CISPES did not endorse although individual members participated in the demonstration. The endorsement came from the UCLA chapter of CISPES.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Frank Hicks, Charles DuBois for Rouge President, V.P.!

For a Fighting UAW Local 600!

DETROIT—Local union elections take place this month throughout the United Auto Workers (UAW)—but there will be no elections at Dodge Main, Lynch Road, Pico Rivera, Mahwah and a host of other plants which have fallen victim to factory shutdowns and the wrecking ball. And in hundreds of UAW shops around the country, *several hundred thousand* UAW members have been thrown onto the unemployment lines. Yet the entire union bureaucracy, from International president Doug Fraser on down, does nothing but demand more sacrifices from the ranks in order to restore the bosses' profits.

Now at the UAW's largest and potentially most powerful local, Ford's River Rouge Local 600 in Dearborn, beleaguered auto workers have a chance to vote for candidates with a class-struggle program and a proven record as fighters who can stand up to the companies and defend the workers' interests worldwide. Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) candidates Frank Hicks and Charles DuBois, running for local president and first vice president respectively, show the way for auto workers to *win* against the capitalist crisis.

Fraser and his crew of "progressive" social-democratic capitulators in Solidarity House have spent the last three years ripping up gain after gain that UAW members fought for. COLA is gone at Chrysler; the industry-wide contract is a thing of the past; Dodge Main, the home of the sit-down strike for Chrysler workers in 1937, is plowed under; the fascist terror that UAW militants fought and defeated in order to establish the union rears its head every week in Detroit.

Auto workers now face the "choice" they had rammed down their throats in the days before the union—take a pay cut or the bosses will throw you on the street. And where is the UAW leadership? Sitting with the bosses on the board of directors! There is a class line between workers and bosses, between the company and the union, and those who cross it are scabs and traitors! Hicks and DuBois say: Oust the Bureaucrats—Make Local 600 a Fighting Union Again! For a Class-Struggle UAW!

Fraser: UAW Means "U Ain't Working"

The RMC candidates have fought against the plant closings and "concessions" blackmail from Dodge Main to Michigan Casting. When the International abandoned 5,000 Chrysler workers at the historic Dodge Main plant, brother Hicks fought at Rouge for a perspective of sit-down strikes to spark a militant fight for jobs. In June 1979 all three shifts of the Local 600 Maintenance and Construction Unit passed Hicks' motion calling for "the International Union to organize a plant occupation/sitdown strike at Dodge Main and other plants slated for closing."

Even the smallest, weakest union at least pretends to defend its membership—but not the gang of sellout "democratic socialists" and "labor statesmen" at Solidarity House.

continued on page 10

WV Photos

Frank Hicks (above), Charles DuBois (below) call for labor/black defense against Klan/Nazis, a workers party to fight for a workers government.

We are the Rouge Militant Caucus candidates

We are running on our record of leading militant fights against Ford's assault on our union and the betrayals of the UAW International. The Rouge Militant Caucus doesn't wait until election time and proclaim "vote for me and I'll set you free." Every day, on every issue we fight to put the power of our union to work for us. A vote for Hicks and DuBois is a vote *against* plant closings and concessions, a vote *against* Klan/Nazi racist terror, and a vote *for* putting the workers in this country in the drivers seat!

We are the Caucus that:

- Fights to mobilize the membership against the concessions blackmail that Fraser and Rinaldi help the companies ram down our throats. From Dodge Main to Lynch Road the government/company phony bailout scheme means misery and total ruin for Chrysler workers. Let's shove it to Ford with mass sitdown strikes to stop them from closing Michigan Casting and the Frame Plant! What's more important, Ford's profits or our jobs?
- Organizes labor/black mobilizations to crush Klan/Nazi terror. We led over 1000 DAP workers to drive out the two Klan-hooded foremen, while Rinaldi and Lofton covered for these racists and let the company transfer them to Wixom and Wayne. When the KKK murdered five people in Greensboro and threatened to celebrate it in downtown Detroit, we built a 500-strong labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square to make, damn sure that the Klan wouldn't ride in the Motor City!
- Stands for a fight against Reagan's war on working people, minorities and the poor. The bureaucrats on the Rinaldi and Dorosh slates push the "Buy American" crap to defend Ford's profits while our jobs go to hell. Their racist anti-Japanese campaign is just what Reagan wants to help him whip up a patriotic frenzy for his anti-Soviet war drive, beginning with the slaughter of thousands of workers and peasants in El Salvador. The UAW mis-leaders paved the way for Reagan with their support for Carter and other anti-labor, racist Democratic Party politicians. We are the *only* candidates in Local 600 who stand for a break with both the bosses parties and a fight for a workers party and a workers government!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 282

5 June 1981

Reaganomics Targets Social Security

War Budget Hit List: Blacks, Poor, Aged

"I will defend the integrity of the Social Security system and work to improve those programs which provide for the disadvantaged and those in need."

—Ronald Reagan, 24 October 1980

"We cannot postpone any longer the day of reckoning for Social Security."

—Secretary of Health and Human Services Richard Schweiker, 12 May 1981

It was 96 to 0. The first slap in the face for the John Wayne presidency. On May 20 the Senate voted a "sense of Congress" resolution stating that it would "not precipitously or unfairly penalize early retirees." Reagan had no trouble in adding $25 billion to the military budget this year and he expects no trouble for a 1981-85 arms buildup three times greater than the Vietnam War buildup of the late 1960s. He had no trouble cutting back Medicaid for black ghetto youth or eliminating Social Security benefits for orphans in foster homes. But cutting back Social Security pensions is something else again.

Thirty-six million people benefit from these programs and have paid for them their whole working lives. And Reagan's savage proposal affects not only the old. Who is going to let their aged parents or grandparents eat dog food, freeze in

continued on page 10

Lurie/Black Star

Democrats and Republicans have billions for anti-Soviet militarism, austerity for working people.

Thai/Time

Reagan's Picks

What Next? Lt. Calley for Human Rights Adviser?

"What's good for the country is good for General Motors, and vice versa," said Eisenhower's Secretary of Defense back in 1953. Charles E. Wilson *was* the president of General Motors, of course, but even the *Wall Street Journal* gently remonstrated at Wilson's letting the cat out of the bag. Today the *New York Times*, mouthpiece of the "enlightened" Ivy League bourgeoisie, has thrown up its editorial hands, recently (May 28) offering readers a "Foxes and Chicken Coops" game, to match up each Reagan-appointee "fox" with the corresponding "chicken coop" agency.

It's easy to play. Take James G. Watt, who headed a group opposing Federal environmental legislation and supports private "development" of public lands—obviously he's Secretary of the Interior, in charge of most public lands. Thorne G. Auchter, a construction contractor known for opposing Federal enforcement of health and safety rules, is naturally to be in charge of the Occupational Health and Safety Administration (which just exempted construction contractors from a Federal job safety standard). Who's in charge of the Interstate Commerce Commission, including trucking regulations? It must be Reese H. Taylor Jr., a lawyer whose most prominent clients have been trucking companies in state regulatory proceedings. And how about the Forest Service? Well, it had to be John B. Crowell Jr., general counsel for the Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, largest single buyer of timber from the national forests.

The new Secretary of Health and Human Services, Richard Schweiker, supports abolishing abortion and other "human services"—he wants to terminate Federal support of sex education programs and Medicaid-subsidized contraceptives for unmarried teenagers. And Reagan's nominee for Surgeon General, Dr. Everett Koop, fits right in: he's a Christian fundamentalist opposed to abortion. Of course he doesn't have any experience in public health. (His nomination was opposed by the American Public Health Association, the first time it has taken such a position in its 100-year history.)

That's the domestic crew: an endless parade of corporate plunderers and Christian soldiers against sin. Just in case you can't tell the program from the players, Energy Secretary James Edwards spelled it out: "We're on the verge of a counterrevolution now and I'm excited to be a part of it" (*Washington Post*, 28 May). On the foreign affairs side, things are even darker—the creatures Reagan wants there are the kind

continued on page 3

Gripes of Rothe

4/6/'81

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

The editors of the *600 Organizer* would like to take this opportunity to comment upon the misrepresentation of our newsletter and its stated positions by the *Workers Vanguard*, 27 March 1981.

The *600 Organizer* has been in existence about one year. We have published about one issue a month. Since its inception the *600 Organizer* has had three editors, with the exception of one month when only two individuals edited the newsletter. This is well known since the names of the editors are listed in our newsletter. We therefore feel it necessary to correct your implication that the *600 Organizer* is the work of one individual.

As regards your assertion of the "workerist" character of editors of the *600 Organizer*, it may be useful to consider some of the topics that the *600 Organizer* has commented upon:

We have opposed the CIA backed reactionary forces in Afghanistan.

We have consistently opposed protectionism and attempts to divide workers along national lines.

We have refuted red-baiting attacks, and pointed out the role of socialists and communists in building the UAW.

We have exposed and criticized the CIA involvement in supporting the reactionary regimes in the Middle East.

We have attempted historical analysis of the Klan/Nazi menace and have supported or participated in anti-Klan/Nazi demonstrations in the Detroit area.

We have consistently advocated the formation of a labor party, with UAW participation a key element.

We have supported the women and minorities in the UAW in the struggle for dignity on the job.

The *Workers Vanguard* has criticized us for calling on the International UAW to authorize a sit-down strike. You point out a successful sit-down at Chrysler's Jefferson plant in 1973 as an example.

There are two sides of a coin to consider here. What about the strikes which are isolated, besieged by goons organized by the International UAW and crushed? What about the set-up and fired militants and subsequent demoralization of the workers?

What about the wildcats of 1977 reported on by the *Workers Vanguard*? "...the main walkouts were largely spontaneous and poorly organized. Moreover they were almost universally followed by successful management reprisals." W.V. 29 July 1977. "...In addition to calling on the *union* (not wildcatters) to shut down the steaming sweatboxes, auto workers must demand the local right to strike without International sanction..." ibid. (emphasis in original) Also in 1977 you reported favorably on a leaflet issued by the Militant Solidarity Caucus of Local 906 UAW entitled "HEAT WAVE It's the Union Leadership's Job to Shut this Plant Down!" ibid.

These are certainly valid tactical considerations. It would not be beyond feasibility for several militants to be fired in the aftermath of an unsuccessful wildcat, left hanging out to dry on charges of "instigating an unauthorized work stoppage." Calling on the International to support any strike and not backstab us is the only reasonable policy under the present conditions.

It seems that your position of 1977 reflects more of a realistic analysis of events and less of a felt need to manufacture political criticism of those perceived as adversaries.

Fraternally,
Jim Rothe
Tim Selwa
Greg Tripodi
Editors of the *600 Organizer*

WV replies: Every organization has leaders, including and especially ones that claim to have none, and the *600 Organizer* is no exception. Defections from their editors and the addition of a new name does not change the fact that the *600 Organizer* is the creature of Jim Rothe. Apparently Rothe still carries hangovers from his New Left days when it was fashionable in SDS to pretend that "we're all rank-and-filers here" while self-appointed honchos ran things behind the scenes. But that doesn't exonerate him from responsibility.

On the other hand, it is possible that the term "workerist" does not do full justice to Rothe. A workerist chases rank-and-file moods; Rothe consistently kneels to the Fraser leadership. How about "labor reformist" or "aspiring bureaucrat" instead? It's not whether the *600 Organizer* has printed words about various subjects, but what they do when it comes to militant action. They write, for instance, that "we have ...supported or participated in anti-Klan/Nazi demonstrations in the Detroit area." Where? When?

What about the important 10 November 1979 Kennedy Square demonstration to stop the KKK from marching in Detroit? This action, initiated by UAW Local 600 militants who later formed the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) and built by the Spartacist League, was the first major protest in a northern city against the bloody Klan/Nazi Greensboro massacre. Five hundred participated, mostly black, with over 100 from area factories. Where was Jim Rothe on November 10?

Rothe *opposed* the November 10 demonstration, calling instead on the Local 600 bureaucrats to organize a rally *after* the KKK was due to march and at *another location*. The UAW misleaders did not want to confront the Klan, and when the bureaucrats do nothing, Rothe does nothing. Now he is in a bloc with the so-called Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW), whose mentors of the Ann Arbor cult/sect Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) led by one Peter Sollenberger (a/k/a Swineburger) dismissed the November 10 demo as a "fraud" and labeled black auto workers who attended it "downtown shoppers." Black workers at Rouge and Detroit-area minorities facing racist terror would have some choice words to say to these wreckers who tried to *sabotage* the first labor-centered anti-fascist mobilization in this country in decades.

In general, the *600 Organizer* ducks any issue where a hard class position might be unpopular. On Poland they offer this gem: "We support free and democratic trade unions in Poland like UAW president Doug Fraser" (*600 Organizer*, 6 October 1980). Rothe knows perfectly well of the CIA connections of the UAW and AFL-CIO international operations over the years. The real aim of Fraser and Kirkland is to make Poland "free" for capitalist exploitation again. And that is Rothe's policy.

And what about El Salvador. The Rouge Militant Caucus has called for leftist rebels to win the civil war. The *600 Organizer*—like *Doug Fraser*—calls only for "self-determination" of the Salvadoran people. And at a Spartacist League forum on El Salvador at Wayne State University on April 23, Jim Rothe remarked: "If you want to come out with a statement like 'military victory to left-wing insurgents' in an area of basically conservative politically, skilled tradesmen...I think you are setting yourselves up for permanent isolation and degeneration as other groups have done." So Rothe *admittedly* capitulates to the aristocracy of labor. But the RMC sent people from the Rouge to Washington May 3 to march for a left-wing victory against the bloody junta and collected more than $500 in the plant.

The main point of Rothe & Co. in their letter is to defend themselves against our criticism that they oppose sit-down strikes at Ford Rouge, where there is an urgent necessity for *action now* against layoffs and plant closings. And they try to make it look like they are for calling on the union to take action while *Workers Vanguard* presumably calls for wildcats. So the letter quotes a 29 July 1977 *WV* article against us, in which we call for union action rather than isolated wildcats to shut down plants too hot to work in. It won't wash.

What we wrote in our recent article is that anyone who is waiting for the likes of Doug Fraser to authorize a sit-down strike has no intention of ever carrying it out. *Not a worker in Detroit* thinks that strikebreaker Fraser would *ever* carry out plant occupations against the companies—and that includes the likes of Rothe, who calls for it! First of all, our 1977 article explicitly says workers must demand the local right to strike "without International sanction," and nowhere did we condemn the heat wildcats. A weak July 1979 resolution by militants at the Rouge did call on the UAW International to organize a plant occupation at Dodge Main, but this demand for a sitdown at another plant was accompanied by efforts to mobilize the membership for militant union action. Rothe's gripes prove his real policy has been to *oppose* any action unless it is authorized by Solidarity House. The *600 Organizer* won't organize anything that doesn't have the okay of Doug Fraser!

Moreover, Rothe is now issuing joint leaflets with the CMDUAW, which argued that a special in-plant local meeting to organize union action to stop scheduled layoffs would only finger militants to management! A March 5 issue of the CMDUAW newsletter denounces the Rouge Militant Caucus' "gimmick version of a 'sitdown'" as "just a wildcat out of the blue." And as we noted in our 27 March article, "They even complained that 1,000 unionists occupying the plant would be an 'unauthorized strike'!" The Rothe et al. letter refers to the "successful sitdown" at Jefferson Assembly in 1973. But with their position, they would have opposed that strike!

Repeatedly, Rothe and the RWL/CMDUAW try to sound a little militant on paper while concocting a rationale for avoiding action that would confront the bureaucracy. They are "parliamentary cretinists" in the unions who believe that the *traitors* in the UAW leadership can be dragged into action by passive propaganda. But Fraser is now a direct agent of management, acting as a member of the board of directors of Chrysler and the other auto companies. Fraser & Co. are acting as *cops* against the membership, ripping up contracts and forcing takeaways down the members' throats. Why don't Rothe and his pals call on Iacocca or Henry Ford II to lead sitdowns—they'd have just about as much chance of success as calling on Fraser! And by the way, *the Flint sit-down strike*, the action which turned the UAW into a powerful industrial union, was not authorized by the International until *several days after it had broken out* under the leadership of socialist militants.

As for the sleazy Sollenberger bunch, an RWL-supported caucus actually took office in a UAW local once—clerical Local 2001 at the University of Michigan in the early '70s, until they made such a mess of it that the 3,000 members wrongly voted to decertify the union in 1976. In February 1977 the then RWG *scabbed* by crossing AFSCME Local 1583 picket lines in Ann Arbor; three years later they wrote a 3,000-word article defending this despicable action as principled! Now after hooking up with the CMDUAW, Rothe too says that observing picket lines is "moralistic." Not the RMC and the SL. We say picket lines mean don't cross.

Scabbing, opposing sitdowns, tailing after Solidarity House—this is the course which the *600 Organizer* has chosen. Their latest gambit is an electoral lash-up known as the United Front Slate, whose Local presidential candidate Qasem withdrew reportedly because he didn't like being "used" by this lashup. Even though the UFS is now without a candidate for Rouge president in the upcoming elections, Rothe & Co. refuse to say who they will support. They oppose real class-struggle unionists but don't dare support Fraser/Rinaldi openly, so they hide by saying nothing. Such cowards will play no good role in the struggles to oust the labor lieutenants of capitalism and unleash the class-struggle power of organized labor. Real class-conscious militants will vote for Frank Hicks and Charles DuBois for Local 600 president and first vice president on June 9-11. And real class-struggle militants also know that the victory over the traitorous Frasers will take place not at the ballot box but on the picket lines, battle lines of the class struggle. ■

Anwar NLRB Case

Chicago, Illinois
25 May 1981

To the editor:

In the article in *WV* 281 (22 May) we made a mistatement of fact in the article on the case of Keith Anwar, the Inland Steel worker fired for respecting picket lines. Based on a leaflet by the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, we wrote that the National Labor Relations Board "has issued a decision invalidating a previous arbitrator's ruling." Actually, the NLRB issued a *complaint* against the company for engaging in unfair labor practices in firing Keith. A hearing has been scheduled for this coming fall on the case.

Jon Brule
Midwest *WV* labor correspondent

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 282 **5 June 1981**

Stop Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka!

State-sponsored terror against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka's Northern Province has taken an ominous turn. Since late March at least 89 Tamil activists have "disappeared" as security forces resort to the terror methods of the Latin American death squads. Seized in raids by unidentified plainclothesmen, often with military escort, the Tamil victims include many university students and young leftists. The government denies that prisoners are being held, ignores writs of habeas corpus, refuses to release information about their whereabouts. There is good reason to fear that those seized may suffer the same fate as the Tamil youths found murdered by police during the 1979 state of emergeney. International protests must be mounted against these aets of rightist terror!

WV Photo

SL protests Sri Lanka government repression of general strike at consulate in New York City, 29 August 1980.

The smell of repression hangs heavy in the streets of the northern city of Jaffna, patrolled by heavily armed troops and police. The pervasive diserimination against Tamils in language rights, education, employment and land ownership has intensified sharply since the 1977 Sinhala-chauvinist pogroms, in which over a hundred were killed and thousands forced to flee to destitution in the North. Even worse is the plight of the Tamils whose ancestors were imported a century ago to work the upland plantations. Exploited, impoverished, disenfranchised, they face deportation and starvation in India. Over 300,000 have been deported so far, and over a quarter of these have died of hunger and disease within the last five years.

Right-wing prime minister J.R. Jayewardene has increasingly resorted to strong-state measures in an effort to make Sri Lanka "safe" for capitalist investment and imperialist war bases. In exchange for U.S. aid and membership in the anti-Communist ASEAN alliance, he is offering tax-free exploitation in Colombo's Free Trade Zone and the strategic naval harbor of Trincomalee as an anti-Soviet military base for the U.S. Attacks on the Tamils foreshadow future repressive measures which will be taken against any threat to capitalist "stability," whether from militant trade unionists or opponents of imperialist military encroachment. Suppression of the Tamil minority is also aimed at fostering communalism and religious divisions to undercut potential united class struggle against widespread unemployment and the unchecked inflation which has trebled basic food prices.

Jayewardene no doubt also hopes to drive a wedge between his opponents, now in the process of crystallizing a new popular-front opposition. The bourgeois Tamil opposition party, the TULF, has entered into alliance with the virulently Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party of Mrs. Bandaranaike and her reformist lapdogs of the LSSP—despite her record of murderous repression against the Tamils, as well as against the Sinhala youth in the 1971 JVP uprising. Other Tamil politicians are backing J.R.: his cabinet ministers include a TULF leader from the Eastern Province and S. Thondaman, head of the Tamil plantation workers union. Despite their rhetorical ealls for a separate Tamil state of Eelam, the Tamil opposition politicians are loyal camp followers of the two leading parties of the Lankan bourgeoisie, parties which have openly vied to outdo one another in bloody repression of the Tamils. The largely Buddhist Sinhalese justify this vicious repression of the mainly Hindu Tamils by their own guilty fears of domination by India (where tens of millions of Tamils live).

The response of Tamil youth has been to turn increasingly to armed actions against their oppressors. Bank "confiscations," shootings of policemen and bourgeois politicans have been attributed to Tamil nationalist groups. (The mayor of Jaffna killed in 1975 was so detested a figure that 35 Tamil youths confessed to his slaying!) But such actions are essentially futile, unable to pose any serious threat to the armed power of the capitalist state. And their program for a separate Eelam, if vietorious, would mean abandoning the Tamils living outside the Northern and Eastern Provinces, especially the plantation workers, to the racist violence of Sinhala communalism.

The Tamil guerrillas find a fertile recruiting ground among the disaffected youth, denied jobs and education. Except for the 1,800 students at Jaffna University, Tamil students are being barred from universities throughout Sri Lanka. But during a recent student strike at Colombo University, demands were raised for admission of Tamil freshmen. This struggle, led by a supporter of the newly formed Spartacist League of Sri Lanka (formerly the Bolshevik Faction of the centrist Revolutionary Workers Party), was the first recent instance of Sinhala students championing Tamil rights, and points the way forward. Working-class unity against the common bourgeois enemy across communal lines, so vital for the future of the class struggle in Sri Lanka, can be forged only when Sinhala workers join their Tamil class brothers in the fight against the racist poison of Sinhala chauvinism and for the right of self-determination for the Tamils. As we wrote in *Workers Vanguard* No. 240, 28 September 1979:

> "The oppressed Tamil population will be able to achieve soeial liberation only through working-elass revolution, led by a Troiskyist party whieh fuses togeiher the conscious vanguard of all seetors of the proletariat. The eritieal signifieanee of the Tamil question for Ceylonese revolutionaries is enhanced as well by the myriad ties which link the island to the Indian subcontinent on the other side of the narrow Palk Strait. A suecessful proletarian seizure of power in Sri Lanka could not long survive unless it sparked a more general South Asian revolutionary conflagration. And for the laboring masses of southern India, the program of Ceylonese revolutionaries toward the Tamil minority will be seen as a key test of their internationalist intentions."

Free the victims of anti-Tamil state terror! Cops and troops out of Jaffna! End discrimination against Tamils in edueation, employment and land! Equal status for the Tamil language! Full eitizenship rights for the Tamil plantation workers! Stop the deportations—for the right to return of those already deported! Equal pay for women plantation workers! For the right of self-determination for the Tamils of the North and East! Not Sinhala vs. Tamil, but class against class! Down with the UNP government—No more popular fronts! For a revolutionary workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka! Not little capitalist Eelam but proletarian revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent!

Protest state terror against the Tamil minority! Join our picket line outside the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN at 630 3rd Ave. (between 40th and 41st St.) in New York City on Monday, June 8 at 4:30 p.m.!■

PROTEST ANTI-TAMIL TERROR IN SRI LANKA!

PICKET LINE
Monday, June 8 4:30 pm
At the Sri Lankan Mission to the UN,
630 3rd Ave. (between 40th & 41st)
New York City

Reagan's Picks...

(continued from page 1)

that have to return to the soil of Langley, Virginia before dawn. The doors of the right-wing think tanks have opened wide, as retired spooks and their kindred spirits flock out into the Reagan world.

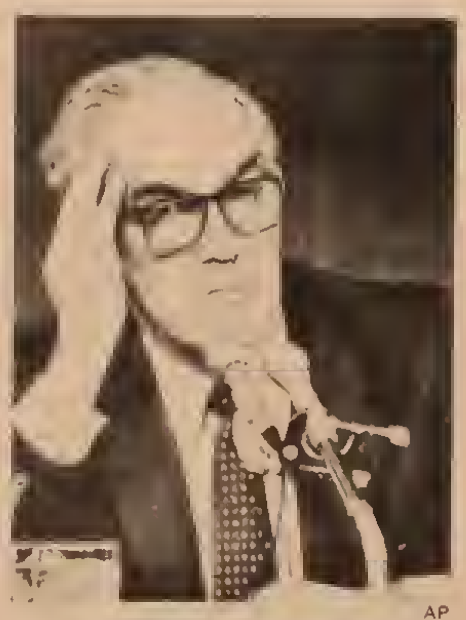
The United Nations ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick, despite being a Democrat, has an impeccable pedigree. Her brother-in-law, Lyman Kirkpatrick, was both exeeutive director and inspeetor general of the CIA before retiring into academia, while she herself has been a long-time *Commentary* fellow traveler, who first caught Reagan's eye with an article critieizing Carter's "human rights" policies in Latin Ameriea. Stating that the U.S. should he nicer to "moderate autocrats friendly to Ameriean interests" (*New York Times*, 12 January), she agrees wholeheartedly with the Reagan/Haig line that so long as dictators are anti-communist, they're just fine.

In this Orwellian world where "human rights" means rightist death squads, the top posts in the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency have gone to opponents of the SALT II accords. For the U.S. to have a "disarmament agency" is itself an obscene joke, given the bourgeoisie's massive, unpreeedented military build-up. And in keeping with Newspeak "war is peace" policy, the two top officials named to head the agency are Eugene Rostow, Johnson-era Vietnam hawk, and Edward L. Rowny, a general who retired in order to publicly protest the last "disarmament" talks.

Reagan's nominee for Assistant Seeretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Ernest W. Lefever, however, has proved too much for even fellow Republicans to swallow. In 1979 Lefever told Congress that it "should remove from the statute books all clauses that establish a human rights standard or eondition that must be met hefore our Government ransacks normal business with it." The man defends every torturing right-wing dictatorship around the world. In 1974, excusing torture by the Chilean military junta, Lefever said, "We must understand that normal level of poliey abuse which goes on in that part of the world as a residual practice of the Iberian tradition." As for South Africa, opponents of apartheid are trapped in "confusion," he says, falsely trying to apply "meehanistic egalitarianism" to a country which ought to be "a full fledged partner in the struggle against Communist expansion" (*Fight the Right*, May 1981).

Lefever's heen trying to stonewall, hut only managed to fan the flames of opposition by accusing liberal opponents of his confirmation of being "Communist inspired" and then denying it the next day (*New York Times*, 22 May). While this is standard New Right/Moral Majority talk, to say so in public—hefore even being eonfirmed—didn't demonstrate the type of tactieal finesse a "human rights" adviser should have. Now even Republiean Charles Percy is privately reeommending withdrawal of his nomination. But Reagan is standing firm behind his man, at least for the time being.

Lefever may be just too much, though, in which case they'll have to find another appropriate nominee. So who's next? Well, there's one who has all the necessary qualifications—including real experience in the field. Here's a Vietnam Vet who fought for that "noble cause" Reagan's so fond of. Will it be Lt. Calley for human rights?■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Human Rights nominee Ernest Lefever. Can My Lai war criminal Lt. Calley be far behind?

Should Ernest Mandel Be Expelled from the USec?

Leftists Purged From British IMG

On May 16, sixteen members of the International Marxist Group, British section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," were summarily expelled from their organization. This mass political purge—the first ever in IMG history—was the leadership's response to the Communist Faction (CF) statement dated May 12 (see box). The official charges were that CF members were "members of a disloyal faction by virtue of the fact that they defend the statement of the Communist Faction dated 12.5.81" and that nine CF members were "members of a separate party, viz the iSt" (international Spartacist tendency). As we go to press, disciplinary action is being threatened against other IMG members who have dared to protest the witchhunt.

The Communist Faction grew out of a struggle at the IMG's February 1980 National Conference, where a long-time IMG cadre and former member of the IMG Control Commission opposed the IMG leadership's course toward Tony Cliff's group, which holds that the Soviet Union is "state-capitalist" and need not be defended against imperialism. The Communist Tendency was constituted by left-wing IMGers who opposed key elements of the IMG's rightward-moving centrism: e.g., its capitulation to anti-Soviet imperialist hysteria over Afghanistan; its tailism of Khomeini's clerical-reactionary, Persian-chauvinist regime in Iran; its liquidation into a classless campaign of "anti-nukes" pacifism; its shameful burying of the call for British troops out of Ireland, as part of its cozying up to the Labour Party "lefts."

On May 9 the Tendency declared itself a Faction, announcing it would struggle within the IMG for a new leadership. A week later came the purge.

We reprint here an excerpted version of a leaflet distributed at an IMG public meeting held in London May 22.

* * * * *

On 16th May the International Marxist Group (IMG) Political Committee (PC) expelled the entire Communist Faction (CF) from the organisation. The reason? *The CF refused to recant its political ideas.*

The purge was prepared by a letter from the leadership. Its purpose was to lay the basis for a political trial. Our documents attack the leadership's denial in practice of revolutionary Marxism on key issues of the class struggle. [The IMG leadership] demanded that we now characterise the same leadership as "revolutionary Marxist" to prove our "loyalty." Such a declaration could only have amounted to a recantation. Serious communists form factions when they have become convinced that the defence of the revolutionary programme is at stake—the demand that factions should characterise the leadership as revolutionary before any struggle takes place means only one thing: *from now on the right to form factions has been eliminated in the IMG.*

In *Intercontinental Press* [4 May 1981] there is an article by none other than Ernest Mandel—the historic leader of the United Secretariat [USec]. Mandel *correctly* states:

> "More generally, we should not give a blank check of revolutionary virtue to *anybody* (including Bolsheviks and Trotskyists) as long as a victorious social revolution hasn't actually occurred under their leadership."

If Mandel had been present at the IMG PC meeting and had had the courage to defend this view *he too would have been expelled.*

At the PC meeting CF representatives found themselves confronted with the allegation, alongside the other "charges," that they were "members of the international Spartacist tendency." The [21 May 1981] *Socialist Challenge* attempts to discredit a sixteen-month-long political struggle inside the IMG as a "secret plot by the international Spartacist tendency to smash the IMG as a 'counterrevolutionary organisation'." The leadership has disappeared the political differences in dispute as readily as it suppressed the discussion which attempted to fight them out. Driven to a frenzy by the loss of senior cadre, the IMG responded with an outburst of pure Healyism, slandering the iSt as "a weapon designed solely to smash up left-wing organisations. It has nothing to do with socialism or Trotskyism." This is an outrageous lie designed to draw the lines between its members and iSt comrades, and to set the conditions for bureaucratic exclusions and even physical attacks.

Nowhere has the IMG been characterised as "counterrevolutionary," either in our documents or in "contracts" for political collaboration

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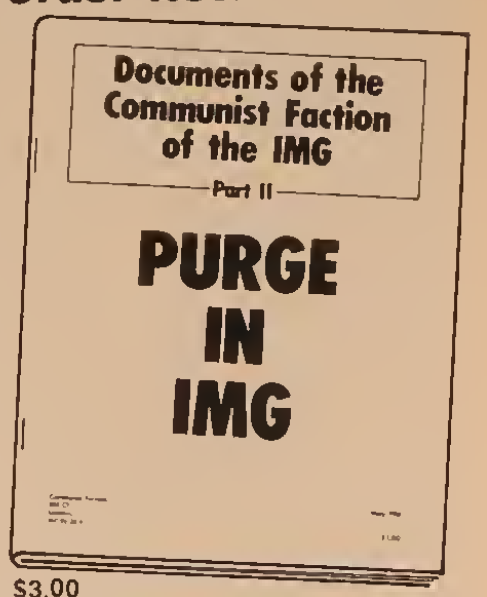

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To: Harney
From: [IMG] Executive Committee
Date: 1 May 1981

Dear comrade Harney,

The Political Committee of 16-17 May will be discussing the platform of the Communist Tendency including the document produced by the Communist Tendency on the question of disarmament. The Executive Committee asks two representatives of the Communist Tendency to attend this meeting....

In order to prepare this item the EC took a preliminary discussion. The Executive Committee asked me to write to you clarifying one point. In view of the characterisations made of the political line of the IMG the EC felt it necessary to ask you and your tendency's members what your characterisation of the Fourth International and its British section is. In particular we wish you to answer the question: do you consider the Fourth International and its British Section to be a revolutionary Marxist organisation?

We would require an answer to this question by Thursday 14 May, to discuss at the last EC before the Political Committee. A failure to answer by that time, or an ambiguous answer will be understood as a negative answer to the question.

The necessity for posing this question derives from the fact that the Communist Tendency has discussed the question and not decided that the IMG and FI is revolutionary Marxist. For example in your appeal for the formation of the Communist Tendency you said "It is time to firmly reassert the programmatic positions of the first four Congresses of the Communist International—positions on which the IMG is *supposed* to be based." (Appeal for the Formation of the Communist Tendency. Emphasis added).

...[The letter now cites two additional quotations where the oppositionists had used the same formulation: the IMG "is supposed to" stand for something.]

Our constitution states that: "All members of the organisation are under an obligation to operate inside and outside the organisation in a responsible and disciplined and loyal manner, placing the collective needs and interests of the organisation before any individual or grouping."

Evidently a grouping or individual inside the organisation which is not sure whether the Fourth International and its British Section defends the programme of revolutionary Marxism will also be unsure as to whether indeed the interests of that grouping or individual should be subordinated to the interests of the organisation as a whole.

For this reason we insist on a reply to our question.

Revolutionary greetings,
Steve Cannon
(for Executive Committee)

To: Executive Committee
From: Communist Faction
Date: 12 May 1981

Dear Comrades,

The Communist Faction (formerly Tendency) has discussed comrade [Cannon]'s letter dated 1st May. You ask us to "unambiguously" affirm that the IMG and the USFI [USec] are revolutionary Marxist organisations. Such a self-confident affirmation would evidence a supreme arrogance which we prefer to leave to the leadership of the IMG and the USFI. The very terms in which you pose the question indicate a non-Marxist approach, the revolutionary character of any organisation is proven in the fire of the class struggle; you pose it as a theological credo to be established by fiat. The assertion that an organisation is revolutionary does not make it so, as Trotsky had to relentlessly demonstrate in the 1930's when faced with various centrists who were only too happy to baptise each other "revolutionary"....

Take the Bolshevik party before 1917. Categorically to assert that the Bolsheviks were an authentically revolutionary organisation before actually making the revolution would not be prescience but sheer idiocy of the sort Lenin so frequently and scornfully dismissed. As Trotsky pointed out in *Lessons of October*, there was a wing of the Bolsheviks, and not the least of them, which flinched when it came to actually *making* the revolution. And if the question of whether the Bolshevik party was revolutionary Marxist was moot prior to 1917 what is one to say about it in 1924?...

To the question of whether the IMG and the USFI are revolutionary Marxist, we reply: we have yet to lead the working class to power. It is certain that there are thousands of comrades associated with the USFI who *want* to make a revolution. But are you not taking a good deal on yourselves to assert irrevocably that our organisation will not flinch when the test arises? Indeed, contrary to your deepest suspicions, we could not in all good conscience "unambiguously" assert that the Spartacists are revolutionary Marxist....

On a series of vital issues confronting the organisation today, the Communist Tendency demonstrated serious departures by the IMG leadership from the codification of revolutionary Marxist principles represented by the first four Congresses of the Communist International and the founding Congress of the Fourth International: most notably on Afghanistan, the Iran-Iraq war, disarmament and the CND. And now there is the Labour Party and Ireland. From this evidence we necessarily conclude that while the IMG and USFI leaderships are, as we have repeatedly stated, *supposed* to stand on these principles, in relation to important questions they have not in practice done so....

For much of his political career, Lenin was active in an organisation about whose revolutionary character he had grave doubts. Those doubts and differences were resolved by *political debate*, and ultimately by the October revolution....

The leadership's demand that the Communist Faction give it a clean bill of revolutionary health is centrally an attempt to avoid political debate on the issues we have raised and to manufacture a pretext for expelling the Communist Faction from the IMG. We can only marvel that the leadership has finally noticed statements from the platform of the Communist Tendency which were in a document submitted five months ago.... Why don't you finally allow the membership to judge the validity of our positions by releasing the document you have been sitting on for so long?

The leadership...is witch-hunting members of the Communist Faction with Stalinist-style accusations of "factionalism," and demanding a "loyalty oath" as the implicit price for the circulation of our document.... While this behaviour is not in itself a decisive proof that the IMG and USFI are *not* revolutionary Marxist, it is highly suggestive that this is indeed the case....

No, we cannot unambiguously assert that the IMG/USFI is revolutionary Marxist. Nor can we unambiguously assert that there are no components of the IMG/USFI which are or can become revolutionary. This contradiction exists in real life and will only be resolved in the political struggle which your question is intended to cut short....

Revolutionary Marxist greetings,
Communist Faction

Mitterrand Victory in French Elections

No to NATO Popular Front!

ADAPTED FROM
LE BOLCHÉVIK NO. 26, JUNE 1981

PARIS, May 27—Francois Mitterrand's victory over Valéry Giscard d'Estaing provoked massive celebration across the country on the night of May 10. Tens of thousands at the Bastille chanting "We have won," singing of the Internationale, even red flags planted on factory gates. But the jubilation over the ousting of the hated Giscard tended to submerge the question of what exactly this victory of the "Left" will bring for the working class. The answer was clear even before the announcement of the "transitional government" and before the results of the June legislative elections: the Mitterrand government will be a government of Cold War and austerity, a popular front under the colors of Gaullism.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France opposed a vote to Mitterrand on either the first or second round because we said he was a candidate of the popular front—the candidate of an alliance which ties the workers to their exploiters. The reactionaries pretended that Mitterrand would be a hostage of the PCF [Communist Party]. Nonsense! Mitterrand is the hostage of his Gaullist and radical partners. But Jobert and Faure will not only serve as demonstrations to the bourgeoisie that Mitterrand intends to "respect the Fifth Republic"; they will also serve as an alibi to appease the anger of the workers: "I cannot do more," Mitterrand will say, "I must preserve my alliance with the center." Thus Jobert and the other bourgeois notables will have veto power over the government's social program.

Twenty-three years of the Fifth Republic has been the legacy of the disastrous defeat suffered by the workers when the popular front was in power. In the '30s [Popular Front prime minister Léon] Blum didn't hesitate to send his cops against the workers (Clichy), and the ignominious collapse of his government ultimately opened the door to Marshal Pétain. The post-war popular front broke the workers' strikes and drowned the colonial revolt in blood. The "center-left" coalition of the '50s waged the dirty Algerian war, paving the way for De Gaulle's coup d'état. From Spain in 1936 to Chile in 1973 the popular front demobilizes the workers and disarms the fight against reaction in the name of empty promises of social reform.

If the working class doesn't intervene to stop it, *it won't be any different this time.* What does Mitterrand offer? An end to inflation? Prices will remain "free"—the SMIC [the minimum wage] we are told might increase by 10 percent. But Mitterrand's clique of technocrats warn that wage increases must not become the "locomotive" of inflation. The 35-hour week? Negotiations industry by industry and enterprise by enterprise, says Mitterrand—in any case the main thing is more productivity ("we," i.e., the bourgeoisie, must "catch up" to Japan). More jobs? Here the answer is "relaunch investment," i.e., fat subsidies to the capitalists. "Nationalize monopolies" with full compensation to the stockholders? That comes to 60 billion francs! A foreign policy of "peace"? The PS calls for building at least two more nuclear submarines and Mitterrand supports the American missiles in Europe. No wonder Reagan's not worried!

Francolon/Gamma

Oer Spiegel

French workers protest Giscard's austerity, but fake-socialist Mitterrand only means more of the same.

The leaders of the working class have demanded a sort of social truce for the new government until the legislative elections, giving the excuse that Mitterrand will have need of a parliamentary majority. But Mitterrand has *already* chosen his allies, and they are the same old bourgeois politicians that the working class has been fighting against for 25 years. What the misleaders of the working class—from the new president to [PCF leader Georges] Marchais and [CGT labor federation leader Georges] Séguy—fear most of all is that the working class will upset the sedate scenario and take matters into their own hands, striking to impose their demands on the popular-front government.

"But strikes will only aid the right!" scream the reformists and centrists as they zealously attempt to chloroform the workers with promises of parliamentary "change." *No, it is class collaboration that "aids the right!"* Each succeeding popular front, limited in advance to half-measures by its ties to the bourgeoisie, has proved incapable of overcoming the economic and social crises which confronted it. The impotence of the popular front drives the desperate petty-bourgeois masses into the arms of a Pétain or a De Gaulle or worse. It is only when the working class is a contender for power in its own name, when it shows that it is able to expropriate the bourgeoisie, that it can rally to its side the masses of the petty bourgeoisie.

The workers do not have to suffer the "austerity of the left" with clenched teeth, blackmailed by the prospect of the right's return to power. The road forward is the mobilization of the workers independent of, indeed *against*, the popular front. Illusions in Mitterrand's popular front stand in the way of even the most limited gains. Mitterrand should be thrown out—not by the reactionaries, but by a workers government.

Cold War Popular Front

The personnel of the Mitterrand government model 1981 speaks volumes about its social program. First of all there is Gaston Defferre, longtime Socialist mayor of Marseilles, a vicious anti-communist and hardened strike-breaker. No doubt his administration of this well-known crossroads of the underworld uniquely qualifies him for the minister of the interior. Meanwhile the ministry of justice goes to a bourgeois politician—Maurice Faure. The "star" of this government is of course Jobert, an unregenerate Gaullist who was Pompidou's cabinet director when De Gaulle was president, before becoming Pompidou's minister of foreign affairs. As minister of commerce he can not only hobnob with the oil sheiks but insist on the necessary exploitation of the working class so that France can be "internationally competitive."

As for the rest, no matter which tendency of the PS they come from they all seem the same—a bunch of technocrats whose presence in an ostensibly working-class party might seem bizarre if it wasn't for the weakness of bourgeois liberalism in a class-polarized country like France. There is Jacques Delors who only joined the PS after being an economic adviser to Chaban-Delmas (Pompidou's prime minister from 1969 to 1972). Some credentials for a "socialist" minister of the economy. Then there is Claude Cheysson, an ex-PDG (corporation president) who managed to be Giscard's representative to the Common Market in Brussels. As minister of foreign affairs he has been making the rounds in Washington reassuring the Reaganites of Mitterrand's genuine anti-Sovietism. And of course there is the renegade "leftist" Rocard and a host of ambitious young men who learned about the class struggle—from the bosses' side—at the ENA (École Nationale d'Administration). Pierre Mauroy [Mitterrand's new prime minister] we have saved for last since he is simply the "mirror" of the party, the perfect bureaucrat. That this team is dedicated to administering the capitalist crisis on the backs of the workers should come as no great surprise.

But it was not really on domestic issues that Mitterrand needed to give assurance to the bourgeoisie. This popular front takes office in the context of a new Cold War campaign orchestrated by American imperialism! *Mitterrand cemented his bloc with the Gaullists on the basis of virulent anti-Sovietism.* He proclaims his all-out support to pro-NATO "Atlanticism." Again and again he charged Giscard with being "soft" on the Russians and selling out the Poles and the Afghans—Giscard who supported Reagan in El Salvador and decreed an economic boycott of Cuba! Mitterrand's pre-election visit to China, his support to the American Pershing missiles in Europe, his support to the Common Market, the economic annex of NATO—all of this demonstrated clearly that Mitterrand was the perfect Cold War socialist.

Mitterrand is no less committed than was Giscard to building up the nuclear arsenal of French imperialism—against the Soviet Union. He declared himself in favor of a "modernization of French strategic and tactical forces" (*Le Monde,* 17 April). Although he may have tactical disagreements with Reagan, Mitterrand is prepared to do his share for the "Atlantic Alliance." The popular front always means "national unity"—hands off the bourgeois army, in fact often even a strengthening of that army in the name of "national defense." This time social-democratic anti-communism, Gaullist rhetoric and the international climate of Cold War combined to produce: *a popular front under the flag of NATO!*

How Low Will the PCF Stoop?

In the aftermath of the disastrous first round vote totals for the PCF, Marchais jumped on the Mitterrand bandwagon. Since May 10 the PCF has been pleading for Communist ministers as a self-declared part of the "new majority." Communist ministers in this government of austerity and Cold War? What happened to all those criticisms of Mitterrand's "right turn," to the criticism of the popular fronts of '36, '44 and '72 ("Three times is enough!")? The PCF's anti-Mitterrand campaign blew up in its face on April 26. Marchais had preached the virtues of popular frontist "unity" for more than a decade. The PCF/CGT had canceled demonstrations, broken strikes, betrayed every workers struggle, all in the name of electoral success for the Union of the Left. Was it any surprise that so many of the PCF ranks opted for the "useful vote" seduced by Mitterrand's chances of success?

This time it's extremely doubtful they'll get in the government at all. In its Cold War mood the bourgeoisie and its

continued an page 8

THE FIRST COMMUNIST-LED UPRISING IN THE AMERICAS

EL SALVADOR 1932

LA MATANZA

30,000 workers and peasants were maaaacred after the 1932 uprising. Leader of the revolt Augustin Farabundo Marti (far right) with Nicaragua's Augustino Sandino.

On January 22 of last year the streets of San Salvador echoed with the sound of 200,000 protesters marching in the biggest demonstration that the small Central American country of El Salvador has ever seen. Virtually the entire working class and poor population of the capital came in answer to a call issued by a newly-formed leftist alliance for a show of strength against the military junta.

They also came to commemorate another January 22, nearly half a century earlier, when the Indians and peasants of El Salvador rose up in the first Communist-led insurrection in the Americas. The 1932 revolt was crushed, with some 30,000 workers and peasants, most of them Indian farm laborers, butchered in the weeks that followed. Two-and-a-half percent of El Salvador's population disappeared practically overnight. Unions ceased to exist. The revolutionary movement was destroyed for years to come. This was *la matanza,* the massacre.

The bloodbath introduced 50 years of virtually unbroken military dictatorship in El Salvador. Today the spectre of 1932 still haunts the Salvadoran ruling class in the civil war raging through the country. And the response of the coffee barons and the junta colonels is the same as it was back then: 22 January 1980 left 100 workers, peasants and urban slum dwellers dead, massacred by the regime's military and paramilitary killers. For the military right "another '32" means a "peace of 100,000 dead."

But *la matanza* is not just a tragic memory for the Salvadoran left: they have taken the name of the leader of the 1932 uprising, Agustin Farabundo Marti, for their banner today. Despite the terrible vengeance exacted by the ruling class, 1932 also showed the tremendous power of the working masses, who rose up practically unarmed and virtually leaderless, yet seized a good deal of the country before the machine guns began their murderous work. Under conditions far less favorable than those which exist today, with a tiny working class and a weak revolutionary movement, the agricultural workers and peasants nonetheless frightened the ruling landlord-capitalists nearly to death.

For those who today preach a "political solution" in El Salvador, 1932 also has lessons. It was not in the revolt itself that 30,000 died. That was the punishment meted out by a terrified bourgeoisie *after* it had been assured its victory. If the Salvadoran oligarchs and their military butchers survive this challenge to their rule, they will once again take their revenge. Only military victory of the leftist rebels can prevent it. Only socialist revolution can ensure that it never happens again.

Farabundo Marti and 1932

The roots of the 1932 revolt are found in the spread of agricultural capitalism in El Salvador, enmeshing the country in the world market, and in the collapse of that market in 1929 with the capitalist depression. The development of the great coffee estates threw thousands of Indians off their ancestral lands, destroying the communal agricultural system which had sustaincd them for centuries. But in the formation of a mass of agricultural wage workers and oppressed peasant *colonos*, the coffee barons formed a dangerous class enemy. When thc depression hit and the coffee price plummeted, the Indian peasants found themselves literally starving for lack of land or work. It was a situation ripe for rebellion.

The leaders for that rebellion would be found in the ranks of thc newly-founded Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) and the nascent labor movement dominated by the Communist-led Regional Fedcration of Salvadoran Workers (FRTS). Inspired by the Russian Revolution, a small group of radicals founded a Central American communist movement in 1925 and by 1930 the PCS was functioning within the country. Its most effective leader was Farabundo Martí, officially the general secretary of the Salvadoran chapter of Socorro Rojo, International Red Aid, the Communist-huilt workers defense leaguc lcd in the U.S. in its early years by James P. Cannon, founder of American Trotskyism.

Thc Communist International's connections with Central America were extremely tenuous. And Marti was not thc sort to submit to thc "Stalintern" bureaucracy. "In those days [circa 1925-27] Marti wore a red star on his lapel with a picture of Leon Trotsky on it. At this time, of course, Trotsky was in disgracc, hut not yet anathema.... it would bc wrong to think of this temperamental and passionate Salvadorcan as a Stalinist" (Thomas Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932*). An internationalist, Marti was thrown out of Guatemala in 1925 for helping to found the Central American Socialist Party; in 1928 hc was arrested in New York during a policc raid on the CP's Anti-Imperialist Leaguc.

Marti fought in 1928-29 with Augusto Sandino in Nicaragua, serving as Sandino's personal secretary in the Liheral general's guerrilla war against the U.S. Marines occupying Nicaragua. He then broke with Sandino, saying, "His banner was only the banner of independence, the banner of emancipation, and he did not pursue goals of social rebellion. I declare this categorically because more than once communist ideas have been attributed to General Sandino" (Mauricio de la Selva, "El Salvador: Tres Décadas de Lucha," *Cuadernos Americanos*. January-February 1962).

"Struggle Against the National Bourgeoisie!"

The political crisis of Salvadoran capitalism created by the coffee crash led Salvadoran president Pio Romero, whose government had been violently repressing the growing FRTS and Socorro Rojo, to call an election for president in 1931, open to all candidates. In this unprecedented proceeding, Arturo Araujo, a liberal would-be reformer, won. But times were not favorable for reform and Araujo's governmcnt bcgan to bloodily repress a massive wave of rural strikes on thc coffee *fincas* of the western highlands. The National Guard attacked student demonstrations. Meanwhile, the Communist organizers were finding a ready audience for their revolutionary message. According to one PCS manifesto:

> "The Communist Party calls all the poor workers and peasants of El Salvador to bloody struggle against the national bourgeoisie, who are unconditionally allied to Yankee Imperialists.... Down with the imperialist oppressor and his national dogs! Down with the fascist government of Arturo Araujo!"

Araujo jailed Martí, who became a popular hero, winning his freedom by a hunger strike accompanied by mass demonstrations for his release. But the Communists' prospects were threatened when, in December 1931, a right-wing military coup brought General Maximiliano Hernández Martínez to power. Time seemed to he running out for the still weak and under-led PCS. The objective conditions for a Communist-led revolution were clearly apparent—but would there be a leadership capable of capitalizing on them? The weaknesses of the PCS were shown when a Communist-influenced student paper, *Estrella Roja,* published by Marti's disciples Alfonso Luna and Mario Zapata, grected the Martinez coup, saying that "the blunders of Araujo

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Today's Salvadoran guerrilla tighters know they tace revolution or death.

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imposed on the military the moral obligation of overthrowing him."

Illusions in the military would soon be tragically demolished. Hoping to stave off the intensifying repression, the Communists sought to negotiate with Martinez. They were fobbed off on the defense minister, who refused to negotiate, telling them: "You have machetes; we have machine guns." Rumors began to fly that Martínez was planning to liquidate the leftist threat militarily. After municipal elections were held in early January in which the Communists were robbed of victory at the polls, the party leaders decided to gamble on a desperate attempt to overthrow the Martínez regime.

The Indian peasants, led by Communist-allied *caciques* (local tribal leaders), were in an insurrectionary fervor. Many army officers and troops were known to be sympathetic to the Communists. After intense debate Martí agreed with other PCS comrades that the time for an uprising was then or never. A surviving Communist leader, Miguel Mármol, relates that Martí accepted the idea "that the duty of the Party was to occupy its post as the vanguard at the head of the masses, in order to avoid the great, imminent danger, dishonorable for us, of an insurrection that would be uncontrolled, spontaneous or provoked by governmental action, in which the masses would be alone and without combat leadership" (Roque Dalton, *Miguel Mármol: los sucesos de 1932 en El Salvador).*

Matanza

Just about everything that could have gone wrong did go wrong. There were no guns, no real military plans. Martí and other leaders were arrested on the eve of the planned revolt, which was then put off for a second time. Finally it became such common knowledge that the date for it was published in San Salvador newspapers. PCS comrades and sympathizers in the army were disarmed, arrested or killed, while those troops who did revolt prematurely on the 19th were easily crushed. Support outside of the western highlands and a few cities was spotty at best. At the last minute a portion of the leadership got cold feet and tried to call off the rising, only to be overruled by a majority which, however, tried unsuccessfully to convert the call for insurrection into a call for a general strike.

In the end "zero hour" arrived at midnight on the 22nd and the peasants rose up and marched out to a heroic but doomed rebellion. Curiously, all of the northern portion of Central America was rocked that very night by the simultaneous eruption of four major volcanos, including El Salvador's Izalco crater. Thomas P. Anderson, the American historian of *la matanza*, writes in his valuable and interesting account that as the molten lava flowed down the slopes of Izalco,

> "in the glow of the burning mountain, a more ominous development was observed. Bands of Indians armed with machetes were making their way out of the ravines and tangled hills down into the towns of the area....
> "The revolt was no mere *jacquerie*, no sudden impulse on the part of Indian *campesinos*.... it has the distinction of being the first Latin American revolutionary movement in which men who were avowed international communists played a major part."
>
> —Thomas P. Anderson, *Matanza: El Salvador's Communist Revolt of 1932*

At first the rebels swept all before them, seizing towns, looting shops and avenging themselves on a handful of largely deserving bourgeois victims. In all, outside of army casualties, only a couple of dozen lives were lost in the revolt itself. But when the machine guns began to speak, the sharpest machetes were no answer. U.S. and British warships waited off the coast, offering imperialist intervention. Martínez refused. It was not neeessary, he said in a telegram: "Up to today, the fourth day of operations, 4,800 Communists have been liquidated."

Then the punitive massacre began. In the white terror that followed, hundreds were forced to dig their own graves and were then shot and buried. Thousands were left unburied—so many that for weeks no one in the region dared eat pork, either for fear that the hogs had fed on the bodies or that the meat itself was suspect. Peasant rebels were tossed in the air and caught on raised bayonets. The leaders were rounded up and hanged or shot. Martí's final words before the firing squad were "Long Live the International Red Aid!" Other leaders shouted "Long Live the Communist International!", even "Long Live Stalin!"

"Ultraleftism"

The Comintern's response to the revolt was not nearly as laudatory, however. The Stalinists and nationalists who today claim to speak in Martí's name may not even realize it, but the response of the Stalinized Comintern to the Salvadoran revolt was to *turn its back* on it, denouncing the PCS for "ultraleftism." "One of the chief lessons of the Salvadoran uprising is the great danger of putschist and 'left' sectarian tendencies against which we must wage the most energetic struggle" (*International Press Correspondence*, 17 March 1932). This backstabbing, anti-revolutionary verdict was bitterly contested by surviving PCS leader Miguel Mármol. Speaking years later to leftist poet Roque Dalton, he remarked:

> "I don't believe that we should be labeled petty-bourgeois adventurists for having done it.... I believe that our errors were rightist and not leftist.... due to vacillations and delays, due to gross violations of the most elemental conspiratorial security measures, the insurrection was begun...when the government had already murdered all the Communist officers and soldiers in the bourgeois army, had captured or liquidated, or was about to liquidate, most of the members of the leadership of the party and the mass organizations."
>
> —Dalton, *Miguel Mármol*

The early '30s did indeed witness supreme examples of ultraleftist betrayals by the Stalinists, most tragically in Germany, where the Communists following Moscow's "Third Period" line, fought the Socialists, not the Nazis, as the "main danger," thus paving the way for Hitler. But the 1932 Salvadoran revolt was not an ultraleft putsch. Rather, in the tradition of German Communist leader Eugen Levinė and the short-lived Bavarian soviet republic of 1919, a weak party unable to manage a difficult and isolated revolutionary situation placed itself at the head of a doomed uprising rather than betray the masses who looked to it for leadership.

The Salvadoran poet Roque Dalton, a member until his death of the People's Revolutionary Army, wrote a poem called "Ultraleftists" in response to the Stalinist-reformist line. It includes the following stanza:

> "Everything went very well
> until there appeared that ultraleftist
> called Farabundo Martí
> who headed an ultraleftist Salvadoran
> Communist Party
> in which a mass of ultraleftists were
> militants
> among them Feliciano Ama Timoteo
> Lúe Chico Sánchez
> Vicente Tadeo Alfonso Luna and
> Mario Zapata.
> They couldn't be ultraleftists through to
> the end
> because they didn't have the means
> and were assassinated to the number of
> thirty thousand."

Today as in 1932 there are those who are quick to label revolutionary communists, Trotskyists, as "ultraleftists." This is now being done in Martí's name! The man whose party called for "bloody struggle against the national bourgeoisie" has been taken as a symbol by the leftist guerrilla leaders of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) who, however, base their popular-front strategy precisely on an *alliance* with the "national" or "patriotic" capitalists. Today they call for a negotiated deal with the military descendants of Martínez the butcher. Martí, we suspect, would have found what *Workers Vanguard* wrote just before the FMLN's January general offensive more to his taste:

> "But the Salvadoran masses have no choice—passivity has not stopped the escalating massacre. And if the working masses rise up in an all-round insurrection, from the coffee-growing hills of the west to the San Salvador slums and factories, they can defeat the white terror.... Military victory to the leftist insurgents!"
>
> —*WV* No. 271, 2 January

Half a century after the heroic 1932 uprising and the horrific *matanza*, El Salvador is once again in the grip of revolt. The forces of the left today are stronger organizationally and militarily than were the young Communists of 1932. But as long as their leaders pursue the dangerous chimera of a "political settlement" with the blood-soaked junta terrorists they are politically stymied. What is neeessary is for the leftist rebels to win the civil war, for a communist (Trotskyist) vanguard to lead a proletarian revolution in El Salvador which could spark eruptions by the worker and peasant masses throughout Central America. ■

Leftist Guerrillas Say:
Win the War in El Salvador!

SAN FRANCISCO—Alex Drehsler, a reporter for the *San Diego Union* and special correspondent for ABC News is one of the few North American bourgeois journalists, if not the only one, to have gone to an area under the control of left-wing rebels in El Salvador to get their story. A series based on his observations "behind the lines" of the guerrilla struggle was syndicated in several leading U.S. newspapers last March. On May 14, Drehsler gave a forum in Berkeley, "El Salvador: A First Hand Account," where the Spartacus Youth League drew a sharp class line with its call for a left-wing victory in the raging civil war.

The talk was sponsored by SAINTES (Students Against Intervention in El Salvador) which stands for negotiations toward a "political solution" with the oligarchy and military junta. However, despite SAINTES' best efforts to keep Spartacist speakers off the floor, they did not succeed. The speaker responded to an SYL question by reporting that many, if not most Salvadoran guerrilla fighters hold that only a victory on the battlefield by the leftist rebels will end the blood bath and genocidal junta terror in that beleaguered country.

Drehsler spoke about his stay in Chalatenango Province near the Honduran border, an area controlled by the guerrilla forces of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). Drehsler stressed, as he has in his articles, the wide support of the population for the guerrillas and their hatred of the government. He recounted how he asked some peasants about the junta's "land reform." A peasant took him to the top of a hill and showed him clouds of smoke rising in the distance: "That's the land reform—the government and ORDEN burning our fields." A guerrilla told Drehsler that the Salvadoran revolution would be more radical than the Nicaraguan revolution, which is "middle-class."

During the discussion, the SAINTES chairman's blatant refusal to recognize Spartacist speakers led one to send up a written question to Drehsler that read, "Given your description of the Rio Lempa massacre, don't you think the idea of reforming or negotiating with the armed forces is an illusion?" Drehsler replied that while the leadership of the FDR and FMLN seek some type of political settlement, the guerrillas in the field say, "There's no room for a negotiated settlement." He quoted one rebel who told an FDR leader, "You're sitting in town sipping your gin and tonic, talking about negotiations, but we're out here getting our asses blown off and we don't want any negotiations." A Spartacist speaker summed up at Drehsler's forum:

> "You've done a real service by bringing out the guerrillas' story—what those people are fighting and dying for. People who are concerned with El Salvador must take a side in the civil war. On one side are the workers and peasants and on the other side are the landlords and capitalists with their army and death squads. The workers and peasants must win."

WV Photo

Anti-Imperialist Contingent marches in Washington, May 3 for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador.

ILWU Militants Fight Anti-Soviet Resolution

HONOLULU—At the 24th biennial convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) held here April 27-May 2, the International leadership under president Jimmy Herman joined the bosses' anti-Soviet chorus with a resolution against USSR intervention in Poland. Parroting the Carter/Reagan war program of a "Russian threat," the officers' resolution "calls on the Soviet Union to refrain from intervention, an act which could only be interpreted as union busting, pure and simple." It was Herman's way of sending an oath of loyalty to the butchers in Washington. The fact that the only place a "Soviet intervention in Poland" exists is in State Department handouts doesn't bother these social-democratic Cold Warriors.

The now-retired founder of the ILWU, Harry Bridges, spoke out against the resolution, noting the very real possibility of capitalist counterrevolution in Poland, and urged postponing action until the union could send a team to Poland to "find out what is going on." Delegate Howard Keylor from ILWU Local 10 and a member of the Militant Caucus (MC) submitted a minority resolution which correctly noted that "the Reagan administration is seeking to exploit this situation [in Poland] in the most grossly provocative manner" and that "the only reason therefore, for the officers to come forward at this time with their statement on Poland is to try to look good to the U.S. government, thereby falling in line with Reagan's and Haig's Cold War drive." Keylor's resolution called on the union to take "no position on the internal situation in Poland at this time" (see accompanying box for Keylor's remarks on Poland). But not even union founder Bridges' admonitions about the unsettled state of Poland could slow Herman in his rush to please the U.S. State Department.

Anti-Soviet ILWU president Jimmy Herman.

WV Photos

Militant Caucus delegate, Howard Keylor.

While Stalinist fellow traveler Bridges and the social-democratically inclined Herman had their differences over Poland, they share the class-collaborationist program of support to the parties of U.S. imperialism. Anxious to preserve the union's disastrous alliance with the Democratic Party, engineered by Bridges, Herman personally intervened in one committee with a 30-minute harangue to defeat *all* resolutions for an independent labor party, including the attempt of fake leftists (such as Communist Party supporters) to combine the labor party call with support to so-called "friend of labor" Democrats like Ron Dellums. Meanwhile in his convention speech Herman hypocritically bemoaned the "absence of a viable left"! Only MC delegate Keylor put forward a resolution correctly demanding:

> "That the ILWU reject completely this class-collaborationist policy of endorsing and relying on the pro-business Democratic and Republican parties, and will begin the necessary struggle to build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government that will expropriate industry without compensation and organize a rational planned economy."

The Militant Caucus struggle for labor—black defense guards to smash fascist terror also contrasted sharply with Herman's class collaboration, reflected in his reliance on the government to protect blacks and labor with so-called "anti-genocide legislation." When it came to El Salvador, the current hot spot in Reagan's anti-Soviet Cold War drive, Herman opposed all proposals for action which would go beyond the hypocritical and impotent moral protests made by the outgoing Carter administration. Refusing to take a side in the civil war raging in that country, Herman called simply for a ratification of the International's formal boycott of military cargo for El Salvador.

In sharp contrast the Militant Caucus, which has a long history of fighting for and enforcing solidarity boycotts of military cargo bound for Chile, South Africa and other right-wing dictatorships—submitted a resolution which not only called for enforcement of and expansion of the military boycott but insisted that "only a military victory of the left-wing insurgents can prevent a bloodbath. American labor must take all necessary action to help our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador *win*." The resolution firmly insisted, "If war-crazy Reagan sends in the Marines the ILWU and all labor must be prepared to strike to stop U.S. intervention." Thus from Poland to the Democratic Party to El Salvador, the MC clearly emerged at the convention as the only defender of the ILWU against the bosses and the only voice of proletarian internationalism. ■

Keylor Speaks Against Cold War Poland Resolution

What is the purpose of this position of the officers? Our wise leadership tells us that it knows what is going to happen in Poland in six months. The internal situation is deeply unclear in Poland. Many contending forces are at work in Solidarity. These range from Marxist workers to clerical nationalists to the government and party bureaucracy itself. At this moment things are in a high boil. The outcome of the continuing differentiations in Solidarity are not at all clear. Until the situation is clear we should keep our hands off.

There have been some very clear situations in the past regarding Soviet military intervention: 1. In 1956 the Russians intervened militarily in Hungary to suppress a workers political revolution whose aim was to strengthen the socialist foundations of that state by throwing out the repressive bureaucracy. Every class-conscious worker opposed that intervention. 2. There is another very clear situation in Afghanistan. There the Russian forces have intervened on the side of social progress against the reactionary mullahs who want to keep women in bondage and culture in the seventh century. Class-conscious workers should support this intervention. 3. And speaking of Russian intervention let's not forget the Vietnam War where Russian aid greatly assisted the Vietnam Revolution to victory over U.S. imperialist aggression.

So if the situation in Poland is so profoundly unclear and unresolved, why do the officers choose now to issue a statement on Poland? We all know that Reagan, Haig, Weinberger and the rest of the U.S. government are conducting the most outrageous provocations, using mere speculations about the Polish situation to twist the knife and whip up world public opinion. They especially want to get the American labor movement to line up behind U.S. imperialism's renewed Cold War drive.

The only reason the officers have chosen to put forward this statement at this time is to try to look good to the U.S. government by getting behind Reagan & Co. on the question of a "Russian peril." This is a great disservice to the ILWU and a departure from the past. If the officers really want to struggle to help workers fighting for their lives let them do everything to mobilize the full power of the ILWU to stop every scrap of cargo going to the bloody junta butchers of the working class in El Salvador and do our best to insure military victory of the left-wing rebels.

French Elections...

(continued from page 5)

social-democratic lackeys have turned their back on the Stalinist pleas. [PS leader Lionel] Jospin has explained that an electoral pact for the legislative election would not be possible unless the PCF renounced all criticisms of the PS in advance and if there was agreement on Afghanistan, Poland and the Euromissiles!—in short a complete break with Moscow. As we have pointed out the PS has insisted all along on the centrality of the Russian question, posing a break by the PCF with Moscow as *the* precondition for reconstituting the Union of the Left. Marchais and the PCF bureaucrats just keep groveling.

For a Revolutionary Opposition to the Popular Front

Here and there there were small pockets of PCF militants who refused to follow Marchais in voting for the ferociously anti-Soviet social democrat Mitterrand. The sentiment in this milieu is perhaps expressed by the people influenced by the small left-Stalinist *Le Communiste* group. But loyalty to the Soviet Union, while highly honorable in the face of the current Cold War campaign, does not suffice as a program. Without a revolutionary program and with visceral hatred of the social democrats substituted for a genuine opposition to popular frontism, this group has set itself the utopian task of reforming the PCF.

When Marchais & Co. launched their campaign last fall, promising a "vote Communist battle" and voicing criticisms of previous popular-front experiences, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) projected giving highly critical electoral support to the PCF candidate. Marchais' subsequent disgusting campaign against immigrant workers, part of an overall line of French chauvinism, robbed his candidacy of any possibility of serving as a class-against-class vote. Nevertheless, class-struggle militants in the Communist Party must investigate the Trotskyist program and policies of the LTF, the only tendency which sought to put forward a proletarian opposition to popular frontism in the presidential elections. Not a new Union of the Left or Vitry-style racist provocations but class struggle for a workers government! This is the Marxist answer to the betrayals of '36, '44 and '72.

But a Trotskyist alternative won't be found among the LCR, OCI or Lutte Ouvrière, whose feeble pretensions to stand for the interests of the proletariat were stripped bare by the election of Mitterrand. The fanatical anti-communist social democrats of the OCI [Organisation Communiste Internationaliste] backed Mitterrand on the first round and hailed his nationalization schemes as "the first steps to socialism"! Like the nationalization of Renault after the war? Today the OCI could be more accurately characterized as Bernsteinist than Kautskyist. They are really the fifth wheel on the PS cart. As for the centrists of the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire], Alain Krivine declared at the Mutualité on May 4 that the LCR's previous general strike slogan should be withdrawn, at least until the legislative elections. It is not surprising that the LCR tells the proletariat to "wait." You can't defend the interests of the workers and support the popular front at the same time.

Finally there are the popular demagogues of LO [Lutte Ouvrière] who by contrast to the LCR have been more critical of Mitterrand (if not always from the left!) But their criticisms shouldn't be taken too seriously: their election slogan was "Vote Mitterrand without illusions, but without reservations." Without a program and without a principled opposition to voting for popular fronts LO can only utter complete nonsense. The workers need their own government, one which will expropriate the bourgeoisie and crush the resistance of the class enemy. But expropriation of the banks and major industry will not come about through parliamentary maneuvers between the bureaucrats of the PCF and the PS. To call for a PCF-PS government today is just window-dressing for support to the popular front presently in power. It will take gigantic class struggles which can split the masses from the trade-union bureaucracy and the reformist parties, sweeping away the traitors and rallying the working class around a revolutionary Trotskyist leadership. ■

Coal Bosses in Retreat

Miners: Stay Out and Win Big!

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Two months ago the bosses of the Bituminous Coal Operators Assnciation (BCOA) and the sellout leadership of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) cooked up a contract proposal which would gut union gains won over decades of struggle. When miners shot down the *takeaway* pact, hy margins of up to nine-to-one in key districts, lahor and management bargainers just sat on their hands. Now, with coal stockpiles dwindling and profits down, they decided to have another go at it. This time let's give them *nothing* (or a little less) and see if that washes, said UMWA president Sam Church and BCOA ehief Bobby Brown. They're hoping that after eight weeks without pay the membership's will to fight will break before the companies' hard-line front collapses.

"It's a step backward when we should be moving ahead," said a local official in District 17 (West Virginia) who summarized the new contract proposal in a nutshell. True, due to the determined strike waged by the ranks against the BCOA and their own misleaders, the bosses have made concessions on their "giveback" demands. But for the Mine Workers, even standing still will mean death tn the union. Miners must regain the ground lost in the 1977-78 strike *and more* in order to organize the growing number of non-union miners. Don't stop now—you've got the bosses on the run! Win a fat contract when you have the advantage and it will lay the basis for successfully organizing the Western mines. The future of the UMWA is at stake!

Church is reportedly using redbaiting and other arm-twisting pressure to get his contract passed, while "dissidents" in the leadership are apparently capitulating left and right. The first bargaining council vote on the new deal approved it by 36-to-2, and then they made it unanimous. But the insulting hack-to-work bribe of $150 per miner can't cover up the holes in this deal. For one it leaves unsettled the UMWA construction workers' contract. Despite clauses allegedly protecting union jobs, "It's going to hurt the ABC [Associated Bituminous Contractors] workers," one miner told *WV*.

Moreover, one of the big selling points in the proposal is a phony. The big business press has spilled the beans, admitting that pension funding from royalties will be evaded. According to the *Wall Street Journal* (1 June), one of the largest mine owners "recently established a subsidiary corporation beyond the reach of the UMW contract that will enable U.S. Steel to buy nonunion coal without paying the royalty"! And one life-and-death issue has simply been buried. When a *WV* reporter asked Church at a press conferenee here May 29 about the local right to strike over safety conditions, he replied that there never had been such a right (!) and "I don't even want to consider it." But as the *New York Times* (2 June) noted, "Many miners may not think well of Mr. Church's commitment to a no-strike contract."

The UMWA president is boasting that this paet is "probably the best that will bc negotiated this year in any industry." If true, it would only be because labor fakers like Church have been surrendering to the bosses' offensive for so long that it looks good for a change when a strike simply beats back the takeaways. But the companies are only buying· time, waiting for the strength of the UMWA to be sapped by the declining percentage of union-mined coal (now well under 50 percent).

In the latest proposal, the BCOA retreated on its original union-busting demands: the provision for royalties to the union health and retirement fund for processing non-union coal has been restored; the proposed 45-day probationary period for new hires has been dropped, and contract language has reportedly been rewritten to retain UMWA jurisdiction over subcontracting at union mines. There are loopholes, however, since it would only prohibit leasing or contracting which "causes layoffs or deprives laid-off employees of work that is normally theirs," according to the UMWA press release. "The majority of construction...is going to be done by scab labor," one miner eommented to *WV*. And the proposal would lengthen the contract to 40 months!

Yet coal miners can take credit for the BCOA retreat because they decided two-to-nne to use their main weapon, the strike, rather than rely on Church's no-strike diplomaey. After holding on for more than eight weeks, and with no thanks to the UMWA tops, they have got wide sections of U.S. industry feeling the pinch. The coal companies are anxious to cash in on what they call an "exploding market" and some of the smaller operators have already declared their willingness to settle. "According to some coal executives, the cost of eontinuing the strike had begun to outweigh the costs of the union's demands," reported the *Wall Street Journal*. "Some mining companies may report record second quarter losses, while others fear the loss of markets to nonunion operators."

The UMWA is fighting for its future! That means regaining what was lost by the sellout Miller/Church leadership in the bitter 110-day strike three years ago. In particular, the cradle-to-grave health care, which has been the calling card of every Mine Workers organizer for decades, as well as a lifesaver for miners and their families, must be restored. Also, mine workers still receive no indexed cost-of-living adjustments, while 25,000 coal miners remain on layoff without supplemental unemployment benefits or even severanee pay. And although the hated Arbitration Review Board has been eliminated, its rulings are left standing as "precedents"—which would mean that "unauthorized" strikes are still considered illegal.

The United Mine Workers could lead the American working class in a powerful fight against the Reagan austerity drive (remember the miners' strikes during World War II!). The companies know this well, and with the selling price of coal rocketing by over 600 percent in the last decade, this no-gains/no-strike deal is a cheap way to call off the confrontation just when it is beginning to hurt them. And so far there has been only a hint of militancy. If the miners put their minds to it—shut down all non-striking pits, block the transportation of scab coal—and if the rest of organized labor refused to handle coal, it would quickly bring the bosses to their knees. A big "no" vote must be combined with a move to recall the treacherous misleaders so the UMWA can forge a class-struggle leadership eapable of winning the fight. Vote no! Victory to the coal strike! ■

British IMG Purge...

(continued from page 4)

or, as far as we are aware, in any iSt material. The politics of the IMG make it an obstacle to the proletarian revolution. Which side of the barricades sections of the organisation take when the decisive test comes eannot be predetermined, but the pursuit of Bennite reformism [Tony Benn heads the "lefts" in the British Labour Party] and Soviet-defeatist pacifism does not augur well for them.

The issue of political collaboration is a red herring. In the IMG today anything goes—except Bolshevism. The leadership itself has been busy collaborating with other organisations—*to stifle the Trotskyist politics fought for by the Communist Faction.* [Long-time IMG "star"] Tariq Ali exchanged correspondence with *Alan Thornett* [spokesman for the Workers Socialist League] in order to discuss how best to deal with the "Sparts" (though Thornett was never too successful).

At the 1980 National Conferenec the comrades who went on to form the Cnmmunist Faction had sought to assert the Trotskyist position of Soviet-defencism inside the organisatinn. In the aftermath of the imperialist outcry over Afghanistan we saw that the primary responsibility of communists was to stand firm against Cold War pressure and side with the Red Army in Afghanistan. But the IMG leadership, up to its neck in an attempt to regroup with the anti-Soviet Socialist Workers Party of Tony Cliff, *refused to take the discussion at the Conference.* When the Communist Tendency submitted a document opposing the bankrupt line of building the pacifist Campaign for Nuelear Disarmament (CND), and argued that the IMG must counterpose to what Trotsky called "chatter about disarmament" the defence of the Soviet Union and the revolutionary proletarian struggle to disarm the bourgeoisie, the leadership sat on the Communist Tendency's doeument for *five months.*

IMG members today are being told that their future lies with "*Socialist Challenge* supporters" in the Labour Party. Ernest Mandel himself has come to town to use his showmanship and demagogy to sell the new line to the IMG membership. After the orientation to the Cliffites, after the decision to build CND, this attempt to seize the *main* opportunity, entry into a mass reformist party, is being implemented with no formal discussion in the membership whatsoever. Alrcady the line is made public in the pages of *Intercontinental Press.* This line means *liquidation.* When the leadership's politieal projeet is support to the "left" reformism of Tony Benn, then all talk of counterposing the IMG programme to the Labour Party "left" is a gigantic fraud. *The expulsion of the Communist Faction (and any other serious opposition to liquidation into the Labour Party) is the tribute offered for full membership in the Tony Benn supporters' club.*

But, so slow to move on discussion of the great politieal questions of the day, so incapable of confronting the programme of a prineipled left opposition, the leadership seemed like a model of speed and vigour onee it began its moves toward a purge. When a motion from the Hemel Hempstead branch condemned support for Benn's call for an alternative "defence strategy" for British imperialism, the leadership came down on the branch like a ton of bricks. When the efforts to bully the branch into retracting the motion failed, then the methods of frame-up were used. Comrade Lin Khalid, who had presented the resolution, was suspended from her full-time post at the IMG centre for the "crime" of talking to other IMG members about her political ideas on a demonstration in Manchester. Then, within days, came the letter demanding political recantation from the whole Communist Tendency.

The IMG PC's reason for the expulsion of 16 comrades was spelled out in an unsigned document whieh we received the day before the purge: "... the comrades must know full well that, in the last analysis, two programmes eannot exist within the framework of the same nrganisation." To be more precise, the IMG tnday has no room for the struggle for a *revolutionary* programme. It is true that in the ease of counterposed programmes, one must give way to the other—but for Leninists who see factional struggle as a reflection of the class struggle, this must be achieved through political combat aimed at defeating the *ideas* of their opponents. But that is the last thing the IMG leaders wanted.

They never worried about the incompatibility of two programmes when Tariq Ali was allowed to use the pages of *Socialist Challenge* and public platforms like *New Statesman* to declare that he "remained unrepentant" in his counterrevolutionary calls for Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan. There was no compunction about two programmes when an attempt was made to "regroup" with the Cliffites. And of course *Socialist Challenge* (9 April 1981) came out for the *programme* of Tony Benn (who in turn now calls for UN troops to Ireland).

Once, the IMG boasted about its "democratic" character. It was even claimed that the proliferation of "tendencies"—in fact warring cliques—was evidence of a healthy internal life. But today you can only form a faction if you concede in advance not to call into question the revolutionary character of the leadership, i.e., not to form a faetion!

Those comrades who remember the days when it was quite common for IMG leaders to characterise other supporters of the [USec]—like the U.S. Socialist Workers Party—as *reformist* must wonder what has happened. The IMG leadership will never tolerate serious left-wing opposition again. Just the day after the IMG expulsions, Communist Faetion youth comrades were expelled from Revolution Youth. All pretenee of "democracy" has been thrown aside.

Comrades! Protest the witehhunt! The slogan used by the leadership to eheer on Tnny Benn must be turned against them by IMG members: *Let the left be heard!*

Harney
Khalid
Vanzler
for the Communist Faetion
22 May 1981

War Budget...

(continued from page 1)

winter or be evicted from their homes if they can possibly help it? Reagan's ax will force millions of working people to cut their own living standards to help elderly parents and other relatives survive. So Reagan reaction has suffered its first setback over Social Security. He went too far, too fast.

Reagan Proposes, Wall Street Disposes

In the year before the November elections the inflation rate reached banana-republic levels, real wages plummeted 10 percent and the bottom fell out of the economy last spring. Small wonder Reagan could present himself, including to normally Democratic blue-collar workers, as a saviour of the economy. While he did not tone down his image as a true right winger, Reagan nonetheless dissociated himself from traditional conservative economic policies. Remembering that Goldwater's offhand remarks about making Social Security voluntary had cost him millions of votes in 1964, Reagan solemnly pledged not to touch existing entitlement programs. As for other non-military programs, he would only eliminate "waste and inefficiency" from the government sector. And he would "not use unemployment as a tool to fight inflation."

Just how was Reagan going to accomplish what no capitalist country has ever achieved and build up a nuclear arsenal capable of first-striking the Russians in the bargain? Through the new, miracle "supply-side economics." Cut taxes enough, they claimed, and this would stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort and investment that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue, even more. "Supply-side economics" was embodied in the famous Kemp-Roth tax bill which in its *original* form proposed to cut income taxes by 30 percent *without* any cutback in government expenditure. Campaigning for the Republican nomination last May, Reagan actually claimed he would pay for his MX missiles and Trident submarines with a tax *cut*: "We would use the increased revenues from the tax decrease to rebuild our defense capabilities" (*New York Times*, 18 May 1980)!

Whether or not Reagan believed this nonsense himself, no banker or corporate treasurer did. And as he came closer to government power, he began changing his tune. After the election the two leading "supply-siders" in Reagan's entourage, Jack Kemp and budget director-to-be David Stockman warned that without a "severe program" of cutbacks "financial market worries about a 'Reagan inflation' will be confirmed" (*New York Times*, 14 December 1980).

As soon as he was inaugurated, Reagan announced this "severe program" of government cutbacks—$40 billion worth. As we wrote at the time these cuts were "concentrated with almost surgical precision on the poor." For example, they did not then touch Medicare, the basic federal health insurance for the aged, but did cut Medicaid, which covers welfare recipients, the disabled, etc. And in racist, capitalist America the poorest is the blackest. A *New York Times* (2 June) survey reports:

> "Nearly one black in five receives assistance under Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the principal Federal-state welfare program. The budget of this program would be cut 11 percent under the Administration's plans. Thirty percent of blacks receive food stamps, a program that would be cut nearly 25 percent, and 25 percent are on Medicaid, which would be subject to a ceiling on expenditures. As many as 300,000 blacks hold jobs under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act [CETA], jobs that would be abolished under the Reagan plan."

On the other hand, programs where blacks are underrepresented (Social Security, Medicare, veterans benefits) are only being scratched (proposed cuts of 6, 2 and 0 percent respectively).

Reagan's ax-the-poor budget had bipartisan support and went through Congress with scarcely a murmur of protest from the liberals. "We have undone 30 years of social legislation in three days," whimpered New York Democrat Daniel Moynihan (*New York Times*, 20 March).

If Reagan bulldozed the Democrats in Congress, his own masters on Wall Street were still not pleased with his performance. Two of the most respected economists on the Street, Henry Kaufman of Salomon Bros. and Sam Nakagama of Kidder, Peabody, predicted that the Reagan budgets would mean double-digit inflation for years to come. The nation's bankers voted no confidence in Reagan's fiscal policy and it's their vote that counts. They voted with their interest rates, which are now higher than under Carter. "Rightly or wrongly, the markets don't trust the Reagan budget cuts to do the job of curbing inflation," warned Wall Street analyst and Reagan adviser Alan Greenspan (*Wall Street Journal*, 7 May). *Business Week* (18 May) voiced this even more strongly:

> "...the financial community remains deeply gloomy. This pessimism is rooted in the realization that the Treasury will have to borrow what could be record amounts this fall and winter to finance a large and growing budget deficit."

Reagan to Aged: Drop Dead

Reagan got the message. Cut back the tax cuts (Kemp-Roth is now as dead as a dodo) and add to the cutbacks. But from where? The poor can't pay all of the Pentagon's new bills. They're just too poor. Reagan could throw everyone off welfare and scarcely save enough money to buy a couple of Trident submarines. Social Security is far and away the largest item of government social expenditure, larger in the late 1970s than the military budget. Thus, as liberal economist Lester Thurow pointed out:

> "The proposed military increase is so large that it cannot be fully paid for with cuts in civilian expenditure unless the president is willing to abolish major social programs like Social Security."
>
> —"How to Wreck the Economy," *New York Review of Books*, 14 May

So on May 12 the Reagan administration announced "the biggest frontal attack on Social Security ever launched" as the head of the National Council of Senior Citizens rightly described it. Benefits for those retiring at 62 rather than 65 will be cut by *one-third* from an average of $373 to $249 a month. Benefits for everyone retiring in the next few years will be cut by an estimated 10 percent. Then there are the sneaky mean little cuts like postponing the cost-of-living adjustment by three months.

The 96 to 0 Senate rebuff does not mean that Congress will not cut Social Security benefits, or even that Reagan will not get much of what he wants. Reagan's Congressional opponents argue only that the proposed cuts are too much, at least for now. The House Select Committee on the Aged calculates that Reagan's cuts are twice what is necessary to keep the Social Security system solvent for the next 75 years!

Pensions for the aged should no more be governed by the solvency of the Social Security system than wage rates by the profitability of a given employer. The existing Social Security perpetuates the gross inequalities of American capitalism and benefits are already so low it is impossible to live on them alone. Labor and minorities must fight to replace this inherently discriminatory and utterly inadequate "insurance" system. Unemployment and SUB benefits, welfare and Social Security should be merged with the general federal government budget and equalized at the highest level. And to provide jobs for all, ensuring that millions are not just thrown on the scrap heap when they are no longer profitable to the companies, it will take a planned economy that can only be brought about by socialist revolution.

Whatever deal Congress and Reagan work out over Social Security, the 96 to 0 Senate vote was a significant setback for the White House. The "honeymoon" period of Reagan reaction may be over. But the working people and poor will gain nothing if anti-Reaganism is simply channeled back into Democratic Party liberalism whose utter bankruptcy was the major reason for the Republican landslide last November. Around the slogans of "fight the cutbacks" and "fight the right," the reformists, notably the Communist Party, are trying to recreate the popular frontism of FDR's New Deal and LBJ's Great Society. Just remember, the 1930s depression was only ended with World War II while Johnson's Great Society was buried in the swamps of Vietnam. And Teddy Kennedy, whose answer to inflation/unemployment is state wage control, is no friend of the working class and black poor.

Break with the liberal Democrat/conservative Republican shell game! A *workers party* is needed to wage a real fight against starving the ghettos and the old, against wage-slashing inflation, against unemployment and economic ruination as well as against the imperialist militarism of *both parties* of American capitalism. It must be a political fight to mobilize the workers as a class, and behind them the black ghetto poor, for a workers government and socialist economic abundance. ■

Chicago Cops...

(continued from page 12)

was so disturbed at the police action against us that in the middle of the speeches, the chairman suddenly announced that the exclusion "was a decision made by the police.... They [the Anti-Imperialist Contingent] are not being prevented from joining this rally."

This was just a lying cover-up. For when a *WV* reporter asked rally coordinator and member of the May 30th Coalition steering committee Michael Ross to show good faith by requesting that police officers allow the Anti-Imperialist Contingent to join the rally, he flatly *refused* on the grounds that, "you raise slogans on the Soviet Union."

As the rally was breaking up Chicago SL organizer Gene Shubert, still behind the cordon of cops, addressed the participants. Most of them lingered to hear his appeal for class solidarity with the Salvadoran working masses.

"This contingent marched with the workers and peasants of El Salvador. It is very clear that the May 30 Coalition is nothing but a popular-frontist coalition. The May 30 Coalition at home shows that it will use the same government that backs the junta in El Salvador to keep out leftists. The Trotskyists of the Spartacist League stood by the banner of proletarian internationalism and we say—Defend Cuba, Defend Russia, U.S. Out of El Salvador! It should be clear today that people who want to kiss up to the Democratic Party will lick the boots of the bourgeoisie. We stand with our class brothers and sisters around the world. We fight with them for workers revolution throughout Central America. The Rio Grande is not a sacred border. It has started in El Salvador, let it finish in Chicago, Detroit and New York. Workers to power around the world! U.S. out of El Salvador!"

The May 30th Coalition organizers and CPers who tried to set us up had better understand that they are playing with fire. For by egging on the repressive forces of the capitalist state they have set up their own supporters to catch it next time. One cop was heard commenting that, "If this was another country, they'd *all* be dead." And not only the Chicago police are involved. Does anyone really think the Chicago Red Squad sent out 50 grumbling cops, including mounted cossacks, on a Saturday afternoon because the CP is embarrassed by our Soviet defensism?

The whole operation smells of the FBI. And the FBI is raring to go now that Reagan has bought its loyalty with the recent pardons of top officials and is unleashing the Bureau for a new Cold War. So there we have the popular front in America—and the CP's provocation plays straight into the hands of the FBI's putative operation against the communists of the Spartacist League. But the CP had better know that we will fight for democracy in the workers movement.

The politics behind the anti-communist exclusion on May 30 are to supplicate the Democratic Party for a more humane imperialist foreign policy and to slavishly tail the search for a "political solution" (read: betrayal) in El Salvador. That's why Ricardo Melara of the FDR spent a portion of his speech denouncing "those sections of the ultra-left" who are "trying to disturb this march of ours" and want to "give final judgment on our revolution"—meaning those who call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents and the crushing of the bloody junta!

Despite the vicious CP-police collaboration, anti-imperialist politics marched in Chicago on May 30. One hundred and seventy-one pieces of literature were sold and 50 rally participants signed up for more information on the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. That night seven youth who had marched with the Contingent applied for membership in the SYL. ■

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Hicks/ DuBois...

(continued from page 12)

Klan-hooded foremen paraded through DAP and Local 600 bureaucrats refused to take action, it was the RMC that led 1,000 workers to drive the racists out. When the Klan threatened to celebrate their Greensboro massacre here and Coleman Young threatened to arrest anti-Klan protesters, it was the RMC that built the 500-strong labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square that made sure the KKK didn't ride in Detroit. While Rinaldi and the UAW International conspired with Ford to steal incentive pay and let the bosses close plants from Dodge Main to Michigan Casting, the Rouge Militant Caucus has been there—at the DAP, at Steel, at Flatrock—to fight for sitdown strikes to defend our jobs and paychecks.

The Rouge Militant Caucus doesn't wait until election time and proclaim "Vote for me and I'll set you free." We are running on *our record* of leading militant action to fight against Ford's assault on our union and the betrayals of the UAW International. If you want to vote for labor/black mobilizations against the Klan, for sitdown strikes against layoffs and if you want to smash this racist capitalist system...VOTE RMC, FRANK HICKS—PRESIDENT, CHARLES DUBOIS—FIRST VICE PRESIDENT.

With Fraser, Rinaldi, Dorosh: UAW Means "U Ain't Working"

There is a class line between workers and bosses and those who cross it are traitors! Fraser traded the jobs and COLA of Chrysler workers so he can sit on the Board of Directors with Iacocca. Under Doug Fraser, the UAW has come to mean "U Ain't Working."

Rinaldi says, "Remember the past"—Dorosh's past, that is. But who can forget the betrayals of either of these pro-company misleaders? It was Dorosh who negotiated the "cap" on COLA in 1967 and gave Ford millions of dollars of our money. And just like Rinaldi in the 1976 strike, Dorosh let hundreds of scabs into the plant while we were on the picket lines. In 1973, it was Dorosh who held the contract vote again and again until he got the "yes" vote Ford wanted.

But no one is going to forget the last seven years either. Rinaldi is Dorosh's graduated apprentice—and he learned the sellout trade well. Everyone knows you never give up anything without a fight, but it was Rinaldi who *proposed* a 20 percent cut in incentive pay after a year of secret negotiations with the company. These sellout artists do everything in their power to pit Rouge seniority against the Flatrock seniority, skilled against production and even auto workers from Ohio, Michigan and Canada against each other. When 700 MCC [Michigan Casting Center] workers came to the March unit meeting, it was Rinaldi's goons who threw out Rouge Militant Caucus members fighting for sitdown strikes to save 5,300 MCC jobs. Ask Flatrock workers "Who likes Mike?" He told 700 angry workers that "Long after you're gone, I'll still be here."

The Rinaldi and Dorosh "teams" got theirs and that's all they care about. So while they argue about who ripped off what and when, and drag the bosses' courts into our union elections, our jobs and our rights go to hell.

Smash Racism!

From Warwick Street to Southfield, every week brings another instance of racist terror against blacks in Detroit. Black workers at Rouge can't even go up North to hunt or fish or camp with their kids without being prepared to defend themselves. In a largely black and labor town, with 300,000 auto workers alone it is criminal that the Nazi and Klan scum dare to show their faces, that the schools and housing are segregated here. This is testimony to the treachery of the labor fakers and black Democratic Party misleaders. The enormous social power of the UAW must be unleashed to turn our union into a real weapon in defense of integration, open the road to genuine equality, and thereby pave the way for a united class struggle of black and white workers to end capitalist oppression once and for all.

The open shop South is kept intact by the Jim Crow status quo. The fight for jobs for all must be taken up side by side with the fight against the discrimination that condemns blacks, Arabs and other minorities to the worst and lowest paying jobs, or no jobs at all. We must use our union's power to answer the cry of the working class and ghetto youth to fight for jobs for all at the expense of the bosses' profits—a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. We fight for the aggressive recruitment of minorities and women to the skilled trades, junk the discriminatory lottery and test and open up more skilled trades on a first-come, first-served basis. Fill all promotional jobs by seniority.

Smash Protectionism! Fight the Bosses!

The Fraser, Rinaldi, Dorosh gang use their racist "Buy American" campaign and call for import quotas to try and sell us the idea that we should protect Ford's profits while the bosses lay us off, close the plants, and hit those "lucky" enough to have a job with speedup and ten hours a day in the Assembly plant. And if you buy the anti-Japanese crap, you buy the concessions. Solidarity House is big on screaming about "foreigners stealing our jobs," but the real "foreigners" are the profit-hungry jerks in the Glass House [Ford World Headquarters]. You had better believe the UAW hacks' patriotic fever is dangerous. It backs up Reagan's war-mongering and helps the bosses and the Klan/Nazi thugs go after workers and minorities—just look at the anti-black riots during the last two World Wars. With Reagan racism, his so-called "safety net" for the poor is being re-woven into a lynch rope.

Fight Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

A civil war is raging in El Salvador between workers and peasants on one side and Reagan's butchers in the junta on the other. Union halls are bombed and destroyed. More than 18,000 workers and peasants have been murdered by the junta's right-wing death squads. The labor movement in America must do everything in its power to help the workers in El Salvador *win*.

But what is Fraser telling working people in El Salvador? He wants them to sit down and negotiate with the bloody junta and seek a solution which will leave the plantations the same and the right-wing death squads intact to kill again. He doesn't want workers there to win against their bosses any more than he wants us to win against Ford.

The Rouge Militant Caucus takes a side in El Salvador. We stand for the military victory of the left-wing insur-

Yates

Laid-off auto workers in Detroit search the "help wanted" ads of the Houston Chronicle.

gents and we organized Rouge workers to march for this in Washington. If Reagan sends in the Marines, the UAW must be prepared to strike against it.

Reagan's real target, the real reason for his war-mongering is to go after Cuba and the Soviet Union. Reagan wants to destroy the Soviet Union just like he wants to bust our union, because the Russian Revolution was the biggest victory working people ever had. The Russian workers kicked out their capitalists and organized a planned economy. Sure, Russian workers need to get rid of their bureaucrats, just like we need to dump Fraser and Rinaldi and Dorosh. But there aren't half a million auto workers laid off in the Soviet Union and the Klan doesn't ride in Moscow! We should defend the Soviet Union just like we defend our union from the company. We don't want Reagan's mass layoffs, inflation and sub-minimum wage put on Russian workers, and we don't want it here.

For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government!

Reagan's in the White House and the labor fakers are pushing the Democrats again. They must think we have short memories. It was "ethnic purity" Carter who paved the way for Reagan. And Reagan's war drive is Round Two against Cuba. It was the "friend of labor" Democrats who ran the Bay of Pigs invasion and the Vietnam War.

Detroit is the best example of what happens when labor and the black movement sells its soul to the Democratic Party. Coleman Young tried to stop the 500-strong labor/black rally against the Klan in Kennedy Square. It was Coleman Young's cops that protected the Nazi-scum while they recruited for their racist terror at a headquarters less than a mile from our local hall. And the coalition of black Democrats and labor bureaucrats who run this town for Ford, General Motors and Chrysler are mortgaging the city to the banks while they slash city services and ram pay cuts and layoffs down the throat of city workers.

Enough! Unchain the UAW! We need a workers party to fight for a workers government that will end this racist, capitalist system once and for all.

Dump the Bureaucrats! Build the Rouge Militant Caucus!

Rinaldi has been working hand-in-hand with the traitors in Solidarity House for years. Dorosh did it when he was Local 600 president, and he's been doing it as International Rep. The same is true of both candidates running "independent" of these slates: if you don't have a class-struggle program to counterpose to Fraser & Co., you end up being their accomplices.

Also running is the United Front Slate, a rag-tag bunch put together by the Local 600 Organizer and the misnamed Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW). If you haven't heard of them before, it's not surprising. They are the Cheech and Chong version of the Rinaldi-Dorosh slates. Here for the elections, up in smoke tomorrow! On *paper* they make all kinds of promises. But what you will never find in their literature is their *record*. If they're for stopping racism and fighting for jobs, what have they *done* about it the last three years? They sure don't mention the fight to drive out the Klan-hooded foremen or the demonstration in Kennedy Square. Not surprising, because at the time the CMDUAW put out leaflets calling the mobilization against the foremen a "diversion" and spit on Rouge workers by calling the Kennedy Square demonstrators "accidental passersby, downtown shopping or just hanging out." Some of these characters follow the head honcho of a weird cult-sect based out at the University of Michigan that crosses picket lines of striking workers.

If these opportunists have anything in common, it's that they won't fight for anything until Fraser, Rinaldi & Co. give it their stamp of approval beforehand. They call for sitdown strikes "authorized by the International." The only thing Solidarity House will do about sitdowns is try to smash them, like Doug Fraser when he organized a 1,000-man goon squad against the Mack Avenue plant occupation. Robert Robbins, the United Front Slate's candidate for First VP, says his door will always be open, but he shut the door on Flatrock workers when he gooned for Rinaldi against Brother DuBois at the MCC demonstration at the Glass House.

Fraser is Henry Ford's lieutenant, Rinaldi and Dorosh are his second-in-command and the United Fraud wants to be sergeant-at-arms. The only candidates that deserve your vote are Hicks and DuBois. Unlike the opportunists only interested in your votes, we tell you the truth. An election campaign in itself won't get us what we need. That will happen only when we beat the company on the picket lines and the UAW flying squads send the racists packing. To do this, we're going to need a solid core of militants to break the stranglehold of Doug Fraser & Co. over the UAW. We need more than your vote. Join the Rouge Militant Caucus! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Rouge Militants Say: Sitdowns for Jobs! Stop Fraser's Giveaways!

Fight Layoffs and Racist Terror! Vote Hicks/DuBois!

Local elections are being held throughout the United Auto Workers (UAW) this month, and an important fight is being waged at Local 600, Ford's giant River Rouge complex, the largest UAW local in the country. The Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) is running Frank Hicks for Local president and Charles DuBois for first vice president on a class-struggle program. UAW president Doug Fraser's Solidarity House gang is represented by two contending bureaucrats, incumbent Mike Rinaldi and former Local 600 president Walter Dorosh. We reprint below the main election leaflet issued by the Rouge Militant Caucus.

The unions and black people in this city are being ripped to hell. Twenty percent of our brothers and sisters in Detroit are without jobs—triple that for black youth. The plants are devastated by layoffs and plant closings. In the Rouge alone there were 35,000 jobs in 1973, and only 20,000 today. Ford Motor Company wants to close Michigan Casting and Frame—and then what? Our contract is being ripped to shreds, first at Chrysler and now here at Steel. Sensing their chance with Reagan and Haig in power, the Klan and Nazis are on the rampage, lynching blacks down South and bombing the homes of blacks in Detroit. The cops get away scot-free shooting and killing a laid-off DAP [Dearborn Assembly Plant] brother for supposedly stealing steaks! Reagan's tearing up Social Security, screwing working people and gearing up his anti-Soviet war drive. He's out to make sure the American capitalists can exploit the world and use us as cannon fodder to do it.

Three more years of this and how many Local 600 members will even be around next election? We've had enough! It's time to fight. The traitors at Solidarity House and their henchmen in Local 600 have brokered and approved every sellout deal. They have not lifted a finger to smash the racist threat. Throw them out!

We are not powerless. It was UAW militants who broke the back of the open shop, spearheaded the organizing of the CIO, and chased out Henry Ford's fascist Black Legion through sitdown strikes and flying squads. That's what the Rouge Militant Caucus stands for...IN ACTION: when the

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WV Photos

Frank Hicks (left) and Charles Dubois call for military victory to El Salvadoran leftists, May 3 in Washington: Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home.

At Chicago El Salvador Protest

Stalinists Set Cops on Anti-Imperialist Contingent

WV Photo

CHICAGO, May 30—In a simple provocation, supporters of the reformist Communist Party (CP), social democrats and assorted left and liberal hangers-on today called out the racist Chicago police, the murderers of Black Panther Fred Hampton and the brutal attackers of antiwar protesters in 1968, against 150 marchers of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. And the cops were glad to oblige. A solid line of mounted cossacks forced the Anti-Imperialist Contingent to stay on the other side of the street from the May 30th Coalition's El Salvador protest rally.

Run from behind the scenes by the CP, the May 30th Coalition seeks a bloc with Democratic Party liberals. Combating the imperialist "doves" as well as Reagan, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent marched under the banners of "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents" and "Defense of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador." Organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL), the 150-strong Contingent including student activists from Madison, Champaign-Urbana and other campuses as well as militant members of the Steelworkers, Auto Workers, National Maritime Union and Communications Workers.

When the Contingent arrived at the assembly point, we learned that the May 30th Coalition organizers had "warned" the cops that there would be "trouble" and made a deal with them to cordon us off under police guard behind the march. At one point this cordon included two police cars with blinking lights. The cops even prevented *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus* salesmen from distributing to the Coalition marchers.

It was a clear attempt to set us up for a police provocation. Coalition marshals yelled, "You are not part of the demonstration." When the Anti-Imperialist Contingent attempted to enter the march, *Coalition marshals and cops together formed a human chain to block the way!* Prominent in this chain were CP supporters and also members of the soft Stalinist "Trend." The final logic of Stalinist class-collaboration was there for everyone to see.

At the main rally site, after trying to force the Anti-Imperialist Contingent onto a corner occupied by a counter-demonstration of anti-communist Moonies, a phalanx of cops including mounted police isolated the Contingent across the street from the May 30th Coalition rally. (Of course, the Moonies had no problem with the cops when several later crossed the street to disrupt the rally.)

Many participants at the rally were visibly upset by the naked use of police terror against the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. The Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League and Maoist Communist Workers Party protested to *WV*. A spokesman for the latter said: "It's very bad. We're against any political exclusion. We're going to argue about it." The crowd

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 283 19 June 1981

El Salvador: "Negotiated Solution" Means Bloodbath

Smash the Junta, Workers to Power!

JUNE 15—Fighting has sharply increased in El Salvador's bloody civil war as leftist guerrillas are mounting a rainy season offensive that has built in intensity from week to week. From the northeastern province of Morazán to the western hills of Chalatenango, the entire northern tier of the country has been the scene of coordinated guerrilla assaults on the forces of the U.S.-backed military/Christian Democratic junta. So far, insurgent advances contrast with the January "final/general" offensive that was called off after only ten days. But government troops and police are not the only obstacle facing rebel fighters—treacherous calls for negotiations with sectors of the junta pose a dangerous roadblock to a left-wing victory on the battlefield.

As rebel forces step up their attacks, Reagan continues to pour millions in weapons into the junta's armory. Meanwhile, imperialist liberals have launched an offensive of their own, pleading for a "peaceful solution" to the civil war which has claimed 20,000 lives since January of last year. But the Reagan regime isn't buying. While supplying the junta colonels with Huey helicopters

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Cruz/Gamma

Israeli Nuclear Terrorists

JUNE 15—We may consider ourselves lucky if we get through the June 30 Israeli elections without Menachem Begin provoking World War III. For his air attack on an Iraqi nuclear power plant is only the latest criminal adventure by the increasingly desperate Zionist ruling class, a class which believes that history is *not* on its side. So the borders of "Eretz Israel" have now been extended to anywhere its U.S.-supplied F-16s can reach, and pre-emptive strikes against potential nuclear rivals are the order of the day. Syria's SAM missiles are next, says Begin. And then? Of course the indignant Arab rulers are no more moral or peace-loving, no more respecters of other peoples' rights than is the Israeli prime minister—just militarily weaker for now.

Begin's terror raid was ritually condemned right across the globe. Even Israel's great-power protector in Washington felt compelled to voice disapproval over the "unprecedented character" of the attack and to delay a shipment of F-16s. To this transparently minimal gesture the Zionist terrorists in Jerusalem reacted with snarling defiance. "Israel doesn't equip itself with any weapons for parading purposes," the defense minister reminded his American patrons. In other words, the Zionist state will do whatever it damn well pleases with its U.S.-supplied weaponry.

Begin's only concession to the universal condemnation was to note that the reactor had, after all, been destroyed before being fueled, so the attack did not irradiate Baghdad. That was good of him. To prove his "humanitarian" concern, Begin bombed on Sunday (when no French technicians were supposed to be present), citing Israel's supposed war ethic: "Never use arms against innocent and unarmed civilians." Of course for the maniacal Zionist nationalists, no Arab can be an "innocent civilian." Remember, this is the same Menachem Begin whose Irgun terrorists massacred hundreds of defenseless and unarmed Arab villagers at Deir Yassin in 1948 and whose planes routinely bomb defenseless Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon today.

Begin Bombs Reagan's Anti-Soviet Grand Plan

If Reagan added his whisper to the worldwide outcry over Israel's raid on Iraq, it is not because the U.S. imperialist chief is more concerned over "unarmed and innocent civilians" than the Zionist rulers. In leveling Baghdad's nuclear reactor, Begin also destroyed for the time being Washington's grand design for a "strategic consensus" in the Near East aimed at the Soviet Union. The Saudis know that Israel's F-16s could just as easily have bombed Riyadh as Baghdad and that their much vaunted American AWACs had failed to detect anything. So it's no surprise that for now the Saudis' denunciation of "international terrorism" is directed at Israel and not the Soviet Union. Even the U.S.' most important and loyal Arab ally, Egypt, ruefully noted that all the while Sadat was meeting with his "brother" Menachem to discuss the Sinai peace accords, the Israeli high command was putting the final touches on the Baghdad raid.

In fact, sowing discord between the U.S. and the Arab states was as much the purpose of the

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NYC Demo Blasts Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka

NEW YORK—Nearly 100 people demonstrated June 8 outside the Sri Lankan Mission to the United Nations to protest the murderous attacks on the Tamil minority of Sri Lanka which have escalated in recent weeks. Since late March at least 89 Tamil activists have "disappeared," victims of military and police dragnets. Tamils have been arrested by the hundreds, Hindu temples and political offices burnt, and five Tamil youths have been reported killed by the police. On June 3 the predominantly Tamil Northern Province was placed under a state of emergency. Two days later this was extended to the whole island, then called off on June 9. But the military occupation of the Tamil areas continues in effect, as it has for the past two years.

The NYC demonstration was initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S. and joined by members of the Eelam Tamils Association, which advocates a separate Tamil state on the island (Eelam). Another protest demonstration called by Tamil groups was held in London on June 6. The Spartacist League of Britain was the only British left organization to mobilize for this demonstration. And on June 15, some 2-3,000 Tamil workers marched on the Sri Lankan embassy in Bonn, protesting the anti-Tamil terror. Again, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands was the only group on the German left to take part in the demonstration.

What little news slips out through the wall of censorship points to the urgent need for such international protests against the murderous regime of Sri Lankan president J.R. Jayewardene. In Jaffna, city police in and out of uniform, as well as troops, including a special "search and destroy" army commando unit, torched the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) headquarters, Tamil businesses, the public library, the Tamil press, Hindu temples and cultural centers. Twenty Tamil youth returning from West Germany, where they were denied political asylum, were arrested at the airport. A Tamil member of parliament narrowly escaped with his life when his house was ransacked, and even the leader of the parliamentary opposition, TULF leader A. Amirthalingam, was arrested and released only after protests.

WV Photo

International Spartacist tendency Sinhala placard says: "Forward to a revolutionary workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka!"

Slogans raised at the New York demonstration called for the freeing of victims of the anti-Tamil terror, for the withdrawal of cops and troops from the Tamil areas, and for the right of self-determination for the Tamil people of Sri Lanka. Other demands included: Stop deportations of Tamil plantation workers! Equal status for the Tamil language! Equal pay for women plantation workers! Spartacist League placards proclaimed: "Tamil workers—key to socialist revolution in Sri Lanka! For proletarian revolution throughout the Indian subcontinent!" In Ceylon only the Spartacist League of Sri Lanka takes an uncompromising stand for these and other demands that point the way toward Tamil-Sinhalese class unity.

A speaker at the picket-line protest from the Eelam Tamils Association said: "Three families have been ruling Sri Lanka for thirty years.... They start the caste war. They start the religion war. They start the language war. Everything to get the poor to kill each other." A Spartacist League speaker noted that the anti-Tamil repression "is similar, but more intense, to what you had in this country in the '60s when, after blacks rose up in the ghettos to fight against their two- and three-fold oppression, cops and troops—from Watts to Detroit—launched a brutal campaign of state terror against them.... This is nothing but Jim Crow, Ceylon style."

Before the demonstrators concluded the protest with a spirited singing of the *Internationale*, a Spartacist spokesman summed up: "American imperialism has come to Sri Lanka. It has come in two ways. One way is trying to compete with the Chinese labor of Hong Kong and Singapore and Taiwan. They take young Sinhalese girls, put them in the Free Trade Zone, pay them 25 cents an hour and work them for textiles. Cheap labor. Sweated labor. Slave labor. The other way is that American imperialism has moved into the Indian Ocean." The SL speaker stressed the importance of opposing imperialist naval bases on the island of Diego Garcia and at Trincomalee in Sri Lanka. He concluded by reminding the protesters that not only the government party in Sri Lanka has the blood of the Tamils on its hands:

> "There is a man, his name is J.R. Jayewardene, and his rotund prime minister Premadasa—they are the enemies. The way was prepared by [former prime minister] Bandaranaike, the popular front of racism, of anti-Tamil oppression.... The Tamil people are oppressed. They are being dumped back out of an island. They are being squeezed. In Jaffna they are being killed. This will not continue. J.R. Jayewardene is being put on notice that as a flunky of imperialism and the West German bankers he will not win." ■

Letter

Science and Religion

New York City
17 March 1981

Dear *Workers Vanguard*,

The article "Sacramento Monkey Trial" (*WV* No. 276, 13 March) rightly points out that the growth of religious fundamentalism, graphically expressed in the attack on Darwin's theory of evolution, is "on the cutting edge of the right-wing revival." It is also important to add that a belief in modern science in itself is no talisman against reactionary and conformist ideological influences. For example, Edward Teller, "the father of the H-bomb," is no less an anti-communist fanatic than the Rev. Jerry Falwell and is perhaps an even more dangerous servant of U.S. imperialism. Whatever Reagan's personal prejudices, the men and women who design his MX missiles and neutron bombs will not be members of the Moral Majority. On the contrary, most Pentagon-financed scientists are agnostics or atheists, all accept the evolution of species and they are generally contemptuous of religious fanatics like Falwell. Yet they will join hands with Reagan and even Falwell in defense of "country" if not of "god."

Religious fundamentalism is the opiate of the most backward and often oppressed sections of society, people for whom this earth is a vale of tears. It is not the reigning ideology of the keyholders to the Fortune 500 boardrooms. And it can never be the ideology of the men who build cyclotrons or search for a cure for cancer.

It is important to draw a distinction between the *social* impact of science before and after the bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries. In an age when kings and lords ruled "by the grace of god," materialism was necessarily subversive of the existing social order. This remains true today in the backward, priest-ridden countries of the East (Iran, India, Indonesia). However, with the bourgeois-democratic transformations religion was displaced by nationalism as the dominant ruling class ideology. Most of the scientists and engineers who work for imperialist governments share the national loyalties of the educated petty bourgeoisie in general.

In considering the relation of ideological irrationalism to the scientific establishment it is useful to look at Nazi Germany. Trotsky pointed out that Hitler and his henchmen could not totally reshape an advanced capitalist country like Germany in accordance with their reactionary-utopian ideological notions. To do so would utterly destroy the German economy and its military capability. Long before this occurred the Nazi leaders would have been overthrown by the officer corps and other elements of the old state bureaucracy. Hitler's men despite their subjective prejudices had to and did collaborate with non-fascist elements in the German bourgeois ruling elite.

This is clear in the case of nuclear physics. Predictably, the Nazi movement was associated with "German physics" which dismissed Einstein's theory of relativity as a "Jewish world-bluff." However, the Nazi government didn't push "German physics" that hard and it never displaced the real thing. The prestigious Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Physics and the Uranium Society remained firmly in the hands of "modernists" like Heisenberg, who utilized the work of Jewish scientists.

To be sure, the Nazi regime did grave damage to science in Germany by driving out Jewish scientists (Einstein) and some non-Jewish liberals like Peter Debye, director of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute. Still, a number of top nuclear physicists (Werner Heisenberg, Carl von Weizsäcker) remained in Germany and worked under and for Hitler. These men were capable of constructing an atomic bomb if given sufficient resources. That they did not do so was not a result of their unwillingness or resistance (as some later claimed).

Certainly the brilliant German scientists of the U (uranium) Project were utterly contemptuous of Nazi ideology, its ridiculous claims for Aryan racial superiority, not to speak of reviving the cult of Odin and Thor. Heisenberg and his colleagues were motivated, predictably enough, by "defense of the fatherland." In 1942 Heisenberg submitted a report to Albert Speer, tsar of the Nazi war economy, indicating the possibility as well as the practical difficulties in constructing an atomic bomb. Speer rejected constructing such a weapon on economic grounds and instead favored using nuclear fission to generate energy.

The general philosophical outlook of the German scientists of the U Project was one of rational humanism, basically similar to that of their opposite numbers working for the American Manhattan Project (who did build the bomb). Despite this outlook these scientists worked loyally and productively for the imperialist mass murderers of Auschwitz and of Hiroshima.

It is not a question of building the bomb *per se*, but of doing so for an imperialist state. The Russian scientists like Kapitsa who developed the atomic bomb in this way defended the USSR—a bureaucratically-ruled workers state—and the interests of humanity from American nuclear destruction.

Early (utopian) socialism saw the triumph of socialism arising through the spread of a rational world outlook. This view found its supreme expression in Saint-Simonism, which looked to scientists and engineers as the vanguard of the socialist transformation of society. But under advanced capitalism the scientific/technical intelligentsia is a privileged social group, close to the bourgeois ruling elite and therefore subject to conservative and conformist ideological influences. As the victim of capitalist exploitation and the product of collective organization and struggles it is the industrial proletariat, not the scientific/technical intelligentsia, that is the central historic agency for the rational reorganization of society. By championing scientific truth against religious bigotry, the workers movement and its political vanguard facilitate winning the intellectuals to the proletarian socialist cause.

Comradely,
JS

Letter to the Communist Party

Tim Yeager
Communist Party of Iowa
P.O. Box 531
Clinton, Iowa

8 June 1981

Dear comrade:

I just received a copy of the June 5th issue of WORKERS VANGUARD. The Vanguard is the paper of the Spartacist League. On page 12 there is a story, a copy of which I will send along to you, under the headline AT CHICAGO EL SALVADOR PROTEST/STALINISTS SET COPS ON ANTI-IMPERIALIST CONTINGENT. The story is about a May 30th demonstration, in Chicago, at which the SL's anti-imperialist contingent was excluded by the police who were acting on instructions from the Communist Party organizers of the march.

The SL marched under the banners "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents", and "Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador". As a Communist I support these slogans, and if I had been in Chicago I would have been found under that banner. *But*, even if I did not support the SL's slogans, I would still support their right to express themselves without police oppression, and when that oppression is instigated by the Communist Party, then I believe we have a major scandal on our hands. I am writing this letter to express my outrage and to protest the action of the Party in the strongest terms I can.

WV Photo

Chicago, May 30—CP calls cops on revolutionaries who demand "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftist insurgents!"

You know what this reminds me of? The TUAD conference in Gary, Indiana last year. At that time, too, the police were called by leaders of our party to stop the SL from passing out literature and raising a resolution endorsing the Keith Anwar picket line defense case. At that time I stood with the SL, as did the members of Grain Millers Local 6. We were so disgusted by that Stalinist nonsense that we walked out of the conference. It was our feeling that if we wanted to fight police, all we had to do was go down to our own picket line, we didn't need it at a union conference, and one sponsored by the Party at that. At that time, I raised a protest within the Party, and was assured that the blunder of Fred Gaboury was an isolated instance that would not be repeated, and that a written apology would be forthcoming. A month short of a year has gone by and there has been no apology, and the ineident is repeated, this time on the streets of Chicago.

As a member of the Party, I request that you raise a protest at the next meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA. Actions of this nature must be condemned in the strongest possible terms, and those responsible should be held accountable for their actions.

Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents of El Salvador!

Michael L. Messina
Marshalltown, Iowa

cc: Gus Hall
Workers Vanguard
Comrade G.D.

Gay Activist Alliance Leader Joins SL

We reprint below the application for membership in the Spartacist League of Derek Hirst. For the last two years, he was the only elected leader of the NYC Gay Activist Alliance (GAA). While today a small residual group, the GAA has been the recognized organization of leftist gay activism in the city. Like the fusion of the SL with the Red Flag Union in 1977, Derek's recruitment to the SL confirms the continuing power and appeal of the Trotskyist program for leftward moving gay activists.

On May 3rd, 1981 I spoke at the Anti-Imperialist Contingent Rally. I supported the call for the military victory of the leftist armies in El Salvador and for the revolutionary victory of the workers and peasants. Additionally, I was speaking *against* the pacifists, the reformists, the opportunists and nationalists who capitulate to the Democratic Party as they united on the Pentagon steps.

The Spartacist League is unique in its ardent principled defense of the picket line, its labor-black defense against the Klan and the Nazis as exemplified in San Francisco last April, in its application of the full Transitional Program and its determination to actually do what others, lacking the program, can only call for: rebuilding the Fourth International. I wish to join the Spartacist League (U.S.) and the iSt to help lead the working class programmatically for the fight for socialism.

My basic political experience has been in organizations which ultimately feared revolution. In 1969 I worked around the Gay Liberation Front, which led me into the International Socialists. I split from the I.S. with the Revolutionary Socialist League and served as Managing Editor of the *Torch*. I left the RSL disillusioned with its bureaucratism, opportunism and clear cliquism. I can now more clearly see that the RSL was and is heading in the direction of the Socialist Workers Party in tailing sectoralist movements, together with the lumpen, and that its program is essentially reformist economism. However I allowed the RSL to lead me backward into the gay movement.

The rightward turn of the bourgeoisie and the leftists with them has led me to reject the state capitalist theory of Russia. I look at each of its proponents and see that this theory has led all of them into a peace with U.S. imperialism which I cannot share. It has become implausible for me to think that a Leninist Communist would protect the so-called self-determination of semi-feudal Islamic barbarians in Afghanistan from the Red Army and the social impact it brings with it. I call for the unconditional defense of Russia from imperialist attack and the defense and extension of the collectivized property forms and the planned economy created by the Russian Revolution.

On Thursday, June 4th, I resigned my leadership position of the Gay Activist Alliance of New York City and urged it to dissolve rather than lead militants into an alliance with reformism. GAA has at least one thing in common with the early Red Flag Union, a Los Angeles-based gay revolutionary group which fused with the international Spartacist tendency in 1977 after a long fight with the RSL and numerous other opportunists. The Red Flag Union, before its decisive break towards Trotskyism, like GAA today, derived its pride from being "the revolutionary wing of the gay movement."

The gay movement, though, is a recluse for religionists as well as militants who *deny* the need for clarification of *political issues* in order to savor a specific theater of events. This is classic liberalism—the *division* of political situations into segmented "topics for concern" which divert its followers into the Democratic Party. The attempt to win democratic rights, let alone socialist revolution, is betrayed when it is consciously splintered among autonomous sectors. GAA has been a dominant sectoralist betrayer which defends a lifestyle more than it does *any* political issue. By applying for membership in the international Spartacist tendency, I place myself squarely on the side of building revolutionary international proletarian leadership as *opposed* to the autonomous sectoralism which leads to dispersion and defeat.

Within GAA I have always declared myself a Trotskyist. My commitment to the Spartacist League has developed quickly following my intervention in a SL forum, representing GAA, on the questions of feminism, age of consent legislation, Women Against Pornography, the nuclear family, sexual liberation and sectoralism. Not only did I find that I had basic agreement with the Spartacist League on almost all of these questions, but I found as well the nucleus of a vanguard party which could unite the working class around these questions and towards socialism. There is no other ostensibly revolutionary organization in this country about which I could say this. I leave political sectoralism behind me forever to help rebuild the Fourth International.

In applying for membership to the Spartacist League (U.S.) I accept its program, the Trotskyist Program, and accept the Spartacist League's discipline in forging a vanguard workers party which will prepare to lead the working class to revolutionary victory and socialism.

Derek Hirst

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 283 **19 June 1981**

Leading Gay Activist Joins Spartacist League

From the Gay Left to Trotskyism

Derek Hirst
Spokesman and Political Chairman
New York Gay Activists Alliance, 1979-1981
Formerly Managing Editor, *The Torch*

Sunday, June 28, 6:30 p.m.
Peppermint Lounge
128 W. 45th Street

NEW YORK CITY
For more information, (212) 267-1025

Walt Sloan
Former Leader, Lavender and Red Union/ Red Flag Union
SL Central Committee

Thursday, July 2, 7:30 p.m.
Church Street Community Center
519 Church Street

TORONTO
For more information, call the Trotskyist League: (416) 593-4138

Spartacist League Forum and Film Showing

Labor Must Defend Rights of Gays!

Film:

"'69 Stonewall Riot—'75 We Won't Keep Quiet"

Derek Hirst
Spokesman and Political Chairman
New York Gay Activists Alliance, 1979-1981
Formerly Managing Editor, *The Torch*

ANN ARBOR
For more information (313) 994-9313

Gene Schubert
Former Co-Editor, *Come Out Fighting*
Former Leader, Lavender and Red Union/ Red Flag Union
SL Central Committee

Sunday, June 21, 4:30 p.m.
Michigan University Assembly Hall
University of Michigan

San Diego Cop Entrapment–Threat to Labor

NASSCO 3 Railroaded

LOS ANGELES—On June 5 a federal district court in San Diego convicted three workers, Mark Loo and Rodney Johnson, supporters of the Communist Workers Party, and militant trade unionist David Boyd of conspiring to bomb power transformers at the giant National Steel and Shipbuilding Company (NASSCO). More than the NASSCO 3 were railroaded that day. This frame-up is a sinister government/company plot aimed at the most fundamental rights of labor. With this case the government declares the legal basis to run search-and-destroy operations in the unions. The state has thrown its murderous secret police behind NASSCO's union-busting drive, using every trick in its dirty book. And now the unionists face 35 years in prison.

The case of the NASSCO 3 is the culmination of sharp battles between the workers and bitterly anti-union bosses. NASSCO is the nation's largest and most profitable shipyard, and it pays the lowest wages. It is notoriously unsafe in a particularly dangerous industry. For years it has tried to bust the Iron Workers Local 627. Last summer NASSCO fired 17 union officials who joined a protest over health and safety conditions. The workers responded with a three-day wildcat, and the company fired more workers. Then on September 2, two workers were found asphyxiated at the bottom of an open unmarked tank on the ship, *Cape Cod*—the same ship where Loo and Boyd had led a work stoppage over noxious fumes only months before. Adding the most hideous insult to the deaths, the federal safety agency OSHA fined NASSCO a paltry $2,400!

It was after these deaths, the government claims, that the bomb plot was cooked up. But who did the cooking? In court the NASSCO 3 defense showed it was the admitted, paid FBI agent provocateur, one Ramon Barton, who entrapped the others. It was Barton posing as an outraged union member who proposed the idea of bombing NASSCO for revenge. It was Barton who coined the slogan: "Lights Out for NASSCO!" It was Barton who supplied the home manual for bomb-making, *Poor Man's James Bond*, and purchased some of the materials used to construct the pipe bomb found in Barton's 1965 van on September 16 when the NASSCO 3 were arrested. And it was the testimony, the whole testimony, and only the testimony of this same agent provocateur which convicted the three.

In setting up the NASSCO 3 for the company and government, Barton attended meetings of the Iron Workers wired for sound. He had a microphone taped to his chest, an FBI tape recorder in his right cowboy boot and a police transmitter in his left boot. His van was also bugged (*Newsweek*, 11 May). He gave his information to the FBI, the company, the cops and of course the federal prosecutors for trial. The jurors heard plenty of taped conversations, but a crucial twenty minutes was "missing." A technical malfunction, according to the cops, but a defense expert accoustical technician testified at the trial that the clicks and gaps on the tape showed it had been tampered with.

Kaestner

Defendants Loo, Boyd and Johnson with attorney Weinglass (right). Drop all charges against NASSCO 3!

It may be that the real story of the bomb plot is on the "missing" tape, for David Boyd testified that by September 6, he and the others had dumped Barton's bomb plan. The defense argued that when the defendants were picked up with the bomb, they were on their way to destroy it. And on September 12 they told Barton they were against it. It it this section of the September 12 meeting which is "missing" conveniently for the government. On the existing tape, however, Barton is heard goading Boyd not to quit the project: "You can't quit now, man... you know, then we'd just stand to lose too much." And then after the "missing" portion, Barton harangues the "sellouts" including Loo and Johnson of whom, the FBI provocateur says: "They better be there, man...'cause I'm going to be just as [angry] at them as what I am at NASSCO...'cause a sellout's a sellout no matter which way you look at it" (*Los Angeles Times*, 6 May).

There never was a bombing, and there never would have been a bomb plot were it not for the FBI provocateur. The blatant entrapment was succinctly summed up by defense lawyer Dan Siegel: "No Barton, no book, no bomb." David Boyd testified, "It was a stupid thing to do. It just happened" (*Los Angeles Times*, 21 May). That's putting it mildly! Such actions are also a dangerous diversion from the urgent tasks of the class struggle. Certainly, in the face of the government provocation to set up union fighters, it is the duty of the labor movement to defend the self-admittedly "stupid" militants who fell for the FBI/company trap (see "Defend NASSCO Frame-Up Victims!" *WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980). But what does it take to be taken in by Ramon Barton?

Barton, an incredible hulk, in his cowboy clothes and long hair, his skull-and-crossbones tatoos, seems to be the spitting image of a Klan-biker. He is such a repulsive character that even the government lawyer, anticipating the jurors reaction to his witness, advised the jury that this "vulgar, loud, volatile" man could be believed even though "they might not invite [him] home for dinner" (*Los Angeles Times*, 3 June). Why invite him anywhere? Barton arrived on the scene at NASSCO with his *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, his do-it-yourself bomb book, knife-wielding and macho-baiting for violent action. A South African immigrant, he boasted that in the army (from which he was dishonorably discharged) he broke into the armory to steal guns and painted "black power" on the walls to pin it on the blacks. At NASSCO he talked of blowing up his bombs on Mexican independence day so that Chicanos would get blamed (*San Diego Evening Tribune*, 3 June).

That the CWP supporters accepted racist provocateur Barton as an honest, angry worker says more than a volume of polemics about their image of the American working class. After years of capitulating to the most backward prejudices—on busing, the ERA, homosexual oppression, anti-Communism—they capitulate even to Ramon Barton. After politically careening between macho-adventurism and low-level reformism, tragically the CWP supporters were easy prey for the FBI, NASSCO and Barton.

For A Labor Defense of the NASSCO 3

The government's case against the NASSCO 3 was simple and ominous. Following the Reagan/Haig equation, "communism=terrorism," the three were accused of being "predisposed to violence" because they are leftists. Ever since the Greensboro massacre, when Nazi/KKK killers gunned down CWP leaders in broad daylight and catapulted their organization into the national spotlight, the witchhunt of CWP members has been a top priority of the capitalist state's secret police. At NASSCO when Boyd was interrogated by FBI agents he was told that they weren't after him, but after the CWP (*San Diego Union*, 21 May). A NASSCO 3 defense committee spokesman told *WV* that Boyd was offered immunity if he would turn against the CWP for the state. Boyd decently and courageously refused.

The conspiracy to get the labor militants, the "reds" at NASSCO, involved the whole apparatus of state and company secret police: local cops, company spies, naval intelligence, FBI. Of course there are laws against entrapment. Government undercover agents are supposed to be prevented from engaging in criminal activities to secure convictions. But entrapment laws don't mean much, as the present case illustrates. "Surveillance" necessarily leads to violence of all sorts as the recent COINTELPRO exposures made clear. The bourgeoisie has never allowed their laws to stand in the way of defending their class rule. Their laws are designed to keep the oppressed in line, not themselves. Even as the government prepared to slam the prison gates on the NASSCO 3, Reagan pardoned two FBI agents convicted for COINTELPRO crimes against the left and blacks.

Thus with the case of the NASSCO 3, the Reagan gang has launched a COINTELPRO for labor. With the NASSCO contract coming up, this frameup is an *open* attempt to use the power of the state—its cops, courts, agents—to pick off leftists and intimidate the entire workforce.

On July 14 defense attorneys will present a motion to dismiss the case claiming "outrageous government conduct," but for the government this is all part of the job. Sentencing will be immediate if the motion fails.

The power of the unions must be mobilized to defend the NASSCO 3 and stop this frontal assault on the labor movement. But the Iron Worker leadership placed NASSCO Local 627 in trusteeship precisely to distance themselves from the NASSCO 3. This cowardly refusal to defend their own members has undercut the defense of these brothers. But the local leaders responded by suing the union—in the same courts that are railroading their members to jail and which put the fascist murderers of Greensboro back on the streets!

The NASSCO defense committee has not one word of criticism of dragging the union before the capitalist courts. Yet if the case of the NASSCO 3 proves anything, it is that the state is an instrument of class rule and class terror. The fight to keep the unions independent of the bosses' state—its cops, courts, secret police—is essential in building a powerful labor/left defense of the NASSCO 3. It must be the principles of the class struggle that guide the building of the defense, not trust in Democratic Party liberals like Ron Dellums and in the capitalist courts to "clean up" the unions. The NASSCO defense committee calls for a "fair trial or drop the charges." This is no choice. The only fair trial in this case would be the trial of Ramon Barton and all the other FBI/company spies before workers tribunals. And that will take nothing less than workers revolution. We look forward to that day of justice when they will be held accountable for their crimes against the proletariat.

San Diego Union

Gross provocateur Ramon Barton.

Drop the charges against the NASSCO 3. Government, cops, courts, company stooges out of the labor movement! ■

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Why CWP Flip-Flopped on Russia

Not since the McCarthyite period of the early 1950s has anti-Sovietism so dominated American political life as it does today. Every cutback in school lunches for poor children, in Social Security benefits for the aged is justified as "strengthening our defenses" against a "Russian menace." The one and only purpose given for U.S. support to rightist butchers from Central America to the Near East to southern Africa is to counter alleged Moscow-inspired "international terrorism." And now Washington's Captain Queeg, Alexander ("I'm in charge here") Haig flies off to Peking to present jet fighters to one of the few regimes in the world as fanatically anti-Soviet as he.

Just as U.S. imperialism now finds Maoist China one of its staunchest allies against the USSR, so the American Maoists with their shrill ranting about "Soviet social-imperialism" have in their own small way contributed to the present Cold War II. As we wrote when the Soviet intervention against Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan set Washington and Peking howling about "Russian imperialism":

> "Those leftists, whatever they call themselves, who *deny* that the USSR is a proletarian state (although bureaucratically degenerated) find themselves—some more, some less willingly—on the same side of the barricades as U.S. imperialism. [emphasis in original]
>
> —"Maoists United with Uncle Sam," *WV* No. 250, 22 February 1980

Attacking mainstream liberalism from the right, the once relatively large Maoist formations have now become despised, demoralized and disintegrating sects (see "End of the Line for American Maoism," *WV* No. 281, 22 May 1981).

Seeking to avoid the miserable fate of its erstwhile sister/rival Maoist organizations, the Communist Workers Party (CWP) led by Jerry Tung has just sharply changed its line on the Russian question. The new line is heralded in a front-page editorial, "The Socialist Road," in the CWP's *Workers Viewpoint* (25 May), which includes an excerpt from Tung's to-be-published opus on the subject. The General Secretary, it seems, has suddenly discovered that Maoism represents "an idealist view of socialism" and that the Soviet Union is a "socialist" country.

Does this mean the CWP will now defend the USSR against Washington's imperialist war drive? Hardly. At a time when even many liberals are scared that the celluloid cowboy in the White House will plunge headlong into World War III, Tung has belatedly discovered the virtues of détente:

> "The Soviet Union is a socialist country without spontaneous economic forces and needs driving it blindly towards war. The CWP upholds the policy of detente. We regard the struggle for detente as one major struggle for world peace. Policies of detente, independent of U.S. intrigues, lessen the danger of World War III...."

Remember how in the early '60s the Maoists denounced the Kremlin's policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism at the expense of revolutions in the colonial world. It's a long way down to détente!

The Red Guard That Failed

A few years ago the Workers Viewpoint Organization (now the CWP) was competing with Bob Avakian's Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) for the mantle of frenzied Red Guardist cult. A photo of a mummified-looking Jerry Tung flanked by Mrs. Mao and her cohorts regularly graced the pages of *Workers Viewpoint*. However, after the bloody Greensboro, North Carolina massacre in November 1979, where Klan/Nazi gunmen murdered five of its members, the CWP in fear of isolation moved sharply to the right. While at first threatening to attack left groups (notably the Spartacist League) who protested the fascist killings of the "CWP 5," soon they were attempting to put together typical Stalinist popular fronts with liberal Democrats. This Chinatown-derived organization began spouting a hokey nativism which sounds as if it was learned by listening to Nashville's Grand Ole Opry.

For a decade "profoundly understanding" Tung has pushed reactionary doctrine of "Soviet social-imperialism." Now to buy into anti-Reagan popular front, exalted leader has dumped Mao, discovered "détente."

Jerry Tung, General Secretary of the CWP has profound understanding of the revolution in advanced capitalist countries. Under his meticulous guidance, the Party is leading the U.S. people in their day to day struggles against the bourgeoisie.

Hoping to avoid the prickly question of resurgent anti-Soviet militarism, the CWP focused its popular-front projects on domestic issues—the Klan, civil liberties cases, economic struggles. But Reagan has brought the Cold War home with a vengeance. He is literally taking milk from the mouths of black ghetto children to pay General Dynamics for more Trident submarines. Reagan has made domestic economic austerity *inseparable* from anti-Soviet militarism. There is thus a basis for a "fight-the-right" popular front extending from Teddy Kennedy to various self-styled Communist groups. We saw the beginnings of this in the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM), whose May 3 protest in Washington was not simply and narrowly focused on El Salvador but instead presented a rad-lib response to Reagan reaction in a general sense.

The CWP very much wants into the "butter vs. guns" anti-Reagan coalition and is willing to pay the ideological fee. Had Jerry Tung attacked "Soviet social-imperialism" when he spoke at the May 3 PAM rally, he would have alienated the liberals present, who were upset over Reagan's portrayal of the Salvadoran civil war as a prime case of made-in-Moscow terrorism. So he didn't. Predictably, the Avakianite RCP denounced the PAM rally and especially the CWP from the right, accusing them of "pro-Soviet amnesia" which "was meant to cover over the cardinal point that there are *two* imperialist blocs committing crimes all over the world" (*Revolutionary Worker*, 15 May [emphasis in original]). But this Maoist line is suicidal in the El Salvador protests (and not only there). So that is why the CWP is singing a different tune.

Singing Along with Teddy

Superficially it may appear that the CWP's new position on the Soviet Union is similar to that of Nelson Peery's Communist Labor Party (CLP) or the wing of the ex-Maoist "Trend" around Irwin Silber, who hold that the USSR is a "socialist" country in its economic base but saddled with a "chauvinistic" leadership. The similarity is merely formal. The CLP has become critical Brezhnevites while the Silberites are moving toward, if they haven't already become, Museovite fellow travelers. Both the CLP and Silber support Russian intervention in Angola and Afghanistan, for instance. But not the CWP, which is basically dumping all its international baggage so as to accommodate its popular-front appetites. It is *not* going to defend the USSR in any way that is unpopular with the liberals.

And where liberals condemn "Soviet imperialism," as over Afghanistan, Tung willingly joins the chorus. The *Workers Viewpoint* excerpt from his new book reasserts that "their [the Russian leaders'] invasion of Afghanistan and opportunist practice in Angola ... have held back rather than helped the internal basis for revolution in those countries." So, true to his Maoist past, Tung still condemns the Soviets and Cuba for saving the Angolan black nationalists from the U.S. imperialist-backed South African apartheid army! But where rad-lib activists want to pretend that the Cold War is not the issue, as in El Salvador, the CWP can sing that tune as well.

For years the arch-Maoist CWP campaigned against "Soviet social-imperialism," recruiting and training its members to the line of "two superpowers." Now practically overnight the organization changes its position on such a fundamental question as the class nature of the Soviet Union. For any serious Marxist tendency this would mean a profound political upheaval and likely splits. Not so for the CWP. "Basically we have to continue what we've been doing, but also deepen our study," writes Tung. "It's not instant coffee." The CWP helmsman acts as if nothing really has happened. In a sense, it hasn't. This light-minded revision of the Russian question demonstrates the cultist nature of the CWP.

But the Tung cult is not unique among the erstwhile Mao-Stalinists, only slower on the uptake. As China's alliance with U.S. imperialism became increasingly repellent in the petty-bourgeois radical milieu, a number of once-Maoist groupings changed their position on the Russian question for essentially opportunist reasons. In contrast, we Trotskyists have consistently insisted that ever since Stalin usurped power the Soviet Union has been a bureaucratically ruled (degenerated) workers state. While the RCP, CP-ML, CWP, etc. all were trying to discover a falling rate of profit and a "red bourgeoisie" in the Soviet Union, the Spartacist League uniquely offered a scientific Marxist analysis of Stalinism and a program of unconditional military defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialism together with workers political revolution to oust the ruling bureaucracies from Moscow to Peking (see the SL pamphlet, *Why the USSR Is Not Capitalist* [1976]).

Jerry Tung's conversion to détente between U.S. imperialism and "socialist" Russia is a cynical maneuver to appeal to liberals scared by Reagan's thermonuclear warmongering. However, there may well be CWPers who now realize the absolutely counterrevolutionary import of the Mao-Stalinist dogma of "Soviet social-imperialism" and who recognize that the USSR, despite its bureaucratic, nationalistic leadership, continues to embody vital social and economic gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. To such disoriented ex-Maoists we say: defense of the gains of October (and of the Chinese Revolution) lies not in popular fronts with imperialist "doves" but in implacable class struggle, directed against the liberal Teddy Kennedys no less than the conservative Ronald Reagans. Imperialist militarism, as Lenin taught us, is not a reversible policy but the very essence of capitalism in the present epoch. Only proletarian revolution worldwide can stop U.S. imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. ■

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Chicago SL Forum

A Class-Struggle Answer to the Irish Question

CHICAGO—"Smash H-Block, British Troops Out of Ireland Now!" chanted pickets at the British Consulate here on May 22. The protesters at the Spartacist League-organized demonstration also demanded "Hands Off Northern Irish Aid!" "Reagan Out of El Salvador, Thatcher Out of Northern Ireland" and "Free the Hunger Strikers, Free All Victims of Imperialist Repression in Ireland." That evening a well-attended forum on Ireland was addressed by Paul Bigman of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG), who gave an eyewitness account of the situation in Northern Ireland based on his recent trip there as part of an NLG delegation, and by Spartacist spokesman Ed Clarkson.

Bigman began by noting that he was pleased to be appearing on a Spartacist platform, pointing to the SL's "refreshingly principled attitude." "It has consistently applied a class perspective, which is why you find them taking a rather different position on international issues such as Ireland or El Salvador or Iran than most of the American left does." He went on to give a revealing description of the brutal methods of British repression in Northern Ireland, including its "Emergency Provisions Act" and "Prevention of Terrorism Act":

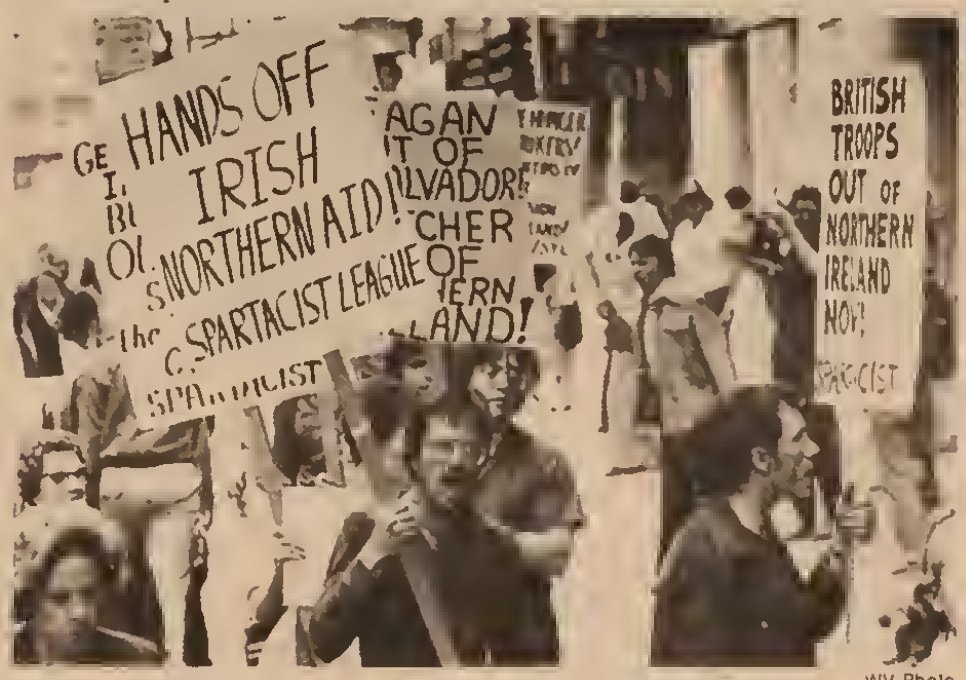
> "The Prevention of Terrorism Act can get you six months in prison or a fine of about $1,000 for arranging or assisting in the arrangement or the management of or addressing any meeting of three or more persons whether or not it is a meeting to which the public are admitted, knowing that the meeting is to support or to further the activities of a proscribed organization or is to be addressed by a person belonging to or professing to belong to a proscribed organization."

In other words, he explained, you can go to jail for speaking to two other people, one of whom claims to belong to one or another wing of the Irish Republican Army. Or they put you in jail for merely dressing like the IRA is supposed to: "People literally were being sent to prison for wearing black berets as a show of support for the IRA."

Under the Prevention of Terrorism Act, Bigman noted, you could be held for up to a week without charges or even the right to see a lawyer. When this proved inadequate for the draconian regime of imperialist repression imposed by the "genteel" British ruling class on this unfortunate province, the Emergency Provisions Act was passed. The speaker pointed out that terrorism was defined here as violence for political ends, yet Thatcher refuses to grant political status to IRA prisoners. The new act has 53 "scheduled offenses," including such open-ended categories as making photographs or tape recordings which could be useful to terrorists. Bigman reported that the NLG delegation was stopped by British soldiers because one of the lawyers had taken a snapshot of the Belfast courthouse!

The speaker pointed out the hollowness of the claim that the Provos have no support. More than 100,000 came out into the streets to mourn Bobby Sands' death. But this is not the same as political support to the Hibernian or Green nationalist program of the Provisional Sinn Fein or the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP). Bigman reported that in conversations with the delegation, neither IRA nor IRSP supporters had a program to win over the Protestant workers. He concluded by addressing the perennial question, "What happens if the British army withdraws—won't there be a bloodbath?"

> "You know, it depends upon how much blood has to be spilled before you call it a bloodbath. Obviously when the British army is withdrawn there will be blood shed. There is bloodshed every day in Northern Ireland, there is blood shed by the British army every day. I think the question is not so much 'won't there be bloodshed if the British army withdraws,' as to what is going to happen if the British army doesn't withdraw. The answer to that is pretty clearly more of the same for a long, long time to come. And the answer has been raised in the slogans of the Spartacist League, that you have to form a struggle along class lines and not along religious lines."



WV Photo

Spartacist-initiated picket at British Consulate in Chicago, May 22.

SL spokesman Ed Clarkson began his remarks by noting that for all the contending forces in Northern Ireland "it's a recognized dead-end on all sides there today." The IRA doesn't even call for the British troops out, but simply for them to withdraw to barracks. The British know they have a tiger by the tail, but don't quite know how to let go. The Paisleyite Unionists occasionally play around with talk of an independent Ulster but mainly in order to pressure the British. The Irish Republic, too, while it makes noises about a "united Ireland," goes along with Thatcher and even arrests IRA soldiers in the South. The SL spokesman noted that the putative assassins of Lord Mountbatten are being held in the South, for example.

On the origins of the Irish situation, Clarkson observed, "I believe it's the longest uninterrupted domination of one nation or people by another on the planet. It's the first example, and still enduring example, of direct capitalist, imperialist exploitation. Which, in case one is a New Leftist, reminds one that white people can oppress white people, that imperialism wasn't something designed by white people to oppress people of color." Regarding the "mother of parliaments," he remarked:

> "It's instructive to see the hypocritical veneer of civilization stripped from the British ruling class. Supposedly this class quietly retired from the stage of history, democratically ceding its colonies, right? So today they run over children, pump plastic bullets into them, have assassination squads in the North of Ireland. The speeches in the parliament about the murderers in Ireland just reek with sanctimony. The real murderers, quite evidently, are the British. And it was nice that the Catholic minority in the North spit in the face of that British ruling class by electing Mr. Sands to parliament. We wouldn't have voted for him, but it was a nice symbol, forcing the British imperialists to exterminate one in their own sacred parliament."

Clarkson explained the SL's demand for *all* Republican prisoners to be released and our call for British troops out now: "They have no business on that island. Not withdraw to the barracks but out now, because their presence there delays even the possibility of social progress in Ireland." In the U.S. the SL demands that the Reagan regime keep its hands off the Irish Northern Aid Society, against which the government has begun a McCarthyite witchhunt. Above all, the SL speaker insisted:

> "The real question is what program is capable of knifing through this internecine conflict and forging a movement for human progress on this beautiful and dismal island, for a fighting working-class party pledged to a socialist transformation of society. The Irish question really is an acid test of the applicability of the Leninist position on the national question."

Clarkson discussed the bitter communal polarization in Northern Ireland, noting that in the early days of the Irish civil rights movement, which contained Protestants, the IRA was known as "I Ran Away." They didn't become active until the Orange sectarian terrorists had so polarized the situation that a military component on the other side became inevitable. "And this, incidentally, is what the nationalists on both sides always do," he said. "That's why they kill the workers in the pubs. That's why they fight fraternization among Catholics and Protestants. They attempt to shape the struggle in Ireland along the lines with which they are most comfortable, i.e., nationalism. And they tend to punish anything that bridges that gap."

> "Now, this brings us to the Leninist conception of self-determination, which has been bastardized by the putative left to justify support for a Green Ireland. For Leninists, self-determination is very simply this, the right for a nation to decide whether it wants to erect its own state. Period. That's it. It has no positive progressive content other than that. To quote Lenin:
> "'The several demands of democracy, including self-determination, are not an absolute, but only a small part of the general democratic, now general socialist world movement. In individual concrete cases the part may contradict the whole. If so it must be rejected'."

Most of the left has changed this democratic demand into a sort of moral imperative by which all historical injustice will be remedied, Clarkson noted. Part of the left has tried to argue that the Protestants in Northern Ireland are simply a privileged labor aristocracy. "Well, if this is a labor aristocracy we are all doomed," he continued, pointing out that *all* sections of the working class in Northern Ireland face massive unemployment. Working-class conditions are worse in Northern Ireland than in the South, and far worse than in Britain itself, which has become one of the most wretched, decayed, ground-down industrial nations on earth.

Another argument often advanced against a class-struggle perspective by so-called leftists is that it's utopian to expect Ulster Protestants to ever unite with Catholics. "This argument simply says that any sectoral difference within the working class is stronger than the forces that make that class a coherent whole," Clarkson noted. If you believe that, "Why call yourself a socialist? Why not just talk about the survival of the fittest?"

Against this despairing capitulation to nationalism, Clarkson pointed to several examples of Protestant/Catholic solidarity in Northern Ireland. In Belfast last year, at the Royal Victoria Hospital, generally recognized as a "no go" area by everybody—"where people go to get put back together after they get blown up"—the British army began firing, and the working class, both Protestant and Catholic, instantly struck against this imperialist provocation. A gasoline drivers' strike last year was supported by both communities, because the drivers, who are mainly Protestant, had a policy of delivering gas to the homes of both Catholics and Protestants.

What distinguishes the Spartacist League from virtually the entire left, Clarkson said, is our insistence that:

> "We are against the forced unification of Ulster with the South. What we are for is an Irish workers republic in a socialist federation of the British Isles. Not Orange against Green, but class against class. Which leaves the question of where the Protestants fall deliberately open. We do not say to the Protestants that you must accept a certain national arrangement or else. It is open, to be decided after the socialist revolution."

In conclusion, Clarkson recalled Karl Marx's analysis of Ireland: "This is another Irish first, along with whiskey. I believe Ireland was the first case where Marx realized the importance of the colonial question on the planet. Marx's realization was that the Irish question was a key, if not crucial component of the mobilization of the English proletariat, on the basis that any proletariat which remains in league with its bourgeoisie's imperialist aims would be unable to mount a class struggle against that ruling class." ■

From Provo Cheerleading to Labourite Imperialism

Ireland Divided: Fake-Lefts Change Tune

REVIEW

Austen Morgan and Bob Purdie, eds., *Ireland: Divided Nation, Divided Class* (London: Ink Links, 1980), and Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon and Henry Patterson, *The State in Northern Ireland, 1921-1972* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979)

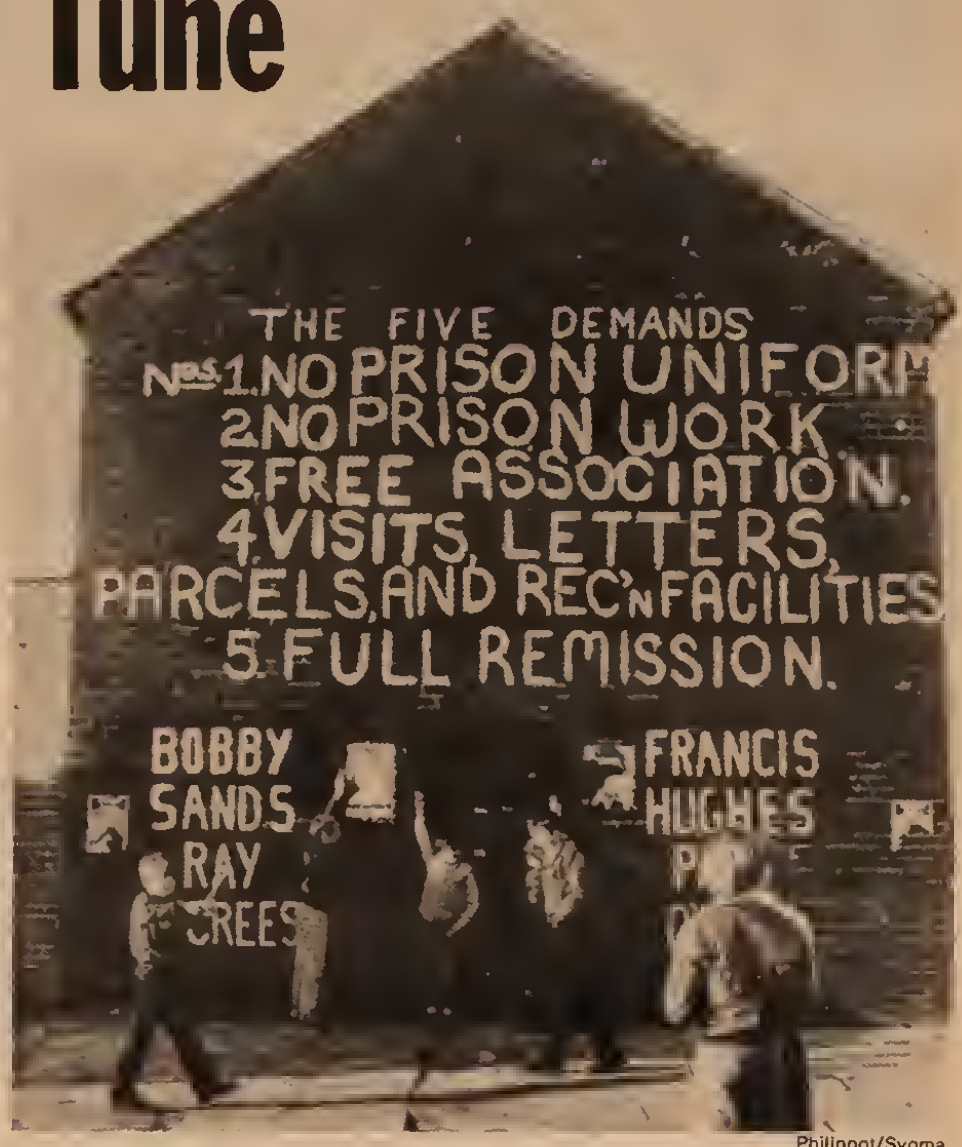
British prime minister "Iron Lady" Margaret Thatcher presides over an empire so bankrupt that it can no longer afford the small luxury of hypocrisy, an empire so devoid of colonial possessions that Britain's immense imperial arrogance and savagery must be vented openly and entirely within her own backyard. Thatcher callously starves to death courageous Irish nationalists in Long Kesh who merely demand the status of political prisoners. The British army carries out Gestapo-like raids in the middle of the night to fill the hideous Maze prison cells and in broad daylight murders H-Block protesters on the streets of Belfast. Their raids are supplemented by those of the Paisleyite gunmen. Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, a leader of the H-Block protests, a prominent spokesman for civil rights for Northern Ireland's oppressed Catholic minority and a former member of British parliament, is gunned down in her home along with her husband by Orange thugs while British patrols wait conveniently nearby to take these assassins into custody.

The heyday of the Civil Rights Movement is long past when earnest college students like Bernadette Devlin thought they could break Orange supremacy through mass marches. So, too, are the glory days of the Irish Republican Army Provisionals when most of the left chanted "Victory to the IRA." Despite the courage and dignity of fighters for Irish freedom like Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes, the sectarian nationalism and terror campaigns of the Provos have brought the Catholic minority no closer to ending their oppression. So in response to the seeming intractability of British and Orange domination, disillusionment with the Republican tradition has set in among a layer of intellectuals who used to be some of the most vociferous leftist cheerleaders for the IRA. Recently there has been a spate of books by self-styled experts on the "Irish Question" talking of the need for "class unity" of Catholic and Protestant workers. A belated step in the right direction, perhaps?

On the contrary. These pseudo-Marxists are actually moving to make their peace with British imperialism and Orange supremacy. While the anger rises in Belfast's Catholic ghettos against the murderous army of occupation and as Provo hunger striker Bobby Sands is elected to Parliament from his H-Block jail cell, in Britain various New Leftists have been moving rightward toward Labourism. Their talk of "class unity" is a social-democratic cover to support for "democratic" imperialist rule in Northern Ireland. Perhaps the best/worst example is the work of three academics, Paul Bew, Peter Gibbon and Henry Patterson, reflected in their recently published book, *The State in Northern Ireland, 1921-1972,* and a collection, *Ireland: Divided Nation, Divided Class,* edited by Bob Purdie and Austen Morgan. Significantly, the former don't even mention the essential call for British troops out of Northern Ireland while the latter slip it in exactly once. And no accident, for the lot of them have become Labourite Unionists. In fact, they stand with the right wing of the Labour Party on the Irish question, since Tony Benn is now talking about the desirability of withdrawing British troops.

Morgan and Purdie, a former leader of the International Marxist Group, (British section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat), bemoan the "Marxist" theoretical debates on Ireland over the last decade which "reproduced the dominant nationalist and unionist ideologies." Usually this took the form of tailing after the IRA Provisionals, of which Purdie and the IMG were among the foremost exponents. Criticism of the Provos was then equated with imperialist apologetics and deemed a denial of the oppression of the Catholic minority in Northern Ireland. All IRA actions were hailed whether or not they targeted real representatives of British imperialism, like Earl Mountbatten, or were indefensible atrocities like the killings of 13 Protestants in the 1978 firebombing of the La Mon pub.

Now Purdie and Morgan write in their introduction to *Ireland: Divided Nation, Divided Class,* "It is by no means clear why socialists should pose a national question as the central political issue when this merely raises a problem which cannot be solved and also obscures the global class struggle." So these vicarious Irish nationalists of yesteryear simply dismiss the national question because it "cannot be solved" (i.e., they don't have the answer). Purdie's self-critical contribution is appropriately titled, "Reconsiderations of Republicanism and Socialism." And he has plenty to criticize. As author of the IMG pamphlet *Ireland Unfree* (1972), Purdie had proclaimed: "A fusion between revolutionary Marxism and Republicanism is the future for the Irish revolutionary movement." Dismissing the Protestant workers as an "aristocracy of labour," he concluded: "To fight the Irish revolution in face of the hostility of these workers would be terrible and costly, but it may be necessary." But when this perspective of a Republican-Marxist "Revolution Against Workers" (as he put it) proved bankrupt, Purdie now chooses to liquidate into Labour reformism.



Philippot/Sygma

Marlow/Magnum

IRA carries coffin of martyred Republican Bobby Sands, starved to death by British imperialism.

In their essay, "Aspects of Nationalism and Socialism in Ireland, 1968-1978," in the Purdie/Morgan collection, Bew, Gibbon and Patterson make the astonishing assertion that there is only a "marginal material basis for a national struggle in any part of Ireland." Were this the case, the IRA should have long since disappeared from the scene. Moreover, in denying that the national question exists at all in Ireland, these "Marxist" savants advocate a slightly reformed version of the status quo, a version of "democratic" Unionism. They argue that "the aim of the struggle in Northern Ireland is for the construction of a progressive alliance to reform the state." They write of the "indisputable democratic gains of the past ten years" and assert that "the current system of direct rule by Westminster for all its deficiencies is an improvement on the regime it replaced" (the Stormont parliament). Tell the families of Bobby Sands and Francis Hughes how direct rule by Westminster is an "indisputable democratic gain"!

Bew et al. and Purdie/Morgan attack most of the British left for viewing the Ulster problem through the lens of one side or another of the sectarian divide. The vicarious green nationalists like the IMG or Socialist Workers Party (and more recently the academic-centrist

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Protestant Unionists demonstrate in Belfast. Revolutionaries say: Not Orange against Green, but class against class.

"THESES ON IRELAND"

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Chicago educational ends with singing of Internationale.

Spartacist League Educationals in Bay Area, Chicago, New York

SL/SYL Recruitment Drive Takes Off!

During late May and early June, the Spartaeist League/Spartaeus Youth League held three regional educational eonferences. These semi-public events were well attended: 197 in the SF Bay Area, 152 in Chicago and 197 in New York. They were part of following up the SL/SYL's sueeess in organizing Anti-Imperialist Contingents whieh marched for military victory to the leftist insurgents at the May 3 El Salvador protests. The Contingents—whieh tended to polarize the left-liberal El Salvador protest milieu between the partisans of class-struggle solidarity with the Salvadoran left rebels and the reformist "left" whose "anti-Reagan" rhetoric boils down to support for the Demoeratie Party—brought around the SL/SYL a new layer of young people drawn to radieal polities in this period of frenzied capitalist anti-Soviet warmongering and dismal economie crisis.

As the spectrum of bourgeois politics shifted markedly to the right, the ostensible left has itself moved right to keep in step with the so-ealled "doves," "progressives" and "friends of labor" in the Democratie Party. The Spartaeist League stands out sharply as the real revolutionists whose program for working-class power throughout the world is flatly counterposed to reliance on any bourgeois "demoerat" politician or pro-capitalist union out-bureaucrat, any Stalinist ruling elique or nationalist demagogue. The elevation of our political "profile" as the fundamental and irreeoncilable opponents of the status quo obviously brings opportunities to increase our support among workers, blaeks, student youth who feel directly threatened by unemployment and the draft, by raeism and the ominous esealation of ultra-rightist raec-terror. And it must bring dangers, not the least of which is government-inspired provocation/repression against our still small forees.

An urgent task is therefore to consolidate the gains of our recent politieal work—among El Salvador protesters, opponents of Klan/Nazi violence, labor militants and student activists—into new recruitment. The educational conferenees—aimed eentrally at broadening, deepening and grounding in historically evolved Marxist understanding the eommitment to struggle of the youthful radicals who participated with us on May 3—were part of an SL/SYL reeruitment drive whieh has already brought into membership dozens of new people, ranging from students who lately attended their first demonstration to long-time SL supporters just now making the leap to diseiplined involvement in the eommunist movement.

As many *WV* readers will reeall, this is not the first time the SL/SYL has announeed a reeruitment eampaign. But the April 1979 SYL reeruitment drive remained pretty mueh a dead letter, and its new recruits didn't mueh more than keep pace with normal membership turnover. The 1980 SL national eonference eentered on a balanee sheet on the drive in the eontext of struggling to harden the organization to faee the oncoming "Reagan years." This struggle, whieh has included some sharp fights, plaees us in a strong position for winning and assimilating new eomrades.

And we had better be! In the weeks since May 3, the SL/SYL has grown by 16 percent net, just in the first month. Much of our work this summer will be geared toward training the new comrades, three-quarters of whom are youth members, in the program, historieal

Join the SL/SYL!

"Which Side Are You On?"

We reprint below several excerpts from applications for membership in the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League from among the dozens of new members who have joined since participating in the SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 3 El Salvador protests.

Amanda D., *Detroit, is a black student from Oakland State University who grew up in the South.*

Approximately 11 months ago I met a young woman representing the SL/SYL. After hesitantly listening to her trying to eonvinee me to buy a *Workers Vanguard*, my attention was drawn to a supplemental display of anti-Klan literature. I'm from Savannah, Georgia, have lived 17 out of 23 years there and was damned if I'd pass this through! She gave me a 5-cent supplement printed with speeial regard to the anti-Klan rally in Detroit a few months preceding. I struggled through the rhetorie, but it was impressive.

Since then I've viewed the video of the rally, compared the strategie speeches and tactics to other fly-by-night presses of fake-left groups. After a few months of personal documentation and investigating the SL/SYL, I deeided to extend my political learning with the aid of the people whose politics I trusted. I attended forums, eauenses, presentations and joined meetings with them. The most rewarding was a debate held in Chicago, between the Sojourner Truth Organization and the Spartaeist League. I was also part of the Ad Hoe Committee to Oust *South End* Editors from Wayne State University's editorial board. The school paper had not only suffered eensorship but had printed a most profound apology for the 1980 Greensboro, North Carolina acquittal of Nazi/Klan murderers. Needless to say, we knew whose side the WSU board of governors were on.

Finally, the turning point was the blatant issue of El Salvador. Although it beeame a popular news item, a selective few drew any clear distinctions of preeisely what's going on, why and what must be done, and hy whom. My deeision was quite conscious to help build for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent on May 3.

Gloria H., *Detroit, is a black student at Wayne State University and comes from an auto worker family. She was first attracted by and became a major spokesman for the SYL-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Oust the* South End *Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murders.*

The Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Chicago met a lot of expeeted and unexpected opposition [see "Stalinists Set Cops on Anti-Imperialist Contingent," *WV* No. 282, 5 June]. The most fundamental aetion taken was the blocking off of the Contingent from the CP-organized mareh. The most outrageous aet was not a goon squad, as eneountered [on May 3] in Washington, hut a police block which separated us from "the others." The line was drawn in Chieago. It was quite elear, not only to our comrades' understanding that popular frontism leads to more murder in El Salvador, but also to those who marehed with that front.

But one thing that CISPES, PAM and the CP overlooked was that people aren't stupid. Those at the rally became confused hy our exclusion. They hegan to investigate and listen to what we said ahout El Salvador. "Victory to the Leftist Insurgents!"

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traditions and organizational methods of Leninism. The regional educationals, which sought to make accessible to the new generation of subjective revolutionaries some key lessons from the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks and from the earlier history of the Spartacist League, were for many of the new comrades an exciting beginning.

Why Leninism?

The leadoff talk in the SL/SYL educationals was on "Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Détente, Cold War II," by comrade Joseph Seymour. "The government of the most powerful capitalist country on earth, namely this one, is on a straight course toward war with the Soviet degenerated workers state," he began, pointing to the wave of scared liberalism which has been generated in response. The flurry of rad/lib protest, centered mainly on El Salvador, has turned attention to the Vietnam War. The speaker pointed out that the popular-front Vietnam antiwar movement subordinated young radicals to the program of bourgeois liberalism, while the U.S. was actually defeated on the battlefield by the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Following its debacle in Indochina, U.S. imperialism was stymied by a "Vietnam syndrome"—the widespread popular rejection of imperialist adventures which intersected domestic discrediting of the American government (Watergate). Yet half a decade later, right-wing reaction is triumphant with Reagan's Cold War II. One of the reasons the "Vietnam syndrome" was so short-lived, remarked comrade Seymour, is that the big antiwar marches were seen as a bloc with and pressure on the Democratic "doves" rather than a revolutionary struggle against capitalism/imperialism. One of the first, in October 1965, called only for "Stop the War in Vietnam Now" in order to appeal to the liberals. In breaking from the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, *Spartacist* issued a statement objecting to this slogan. The speaker noted:

> "It's quite uncanny. If you replace Vietnam with El Salvador, and you replace Johnson with Reagan, we could pass it out at PAM. Quite literally—the same refusal to take a side in the conflict, the same misuse and hiding behind self-determination, the same appeals to the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie in 'our' national interest."

George Foster spoke on "Lessons of the 1905 Revolution," noting that the Mensheviks and Trotsky were fixated on the soviets and spontaneous action from below. The Bolsheviks saw the high point of the 1905 events in the December insurrection in Moscow. Lenin cited Marx's observation that "revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counterrevolution." The December Moscow fighting was the culmination of what he had been hammering at throughout the year: "It was necessary to *organize* the insurrection to bring the tsar down; it would not happen spontaneously," the speaker stressed. This was key for the Bolsheviks in 1917, because they went through this rehearsal and were able to make the leap from general strike to insurrection.

Comrade James Robertson gave a retrospective talk on "American Communism, 1915-1980." The speaker asked, "Why Leninism? Well, the answer I have to give you is the archetypal, pragmatic American answer: it works, and the others don't." He quoted from C. Wright Mills, who wrote in 1948 of the Leninist left, represented by the Trotskyists:

> "Its followers know what they want and they want it all the time. They want capitalism smashed and socialism with 'workers control' triumphant. To gain these ends they demand independent working-class action, which requires an independent labor party. The members of this public operate on what is probably the most systematized view of political reality now available. Indeed, it is so well worked-out that, for most occasions, people who believe but who are not very intelligent can formulate an attitude on any given issue."

"Well, that's nice to know—that you don't have to be that smart and still be able to act with maximum effectiveness," the speaker commented.

Leninism was born in and around the tsarist empire, comrade Robertson noted, where revolutionaries found a wide variety of elements necessary to forge a many-faceted and effective vanguard party. A dose of parliamentarianism, bouncing back and forth between legality and illegality; the country was simultaneously imperialist and a semi-colony; the land question was posed sharply, together with a modest proletariat concentrated in huge factories; there was a full spectrum of political parties, including the Social Revolutionaries, so that the Russian Social Democrats had to fight the issue of terrorism out over and over again.

What was unique about Leninism, the speaker stressed, was that it "resolved all the old contradictions that had effectively paralyzed the Second International." The latter was blocked as a force for socialism:

> "...because every party was always split between parliamentarianism and industrial action; possibilism (that's a minimum program) and impossibilism (which is only a maximum program); the issue of nationalism and racism and colonialism.... The particular thing that came to be known as Leninism—that is, the left wing of the Russian social democracy—transcended all these either-ors."

In the United States during the 1960s the bankruptcy of the Stalinist Communist Party gave rise to the New Left, a blend of Americanized anarcho-syndicalism with a heavy dose of sectoralism. After presenting a partial list of the competing sectoralist ideologies—from feminism, black nationalism and workerism to "mentally challengedism" and anti-pornism—he pointed out that in the past decade and a half no significant Leninist combat party had been able to draw the lessons and unite these sectors against the bourgeois state. "But Reagan has ended all that, with a fist. He's against everything and everybody." Speaking of recent political developments, comrade Robertson pointed to the wreckage of the New Left and the Maoists, the pronounced rightward motion of the SWP:

> "At the beginning of the '70s we picked up several hundred people.... We struggled hard and with limited but real success to develop sections in other countries, and at the end of eight years the lid came off. There's less than nothing special about our line on El Salvador. We've had much brighter, more perceptive, bolder, more incisive political positions on a whole range of phenomena. But this time two things happened. One is that the disintegration and the vast rightward motion of the rest of the American left found us an

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WV Photo

Panicked, plank-wielding YAWF goons (left), pushed aside by SL protesters.

Pop Frontists in NYC Anti-Red Attack

YAWF Goons Beaten Attacking SL Demo

NEW YORK—On May 3 in Washington, D.C., Sam Marcy's goons blocked El Salvador protesters from attending the rally of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, initiated by the Spartacist League. The class line was drawn that day between revolution and counterrevolution, between those who called for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists" and those like Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) who supported the liberal Democrats' "negotiated settlement." On June 6 in New York City that line was drawn in blood when Marcy's goons tried it again. They got a taste of what can happen to those who try to deny communists their right to protest. They will get hurt.

The YAWF gooning for the imperialist "doves" had to be protested, politically. And that is what we did on the night of June 6. About 125 SL supporters and friends demonstrated outside a publicly-advertised speech by Sam Marcy carrying signs that read: "Sam Marcy: Water Boy for Teddy Kennedy," "Sam Marcy: Self-Proclaimed Counterrevolutionary," "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents!" "Smash the Bloody Junta Through Workers Revolution!" "U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America!" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" YAWF tried to stop the protest and failed, miserably.

When the SL demonstrators came to the corner of the block at East 15th Street and Union Square, some 40 YAWF goons, already there, linked arms and brought cars into the street in an attempt to completely seal off the entire block. An SL spokesman at the head of the line of demonstrators repeatedly stated the SL's intentions to the YAWF squad:

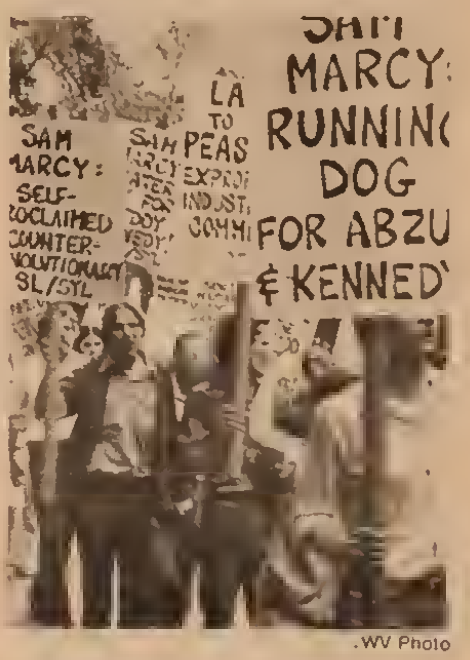
> "We are going to have a demonstration protesting your meeting. We do not intend to obstruct your meeting. We intend to have a picket line just this side of your building."

The YAWF goons attempted to direct the demonstration to the other side of the street, but the SL replied "no negotiations" and swiftly, simply and effectively swept aside their goon squad. The cowardly YAWF thugs who tried to pick off SLers at the sides of the demonstration got a well-deserved drubbing. In seconds the SL picket line set up about one-third down the block and chants resounded all over Union Square: "Leftist rebels win the war, avenge the blood of El Salvador!" "Smash Stalinist gangsterism!" "Leftist rebels need victory, Marcy fronts for the bourgeoisie!" "Sam Marcy, in bed with Bella," "Sam Marcy, reformist runt, latest fool of the popular front!" It was a powerful demonstration that brought scores of onlookers to East 15th Street.

During the melee, SL supporters quickly repelled the attack and established our line. The Marcyites, hysterical, used anything they could get their hands on, including broken bottles and huge 2-inch by 10-inch by 7-foot wood planks from construction sawhorses. A long-time leader of Workers World, Fred Goldstein, crept up behind an SL spokesman and was about to deliver a deadly blow with one of the planks when he was brought down by a flying tackle.

Their goon squad cowered behind police lines as soon as the police arrived (within five minutes), frantically feeding the cops the lie that the SL had weapons. They probably hoped the police would do what YAWF had been sorely unable to do by themselves. And the question still remains: who *did* call the police in New York City? In Chicago, at a May 30 rally, the Marcyites went along with the Communist Party which called the cops to exclude the SL from an El Salvador march.

The SL purpose was clear, and we accomplished it. But in the pages of *Workers World* (12 June) the Marcyites claim that this protest demonstration was an "organized sneak attack" to break up their meeting. In the same article they say we had a police permit to demonstrate. Quite true (see illustration). But they can't have it both ways. One doesn't get a demonstration



WV Photo

permit for a sneak attack to break up a meeting. Nor does one bring dozens of placards emblazoned with political slogans. Ultimately, the proof that we had no intention of breaking up that meeting is that the meeting took place! And we remain willing to defend Marcyite meetings against rightists.

The Marcyites, faithful to the old Stalinist gangster technique of fascist-

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Recruitment Drive...

(continued from page 9)

> intact and functioning organization out in left field. And the El Salvador issue became a felt one among the large numbers of the American population. It's that conjuncture that has given us this surge."

The Black Question—Key to the American Revolution

Each of the regional educationals had a particular focus. On the West Coast, May 23-24, where the Spartacist League has historically had its most important roots in the labor movement, the attendance of a number of new recruits from the University of California Berkeley campus stimulated older SL cadres to speak of their days as student New Left activists, and the political dead end of that movement. Recalling the Vietnam War years, one comrade noted that, thanks to the reformist Socialist Workers Party, "for an entire generation of the New Left, Trotskyism was associated with liberal class collaborationism." Against this social-democratic pacifism, she recalled Lenin's "peace" slogan during World War I:

> "Peace, yes. Peace to the cottages. War on the mansions. Peace to the oppressed masses and the working class. War on the bourgeoisie."

Building for the SL/SYL educational weekend, our Midwestern branches also campaigned for the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 30 El Salvador demonstration sponsored by a CP-led coalition. At the demo, the SL called for military victory to Salvadoran leftists; the Stalinists called on the cops to keep the reds away from their reformist demo (see letter, page 3).

The focus of the Chicago discussions was on Trotskyism in the struggle against black oppression in the U.S. In discussing the "American Communism" talk, a black industrial worker comrade from Detroit took up the frequent black-nationalist bait against communists that the Russians were white Europeans with nothing to offer colored minorities. Dead wrong, he said. "It was the Bolsheviks who put it to the Communist Party against the traditions of Debsian socialism of 'we have nothing special to offer Negroes'." Trotsky also insisted to his American comrades, in conversations with Cannon, Swabeck, etc., that the black question was key to the American revolution.

The SWP, the comrade went on, had a formally correct line, but "never really had a concise conception of the strategic importance of the black question.... So if you read back to the *Militant* in the '40s and '50s, programmatically it's Trotskyist, but it reads a lot different than *Workers Vanguard*. The black question is permeated throughout the pages of *Workers Vanguard*." In the sequel, the SWP capitulated to black nationalism, and its Revolutionary Tendency (predecessor of the Spartacist League) was founded fighting on the Cuban and black questions. Understanding the centrality of black liberation is what made November 10—the SL-built "Stop the Klan" demo:

> "...if we didn't fight for revolutionary integration in Boston, and for labor/black defense in Boston, and had not instilled ourselves with that program, we would not have been prepared for November 10 in a political sense—that is, fighting black mayor Coleman Young for the independent mobilization of workers and blacks."

The speaker replied that a lot of our policies are determined by a critical examination of the SWP in its period of decline.

> "We owe Richard Fraser a great debt for pressing on to the key phrase—revolutionary integrationism. There isn't going to be any reformist integration. There isn't going to be anything between black and white in this country without a revolution. All we're going to have is racism and violence and hatred and misery. But the perspective of revolution is a perspective of black freedom."

A high point of the New York educational was the report on the Spartacist League of Sri Lanka, formed by the militants of the Bolshevik Faction of the centrist Revolutionary Workers Party of Edmund Samarakkody. The BF defended the Trotskyist position of no political support to any wing of popular fronts, and upheld an earlier RWP conference resolution for a principled unification with the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The unification decision was sabotaged by Santarakkody's cowardly walkout from the 1979 iSt conference (see "Toward the International Trotskyist League!" *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80).

A speaker underlined the importance of the national question in Sri Lanka. And on the following Monday, nearly 100 people participated in a demonstration outside the Sri Lankan mission to the UN, protesting the wave of chauvinist terror and state repression unleashed by President Jayewardene against the oppressed Tamil minority of Ceylon (see article, page 2).

SL recruits for May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

The NYC weekend was punctuated by a militant demonstration denouncing the counterrevolutionary role of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF), front men for imperialist "doves" on El Salvador. Beginning with the May 3 Pentagon demonstration organized by the WWP-controlled People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM), the Marcyites have gone to any lengths to prevent communists from raising the demand for military victory to left-wing insurgents in El Salvador. But on June 6, a 125-man SL demonstration effectively swept aside the YAWF thugs. This also focused the next day's discussion, where SL speakers stressed that a leftist victory in the civil war was vital to the struggle for workers revolution in Central America.

The discussion was sharpened by the presence at the conference of a tiny social-democratic Shachtmanite group, the League for the Revolutionary Party (LRP), which *opposes* military victory for the Salvadoran rebels, and which walked past the Spartacist demonstration against the WWP/YAWF thuggery for liberal Democrats to go into the Marcyite meeting. On May 3, as well, they had attended the PAM rally for Bella Abzug and the Democrats at the Pentagon. An LRP leaflet to the conference claimed to stand for "socialist revolution" in El Salvador and "military *support* of the guerrilla organizations against the murderous junta but not for *their* victory." As a Spartacist speaker noted, "How do you give military support without being for victory? Presumably, when they're on the verge of victory, you take the machine guns back!"

The Shachtmanite LRP accused the SL of selling out by carrying banners of the El Salvador guerrilla coalition FMLN, and they retrospectively condemned the Spartacist slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist" as an apology for the Stalinists. SLers pointed out that among the red flags with hammers, sickles and fours we carried the banner of the Salvadoran leftist rebels because we *fight for their victory in the civil war* against the U.S.-backed killer-junta, as we also fought for an NLF/DRV military victory in Vietnam. One speaker noted:

> "The slogan 'All Indochina Must Go Communist,' was primarily one of solidarity with the social revolution against American imperialism. Secondarily, it is also directed against the Stalinists, and against the popular front, because the Stalinists did not want military victory—they wanted a 'political solution,' a coalition government. *They didn't want a military victory*, don't you understand that?! "In a similar way, the slogan 'Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador' is *a knife in the popular front!* Because the popular-front leaders do not want a military victory, they want a 'political solution.' So the germ of that slogan is, 'Split the Popular Front'."

A second Spartacist speaker pointed out that:

> "The difference between us and the LRP is we expect to affect the course of history. We are in there calling for military victory of these people and they will see in the course of struggle that it is that program, and not the program of their vacillating leaders which will lead to victory of the socialist revolution there.
> "We might listen to you if you were on the same side of the barricades with us, but you've been on the other side twice in the last few weeks: once at the PAM march and once last night. And there is a reason why: you guys are right there with your nose up the ass of the popular front. That's why you have been politically defeated, because you are on the other side of the class line on this struggle in El Salvador!"

These social-democratic scabs on the struggle in El Salvador had received two speakers in all three conference sessions. Yet they would not abide by the democratic rules of the conference and tried to heckle the next speaker, who had been injured in the fighting the night before. A marshal removed the disruptors from the hall. In his summary, comrade Foster remarked of the LRP that "if Stalinism is the syphilis of the working class, lerpies is a minor but incurable political disease."

The New York educational concluded as a dozen new members were voted into the SL/SYL common movement. A documentary movie of the May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington was shown, and as the conference ended the participants rose to sing the *Internationale*, the anthem of the proletarian socialist movement. ■

"Which Side"...

(continued from page 8)

wasn't spoken or received as a foreign language. This was the first march I ever participated in, and it won't be the last. I made the choice which side I'm on; I made that choice and submitted my application for membership in the Spartacus Youth League.

V. Drivan, *New York, is a long-time trade-union militant.*

That the peoples of the world are engaged in a class struggle must be evident to all who will take the time to observe the signs. Farmers are killed in El Salvador in the name of "land reform." A war rages in Afghanistan so that religious zealots can keep their women in slavery. People disappear in Argentina for voicing dissent of government policies. Governments beat the drum of nationalism to increase the burden of the workers, to raise more tax money to buy more weapons, to be used against brother workers in other lands. Union leaders collaborate with the capitalist bosses to give back the benefits of the workers to keep up the profits of the capitalists. "Those are blind who only will not see." That it has taken so long for my eyes to open is regrettable. That I must now do something about this state of affairs is imperative.

The sides in the class struggle are clearly drawn. The capitalists, with their bureaucratic lackeys on the one side, the numerous masses of the workers and peasants on the other, exploited by these capitalists. For the workers and peasants to survive, to throw off the exploitative shackles of capitalism, their path must be socialism. Only by taking control of the means by which they produce can they enjoy the fruits of their labors. Only by taking the powers of the state in their own hands can they live as people should live: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." And this seizure of power by the working class cannot be confined to one nation or small group of nations. The only hope of the workers achieving their true destiny is through an international socialist system.

The lines are drawn, the inevitable ends projected, now the choice "which side are you on?" What should have been an easy, obvious choice was a long time in coming. Many reasons for the delay, chief of which was a realization that along with the choice came many changes that had to be made in my own life, a realization that with the choice would come not just verbal support but an active involvement. I know which side I'm on.

Tim D., *Chicago, is a high school student.*

I have read over the basic documents of the organization and agree with its policies and agree to work under its discipline.

I hold sacred the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution. I wholeheartedly take a stand against the Nazi-Klan presence in America and throughout the world. I hold sacred picket lines as something to be built, not crossed.

I will work for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

Roberta B., *New York, is a graduate student and trade-union member.*

Before I was sacked from the federal government, the heads of my agency, whom I was suing for sexual discrimination, illegal anti-union activities and violation of my "merit system" rights, did an FBI check of my record to see if they could fire me for "political reasons," as they put it. They concluded that I was "clean." In this time of strong reaction, and of great opportunity to seize upon people's discontent with traditional politics, I am embarrassed to have come out "clean." There is no excuse for this. And the SL is the only group with a program worth defending. ■

"Take a side and join us now"

Below are remarks by Spartacus Youth League national secretary Bonnie Brodie at the Bay Area Spartacist educational, May 24. In her remarks, Brodie compares the present-day People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) popular front to the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) of the Vietnam antiwar movement. To lure Democratic Party politicians, NPAC refused to call for "military victory" to the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese against U.S. imperialism and its puppets. The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) drew the line between reform and revolution in blood at the 1971 NPAC conference when those opposing the presence of bourgeois politicians were physically ejected.

Now for every SYL member sitting out there, there should be four or five more the next time we have an event like this. And the comrades who have been organized and who have learned the basics of communist politics and organization now have the responsibility to go out and act like cadres and organizers. This is the time to do it. Now most people here participated in the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, and know why that was such a burning necessity. That without the initiative of the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League on May 3rd, the red banner of proletarian internationalism would not have flown. What was the chant of those carriers of the pale green flag and the Democratic Party? "The people united will never be defeated." That is dead wrong. The people united with their class enemy will *always* be defeated. And we are the ones who make the difference.

These people are actively pushing their joint coalition with Bella and O'Dwyer. Our enemies are not passive. And they're not simply tolerant of the communist opposition either. They weren't on May 3. They are willing, willing as the SWP was in NPAC when they threw us and PL [Progressive Labor] out plate glass windows, not to embarass Senator Hartke. These people are as willing—physically, violently, in any way they can, through slander, etc.—to seal off a whole generation of youth from revolutionary politics. That's their job. They are there to herd those kids into that Democratic Party, physically if necessary. So, it isn't the time to sit on the fence. They're going for it, and we're going for it. And we say, "Anti-imperialism means class struggle at home."

There's just one little story I'd like to tell, that comes from the 1971 NPAC conference. The Ohio Teamsters had just had a 20,000-strong wildcat in Ohio. In fact, it was the same National Guardsmen that were called out to crush that strike that sent a detachment over to Kent State to massacre four students. Among the liberals involved in this strikebreaking was the mayor in Cleveland, the governor of Ohio and several others. That same summer, the SWP held its [NPAC] conference in Cleveland and guess who was one of the main endorsers of the NPAC conference? The strikebreaker Stokes, fresh from going after the Ohio Teamsters and helping to dispatch the National Guard to Kent State. That's what it means.

So, it's not a time to sit on the fence, to read Marxist classics for three years, leisurely pick the ostensibly revolutionary organization of your choice and wander on in. If you want to build picket lines and not cross them; if you want to smash Klan/Nazi terror through labor/black defense; if you defend the workers states of Cuba and the Soviet Union against the very real threat of irradiated barbarism, World War III, and you're not visibly psychotic [laughter], take a side and join us now.

To people in the room who have not already joined, you really ought to be taking out your paper and pen right now. You can't be a revolutionary if you're not in a revolutionary organization. There's only one, the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League. You can't understand history unless you're involved in the struggle to change it. Without revolutionary leadership, no revolution—here's the real point. The question came up about the '60s: what happened? Why did that whole generation vanish into thin air? Why was it pissed away, instead of really putting the U.S. government on notice? It was the smallness of the forces of the revolutionary party. Well, that isn't the case now. So join the SYL and build the party of international proletarian revolution. We have a world to win!

"Fight for the principles of the picket line"

The following remarks by Milly Leonard, a militant steel worker, were made at the May 30-31 Spartacist educational weekend in Chicago. Last summer Milly received over 800 votes running for union convention delegate from United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1010 (Inland Steel), running on a class-struggle program demanding labor/black mobilizations to smash the Klan, picket lines mean don't cross, and defense of the Soviet Union against American imperialism's Cold War. Leonard also is active in the Keith Anwar Defense Committee, campaigning to win back the job of the steel union militant fired by Inland for refusing to cross a picket line at his plant.

Milly refers to the recent USWA District 31 elections, in which liberal Jim Balanoff was defeated 24,000 to 22,000 in his bid for reelection as district director by Jack Parton, a conservative ally of USWA International president Lloyd McBride. The vote represented a repudiation by steel workers of the "Fightback" movement of Balanoff and Ed Sadlowski (represented at Local 1010 by the Rank and File Caucus), which in years past had promised a militant struggle against the steel companies and for union democracy, but delivered nothing.

To begin with, the United Steelworkers of America was formed in 1942, basically with support from the Communist Party, in a splitoff from the United Mine Workers. They were known as the Rooseveltian trade unionists, which basically I consider to be the runt of the litter of the CIO. They formed the union with a no-strike clause in 1942 and the bureaucracy has controlled this union from the top down since its inception. Our last strike was in 1959—it lasted 120 days and we were defeated.

Now, as the people you saw yesterday [at the May 30 Chicago El Salvador demonstration, where the Stalinists worked with the cops to exclude the Anti-Imperialist Contingent] were on the opposite side of the class line *with* the police, you will find every ostensibly revolutionary organization on the opposite side of the picket line and in league with the labor bureaucracy. This week Mr. James Balanoff ran for [USWA] district director on the Rank and File Caucus [slate]. The Rank and File Caucus is supported by particularly the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, International Socialists and the Revolutionary Socialist League. Well, James Balanoff ran to smash the ENA [no-strike agreement negotiated by the McBride bureaucracy] and he was against the no-strike clause and all that seven years ago. But his record in the last seven years, because he is unprincipled and does not recognize the class line, is one of defeat. So within one year the steel industry was able to wipe out 10 percent of all the jobs across the country. And nothing was done to stop that. Nothing was done to stop plant closures or layoffs. It was a supporter of the Spartacist League who called for sit-down strikes to stop plant closings.

At my last union meeting I put forward a motion that the union should join the Anwar case and pay financial support for his attorney. There was a big loud hue and cry. The Balanoff forces said, "Gee, we hear the International, the right wing, is actually going to support your motion. If they're going to use it as a campaign issue, we're going to vote against it." I said, "What do you mean, you're going to have to oppose it? You've voted for this at two district conferences. What about the principle of the thing?"

So they were running around, arguing back and forth. They decided they would plead with me not to put the motion up. Now, this is the union leadership, this is the supposed "Fightback," pleading with me not to put a motion up on the picket line. "Please don't put the motion up on the picket line, we'll make a deal, we'll get you money under the table, do anything, do *not* put the motion up on the picket line." They didn't want the motion on the picket line, because if they voted *against* it, in the middle of a campaign, it would be public information that they voted against supporting someone who honors the picket line. But they didn't want to vote *for* it, because they don't want to have a young militant returning to the ranks of 1010. So, finally someone got the "smart" idea to table the motion, so they don't have to take a stand to defend Keith at the picket line.

So they're phonies. And the fact that Balanoff lost—what it means is the steel workers had given him a mandate to smash this stuff and he didn't do it. It's like Reagan and Carter. They didn't get anything, so they went to the right wing. What we need is more people in steel. We need more people in auto. We need people in the mine workers who will be willing to fight for the principles of the picket line and against the class collaboration of the supposed Rooseveltian trade unionists.

"The officers were afraid of the troops in Vietnam"

Below are remarks by SL central committee member Joe Vetter during discussion of the talk on "Vietnam: Bourgeois Defeatism, Détente, Cold War II" at the Spartacist educational weekend in New York, June 6.

I was a member of the Spartacist League in 1969 and I got my draft notice and went. Comrade Seymour in his speech mentioned that we exercised our constitutional rights. One of the things we simply did, and it applies under military justice as well as under civilian justice, is that you have the right to the protection of the Fifth Amendment. So one of the first things that happened when you would go in the army in that period was they put in front of you a copy of the attorney general's list. This happened to everybody: "are you now or have you ever been...," and you just refuse to answer it. That would drive them crazy, but there was nothing they could do about it. I had an officer at one point give me a direct order to do it and I refused the order, because it was an illegal order.

I was in Vietnam for a couple of months. What happened with the slogan "we won't go" and the way it was used by the New Left is, not only did they lose access to a generation of American workers, but they also lost an opportunity to do work which might have meant that the Vietnam War, at least the American involvement directly and militarily, might have ended a year or two earlier. There was a report from a general that I read when I got back that said that one of the reasons for the American withdrawal from Vietnam was the disintegration of the U.S. Army among the troops. Everybody I think has heard of "fragging." That was quite common. As well as massive refusals on the part of whole companies to obey orders.

Now they were genuinely afraid of the troops on the ground in Vietnam. We were disarmed six weeks before I left the country and we told them we weren't pulling guard duty because we weren't going to throw rocks. Now, one of the things that you could do because of the absolute hatred for the corruption in South Vietnam: I remember drinking beer in a hootch one night with some guys and sayin', "You know, I think the NLF should win this war." There are 12 guys there and one of them stands up and says, "You're fuckin' right, man, and then we'll get out of here!"

So that opportunity was missed—it was not just a bad slogan. It was bad in what these people wanted in terms of ending the war, and in terms of missing a generation of workers. So what came out of the Vietnam War are a bunch of freaks and druggies. They had nowhere else to go, and they hated their situation, they hated their surroundings, so they smoked dope. You got groups like YAWF [Youth Against War and Fascism] who advocated that. What it led to was not only the disintegration of the army, but it led to the personal disintegration of a generation of would-be militants.

To conclude, I never had the experience of being a New Leftist. I was already a member of this party. I joined the party of the Russian Revolution. And comrades, if you like what you've heard, you should think about doing the same. If we go through another experience like the Vietnam War, in terms of El Salvador, you ought to want to be on the right side, on the side of people that know what they're doing and know how to win.

NYC Transit Workers: Break with the Democrats–Build a Workers Party!

TWU Tops Back Racist Strikebreaker Koch

"Koch is anti-union, anti-human. So anything Koch says, I don't agree. He's an animal, Koch is!" Millions of New York City's unionists and working people would agree with this statement made by a black picketer during the hitter April 1980 transit strike. No wonder. The mayor leaped at every opportunity during the strike to smear the membership of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 and provoke a mood of anti-union hysteria in the city. When the strike was sold out by the union misleaders, Koch went to court to make sure every striker was penalized under the no-strike Taylor Law, with fines averaging around $700 per worker.

Anti-Koch sentiment was so great after the strikc that even Local 100 president John Lawe was moved to criticize the bosses' man in City Hall. After he had stabbed the strike in the back, Lawe hypocritically denounced "our union-busting Mayor Koch" in the Local 100 *News Letter* (23 June 1980). But, incredibly, one year later the Lawe bureaucracy is *supporting* the campaign to put this union-buster back in City Hall! Hoping nobody but Koch would notice, the Local 100 leadership quietly slipped $300 to this avowed labor-hater and racist!!

Koch's first four years in offiee have bcen a disaster for working people, who have been made to pay—with thcir wages, with their pension funds, with the social serviees they depend on and with the general quality of life in the city—for New York's financial crisis. Koch has directed his venom in particular against the city's oppressed minorities, slashing welfare rolls, hospital carc, firc protection and other essential city services in the ghettos. When a sit-in at Sydenham Hospital last September contested Koch's plan to close several ghetto hospitals, Koch's eops wcnt berserk and attaeked the demonstrators.

Koch's cutbacks are most easily scen in the declining quality of mass transit, wherc thc eost of the token gocs up as fast as the level of the service goes down. Now that Koch is running for re-election he promises to "hold the line" on the fare...at 75¢! Hc hopes nobody will notice whcn the pricc jumps from 60¢ next month. Even without that 25 percent increase NYC transit passengers already pay a greater share of operating costs than in any other major city. And what do they get for it? Koch is personally responsible for those short trains you have to run to catch, for cutting night-time service so drastically that the Transit Authority advises you to huddle in anti-mugging zones to avoid assault.

The system is on thc brink of total collapse—doors that don't open, lights that don't work, constant breakdowns and late trains, new subway cars and huses that don't work—and still Koch and TA boss Ravitch push for morc cutbacks. They even wanted to prevent bus drivers from turning on the air conditioners! The bosses' current "solution" is to make the riders pay through thc nosc while squeezing transit workers through their paycheeks and working conditions. TWU members are due a cost-of-living raise this fall, which the Transit Authority has threatened to withhold unless "productivity" increases. Yet the ahysmal state of subway rcpair is thc result of *deliberate* cancellation of maintenanee due to cutbacks!

Koch is running as a "fusion" candidate, seeking to emulate La Guardia by running for nomination in the Demoeratie and Republican primarics. Given his policies, many are dubbing him the "fission" candidate—because give us more years of Koch and the city could blow apart! In response to thc grotesque TWU contribution to Koch's campaign, Local 100 "dissidents" have established a Transit Committee for Mayoral Change. There's no question that "Mayatollah" Koch has got to go. But not so some other Democratic politician can continue to help thc banks bleed NYC working people to death.

Arnold "I'm a eard-carrying Democrat" Cherry, the "dissident" leader heading the Committee, is gearing up to support Brooklyn assemhlyman Frank Barharo, who says hc wants to "liheratc" the La Guardia "legend" from Koch. Transit workers might rccall that I.a Guardia waged a war against thc TWU elosed shop—which gives an idea of wherc Barharo stands. Barharo is the anointed "progressive" liberal candidate, backed by hlack Democrats and the reformist DSOC social democrats and Communist Party.

But *WV* took a look at the record of this so-called progressive, and here's what we found: Barbaro voted in the Assembly to set up the bankers' Emergency Financial Control Board, whieh has been sueking city workers dry. Barbaro opposes democratic rights for homosexuals. Barbaro supports increased state aid to private schools (i.e., to hell with the public school system). And in a city where the mass audience for an anti-Koch candidate is largely black, Barbaro opposes school integration through busing! Replace one strikebreaker, race-baiter with another? No thanks!

The Local 100 sellouts putting money in Koch's pocket took it out of TWU members' pockets by betraying the strike and getting the membership socked with Taylor Law fines. A militant class-struggle leadership in the transit strike could have waged a fight that would have shut New York City down tight and sparked a labor fight to beat back Koch's cutbacks. Instead Local 100 money is backing the man who tried to break the union, a man likely to win the endorsement of *both* big capitalist parties. When has it ever been clearer that working, poor and minority people need a workers party to fight for their interests? Only such a party could lead a struggle for a workers government, the socialist fight which is what it will take to keep New York from going down the tubes. ■

YAWF Goons...

(continued from page 9)

baiting, characterized the SL demonstration in their press as a "neo-fascist" attack, and Marcy told his audience of 250 that the demonstrators outside were "faseist goons." After May 3 they lumped together the rally of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent with the Moonies' eounterrevolutionary provocation. What next? The CIA? Agents of the Mikado? Trotskyists know the sinister purpose of Stalinist slander: to justify gangsterism and set us up for eop attack.

From Stalin to Bella

Behind the Mareyites' crude slanders and frenzied violence is their rightward political turn under the pressure of the Reagan years. While the YAWF goons were outside on 15th Street swinging sawhorse planks against those who stand for military victory to Salvadoran leftists, Marcy was inside droning on about a new "vacuum of opposition" to Reagan. This "vacuum" on the left was created in part by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which played the role during the Vietnam antiwar protests to which the Mareyites aspire today—herding radicalizing youth into the arms of the liberal Democrats.

It is the attempt to get that bloc with the liberal Democrats that defines YAWF's politics today, and those of its creature, the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM). With the SL protesting outside his window against his donkey work for the Democrats, Marcy pretends that there really is no developing liberal opposition to Reagan. He would have his audience believe that Bella Abzug and the rest are not really Democrats. The Democrats' "demise is our resurrection" he proclaims. But the latest PAM multi-issue scheme for an All People's Congress to "overturn the Reagan program" tells the real story. The first sentence of its first leaflet is quite clearly a call to the anti-Reagan liberal Democrats to "fight the right": "The majority in the U.S. Congress, including a large segment of the Democratic Party, has rubber stamped the reactionary Reagan program." What about the remaining "segment" of the Democrats? They are meant for the PAM platform.

The character of PAM cannot be hidden. Even the *New York Times* has got its number. In a 24 May article it defined PAM as a "coalition" that "enjoys support from a variety of political organizations that include Marxists, Socialists and Communists, as well as persons aligned with traditional United States politics." And just in case anyone had any douhts about who and what these "persons" and "traditions" might be, the next subheading was: "Bella Abzug and Paul O'Dwyer." The article explained that PAM not only "embraced" these Democrats, but also "Third Parties" like the Citizens Party and California's Peace and Freedom Party. This is the "vacuum" that the Marcyites hope to fill—the slot for the left tail on the anti-Reagan popular front.

Gone are the days when *Workers World* was filled up with photographs of thc heroie Viet Cong. There are no "Venceremos" chants for El Salvador's FMLN. Sam Marey has come a long way down since his faction congealed as cheerleaders for the "global class war" in 1950. In 1956 the Marcyites were the crudest pro-Stalinists, cheering on Moscow's tanks as they crushed the Hungarian workers' political revolution—all in the name of "anti-imperialism." Today, in the name of "self-determination," they support "negotiated settlement"—so that Salvadoran tanks can crush Salvadoran workers and peasants. It is not the "global class warriors" who call for the defense of the gains of October. It is the Trotskyists of the SL who say: Defense of Cuba and the USSR begins in El Salvador!

In the early days of the Vietnam War, thc liberals and reformists tried to hold the growing antiwar movement to the call for "negotiations," but it didn't work. The liberal CIA-connected SANE organization kept the fake-lefts in tow with their call to "stop the war." But the SL picketed the SANE rally in Madison Square Garden. Our call for the picket explained: "There can be no neutrality in this fight. We are not simply for stopping the war, but rather are for the *victory* of that revolution." (*Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967). Sound familiar? The SWP's *Militant* empathized with SANE, bemoaned our "sectarian" picket and quipped that "maybe the name [SANE] bugs them too." But it was the SANE line that was simply overwhelmed by the reality of struggle—military struggle in Vietnam and political struggle in the U.S. The Marcyites—now mimicking SANE's line as the pro-negotiations right wing of antiwar protest—deserve the same fate: to be swept aside politically.

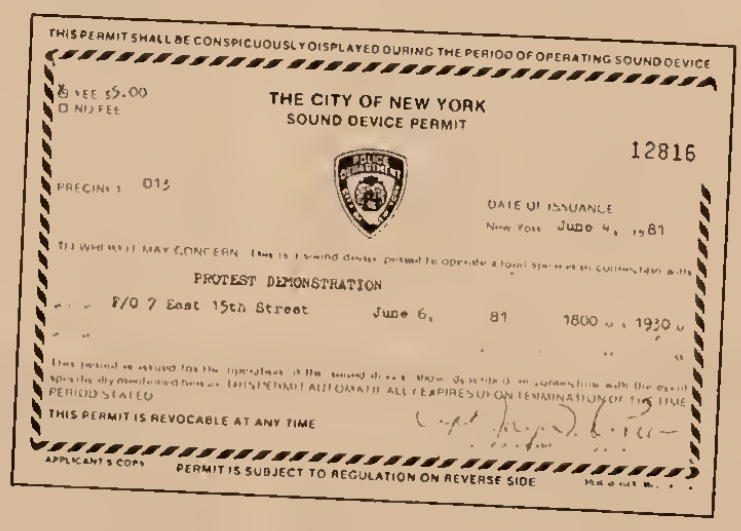
That popular front appetites lead to violence against revolutionaries is no accident. It is part of the logic of betrayal. During the Vietnam protest movement it was the SWP which organized the popular-frontist peace crawls. At a watershed meeting of their front group NPAC ("National Peace Action Coalition"), SWP "marshals" cleaned up the political opposition for their keynote speaker, liberal senator Vance Hartke. As we said at that time, this bloody act of political gangsterism against Progressive Labor, SDS and the Spartacist League was a "qualitative shift for the SWP on the road to simple reformism."

But things have changed since then. YAWF may want to play the role of the SWP, but it is by no means likely that they can pull it off. One thing is certain. The SL is far larger than it was in 1971 and is not about to be pushed around by YAWF.

This fight ought to have some educational value for the Marcyites. As the founder of American Trotskyism, James P. Cannon, said of the early Trotskyists' militant defense of their rights against Stalinist gangsterism, the Stalinists saw the Trotskyists "not only stand their ground and give back blow for blow but also give the ignorant, misguided young hoodlums a propaganda speech and a tract for the good of their souls." And the Trotskyists recruited a few on this firing line.

So the Marcyites are on notice: This is a political fight, and we welcome it. If you want to bring your signs and protest our meetings with rude slogans, that is your right and we defend it. If you want to demonstrate for "military *defeat* to the Salvadoran leftists," go right ahead. But know this: If you throw up your goon squad, if you link arms to block our meetings, if you try to silence our revolutionary message with fists, boots and hroken bottles, then you are again at risk. ■

Some "sneak attack"!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Italian Left Refuses to Back Abortion on Demand

Vatican Anti-Abortion Crusade Defeated

MILANO—On May 17 the Italian electorate rejected the "Right to Life Movement" referendum against abortion which was heavily pushed by the Catholic church and supported by the fascists. An overwhelming majority—21 million against 10 million—turned down a proposition to limit abortion to cases of "grave physical danger." At the same time, initiatives raised by the Radical Party, particularly the one calling for a liberalization of abortion legislation, were also defeated. This is hardly a step forward in the struggle for the emancipation of women, much less a victory for the working class. Yet all of the left organizations, with the sole exception of the Lega Trotzkysta d'Italia (LTd'I, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency), from the mass reformist parties to the pseudo-Trotskyists, lined up *against* the Radicals' referendum and greeted its defeat!

Rome, March 7: Thousands of women protest reactionary referendum against legalized abortions.

UPI

Enacted in May 1978, the present abortion statute, Law 194 permits free, state-subsidized abortions for women over the age of 18, during the first 90 days of pregnancy, for "economic, social, family or psychological" reasons. While this statute is one of the most liberal in West Europe, its effectiveness has been greatly curtailed by the church, which has threatened physicians with excommunication for performing abortions and instructed them to make use of the "conscientious objector" clause. Consequently, at present some 72 percent of gynecologists, the only doctors allowed to practice abortion in public hospitals, are "objectors": only 964 doctors in all of Italy practice legal abortion! And in Napoli there are only two hospitals authorized to perform legal abortions, while in Sicily there is only one clinic (*L'Espresso*, 22 March).

The Radical Party referendum called for free abortion within 90 days without limitation as to age or reason, and not subject to veto by doctor or husband. It also proposed to drop all references to state jurisdiction, presently sanctioned under the rubric of promoting "responsible maternity." While the Radical referendum left untouched the "conscientious objector" clause, its stated aim was to loosen the restrictions on legal abortions. It was therefore clearly supportable as an improvement over the current law.

Of course, safe abortions from competent physicians have always been available for the women of the bourgeoisie. But because of requirements of parental consent for minors, recourse to the "conscientious objector" provision and the one-week "conscientious objector" clause, many women must still resort to back-street abortions.

Most of the left attempted to present Law 194 as the sole bulwark against the clerical-reactionary offensive. Thus they hailed the defeat of the referenda as a tremendous victory over the Vatican, pointing to Pope Wojtyla's inflammatory anti-abortion campaign. Yet the fake-lefts went even further, dishonestly amalgamating all the referenda (including the Radicals'). The Unione Donne Italiane (UDI), the Communist Party (PCI) front group for women, openly raised reactionary objections to removing existing restrictions on abortion:

> "The Radical proposal demanding the total liberalization of the interruption of pregnancy beyond state health institutions would transform the law to tutelage of women seeking abortions into some kind of civil right, a definition which we reject for both moral and social reasons."
>
> —*La Repubblica*, 29 April

Reformism and Feminism vs. Women's Democratic Rights

The PCI not only declared, "We are against abortion and we want to make a contribution toward changing a society burdened by so many death-causing aspects," but went on to add: "We have not and are not now putting into question the right of the Church and of the pope to reaffirm and defend the religious and moral principles of Catholicism" (*Com Nuovi Tempi*, 10 May 1980). Berlinguer & Co. feared above all a political confrontation with the bourgeoisie similar to the one provoked by the referendum on divorce in 1974—nothing must endanger the PCI's dreams of a "Historic Compromise" with Christian Democracy!

Last September, PCI women together with those from the Socialist Party, the Liberals, Republicans and Social Democrats formed the Committee for the Defense of Law 194 (CDL). This popular-front formation issued a communiqué stating, "The painful reality of abortion cannot be overcome by destroying this law" (*Dossier Donne* No. 3). The CDL statement goes on to urge Catholic women in particular to support the existing law because it tends to prevent abortions!

Trotskyism vs. Opportunism and Moralism

The Lega Trotzkysta d'Italia called for a "yes" vote to the Radical referendum while criticizing its limitations. The LTd'I insisted on the need for free abortion on demand, by competent medical personnel; for unrestricted availability of contraception and for free 24-hour childcare. Recognizing that the attack on abortion rights was part of a broader reactionary campaign by the Catholic hierarchy, the Trotskyists highlighted the demand for separation of church and state, in particular for the revocation of the Lateran Treaties, the deal enacted under Mussolini recognizing the Vatican as a sovereign state.

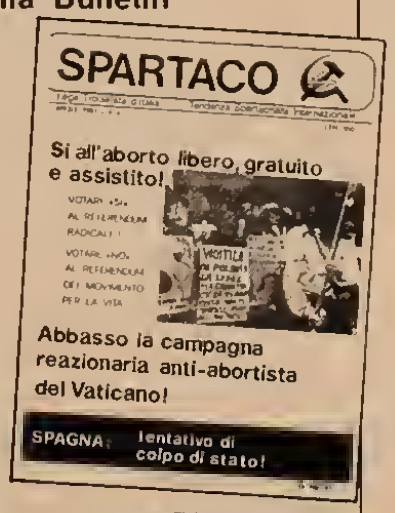
In a public meeting in Milano on May 15 the LTd'I linked the struggle for democratic rights for women's liberation to the program of proletarian revolution. As the rightist anti-abortion campaign makes clear, reforms under capitalism are always reversible. Comrade Anna Marino explained: "Real emancipation will never be achieved in a society based on the oppressive institution of the family. The absolute precondition for the liberation of women is the replacement of the family as an economic unit.... But this is impossible as long as the bourgeoisie holds state power." It was the October Revolution which opened the road for the social liberation of women.

In recent years, Italy has witnessed a myriad of movements of the specially oppressed, each group pitted against the others for a few crumbs from the table of decaying Italian capitalism. A genuine Leninist vanguard party of the proletariat must act as a tribune of the people, rallying socially oppressed layers of the population around its struggle for socialist revolution. But in Italy this perspective is rejected not only by the Stalinist/Eurocommunist PCI but by virtually the entire "far left" as well. This has created a vacuum which the Radical Party has sought to fill in a utopian attempt to create a "capitalism with a human face."

The liberal-bourgeois program of the Radicals is not simply minimal (they didn't even call for defeat of the clerical-reactionary referenda until a week before the vote!), it is counterposed to the Marxist struggle to defend and extend democratic rights for the masses through revolutionary struggle. But as minimal as the Radical initiative was, it was positively libertine compared to the "extreme left." In 1978, the pseudo-Trotskyist Lega Comunista Rivoluzionaria (LCR—section of the Pabloist United Secretariat) characterized Law 194 as "an attack against the women's movement" (*Bandiera Rossa*, 1 May 1978). Today the LCR is only interested in "realistic" proposals to modify the law, and called for a "double no." Like the anti-abortionists of the PCI, it rejected both the clerical and Radical referenda. Livio Maitan & Co. even entered the CDL popular front, talking of a "revolutionary dynamic" in this vehicle of class collaboration.

For communists, the struggle for the emancipation of women is inseparable from the struggle for the emancipation of the working class from capitalist exploitation and oppression. The working class must break from the social backwardness fostered by its pro-capitalist misleaders (even where they go by the name of "socialist" and even "communist" and "revolutionary"). Key to this preparation for workers revolution is the intervention of an authentically Trotskyist vanguard which fights to raise the proletariat to consciousness of its historic interests. This is the task which the fake-lefts renounce with their pitiful tailing after the PCI. In contrast, the Lega Trotzkysta stands on the principled program of the international Spartacist tendency and its efforts to resurrect the Leninist program. For women's liberation through socialist revolution! ■

Lega Trotskista d'Italia Bulletin



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El Salvador...

(continued from page 1)

and Green Berets, Washington tries to win over wavering Latin governments with promises of a new "Marshall Plan" for the region. Meeting last week with Mexican president José López Portillo, Reagan offered them U.S. private investment as a bribe to get them to turn their backs on the Salvadoran insurgency and give a cold shoulder to Fidel and the Sandinistas.

The Reagan line in the Caribbean area has been challenged within the imperialist camp by the West German-dominated Socialist International (SI), which is leading the drive for a negotiated solution to the Salvadoran struggle. Meeting in Panama last March, SI leaders proffered West German Social Democrat Willy Brandt as a mediator to bring the warring sides together. When neither Reagan nor his junta leaped to meet with Brandt, German Social Democratic leader Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski met with governments throughout the region to push for mediation. No dice. The latest SI maneuver sent Canadian New Democratic Party leader Ed Broadbent on yet another regional junket, which predictably brought no better results.

Among the advocates of a "political solution" in El Salvador are the populist regime of Mexico's López Portillo, Venezuelan Christian Democratic president Herrera Campíns, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas and Castro's Cuba. All voice a common fear of the Salvadoran civil war expanding into a region-wide conflict. But another of the supporters of a "negotiated settlement" is the Salvadoran opposition popular front, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and the guerrilla coalition, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN). Thus we have the self-defeating, ultimately suicidal spectacle of the FDR/FMLN leaders trying to strike a bargain with sectors of the butchering junta. By preventing a leftist victory, this would prepare a bloody massacre of the insurgent masses—and on a scale far larger than that already experienced following the installation of a "reform" junta in October 1979.

But the guerrillas entrenched on the volcanic slopes and in the FMLN border strongholds of El Salvador face an enemy in no mood to bargain. "Power is not negotiable," says a former military leader. "If we sit down with [the rebels] what would there be to discuss?" asks a top junta commander (*Washington Post*, 21 April). The junta killers know that behind them stands a U.S. government which badly wants a leftist defeat in order to "draw the line" against the Soviets and Cubans in Central America. Reagan thinks he has a winnable war in El Salvador; his National Security Council considers it a "target" area where the U.S.-backed butcl have a "clear advantage."

J. . Troops: "It's Finished"

Nevertheless, despite all the tons of military equipment shipped to the junta forces, the Salvadoran military has been unable to inflict serious damage on the leftist insurgents. The "liberated zones" controlled by the FMLN fighters have reportedly been expanded since the January offensive. Rebel sources now report that 50 percent of the northern departments of Morazán, Chalatenango and Cabañas, as well as large portions of other areas, are in their hands. Many towns nominally under government control are completely cut off and surrounded by FMLN forces, who stop short of taking them only to avoid being bombed by government planes.

Thousands of guerrillas have massed to attack the "Fifth of November" dam on the Lempa River, which provides all the electricity for the capital city of San Salvador. Yet government forces are so busy facing guerrillas throughout the country that journalists who visited the area report that the dam and surrounding towns are barely defended. San Francisco Gotera, capital of Morazán, is under siege and FMLN/FDR forces reportedly plan to establish a provisional government there "in the near future." According to the well-informed British publication, *Latin American Weekly Report* (5 June):

> "After resisting a powerful [junta] offensive for the past two months, guerrilla units of the Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo (ERP) are reported to have forced the army to withdraw 3,000 troops from the area. The army has suffered heavy casualties, and the hospital at Gotera is so full that a constant helicopter shuttle service is ferrying the wounded to San Salvador."

On June 10 FMLN guerrillas annihilated an army garrison at Arcatao in Chalatenango. The *Washington Post* (12 June) reported the battle by monitoring army radio messages: "As the day progressed the operator's pleas became more frantic. He described a column of 600 uniformed guerrillas equipped with machine guns progressively encircling the garrison. Heavy shooting could be heard in the background. Late in the afternoon the operator said the column was made up of 1,000 guerrillas. Ammunition was parachuted in, hut the operator said the guerrillas got to the drop first. The transmission ended in the late afternoon with the words 'It's finished'."

Despite the Saigon press conference-style body counts issued by the junta, it is clear that the guerrillas are far from defeated. Nonetheless, their long-term military success is far from assured. For the FMLN/FDR leadership has aimed not at winning on the battlefield but achieving a compromise through diplomacy. No attempts to raise the urban working masses in insurrectionary (or any other) struggle have been reported since the collapse of the general strike in January. And the policy of the opposition coalition in recent months has followed the lines laid out by FDR leader Ana Guadalupe Martinez: "Our main task is presently to build a bloc of states to oppose an intervention in El Salvador" (*Tageszeitung* [Frankfurt], 31 January).

"Political Solution"?

Despite the continued rejection of their peace overtures, the FDR's Mexico-based Political-Diplomatic Commission continually repeats its desire to "maintain conversations and explore all roads that could lead to a political solution" (*Noticias de El Salvador* [San José], 29 April-5 May). What exactly would such a so-called "political solution" or "negotiated settlement" mean? Alan Riding in the *New York Times* (7 May) cited a scenario "most frequently mentioned by optimists in the region":

> "According to proponents of the idea, a regional mediating group would help the warring sides to negotiate the conditions for free elections.
> "The armed forces would then be restricted to their barracks and the guerrillas to their camps, while the country would be policed by an international force. After the elections, a new army would be formed, eliminating undesirable elements from either side."

This scenario, known as the "Zimbabwe solution," is a scheme to defeat the "undesirable" leftist guerrillas at the bargaining table. It is a plan for the restabilization of Salvadoran capitalism, with the use of foreign troops if necessary. It is a formula for counterrevolution.

The professors and bourgeois politicians who dominate the FDR Political-Diplomatic Commission have studiously avoided saying just what sort of negotiated "solution" they have in mind. But the scheme reported by Riding *is* the plan being put forward by the imperialist liberals and social democrats to whom they appeal. It was the plan suggested in the "Dissent Paper" circulated last fall by liberal CIA and State Department officials.

FDR/FMLN spokesmen plead ever more shamelessly for negotiations of any kind, on any terms. Last year Guillermo Ungo, a member of the junta who switched sides and now heads the FDR, declared that he would talk only with the U.S. directly, with the "circus owner, not the acrobats." By February, Political-Diplomatic Commission member Salvador Samayoa (minister of education when Ungo was in the junta) was saying that "we're willing to give the Christian Democrats the benefit of the doubt" and that they would seek talks with the civilians in the junta (*New York Times*, 24 February). On April 24 an FMLN statement announced that the guerrillas were "willing to end the fighting if productive conversations are initiated with the civilian-military government."

When Christian Democratic junta head Napoleón Duarte rejected FMLN conditions for talks—reopening the universities, freeing political prisoners, lifting the state of siege and curfew—Political-Diplomatic Commission member Fabio Castillo simply announced that the FDR would pose no preconditions for talks. In a major two-part interview with the Sandinista organ *Barricada*, Castillo, an ex-rector of the University of San Salvador, declared:

> "The Political-Diplomatic Commission has not posed prior conditions. Those prior conditions for dialogue, which could eventually lead to negotiation, would be part of the negotiations. The only condition that [the Commission] has posed is the establishment of an international mediating group.... Naturally, this is the proposal of the Commission and would also be open to negotiation."
>
> —*Barricada* [Managua], 11 May

Splits in the Front?

By themselves the Ungos, Castillos, Samayoas and other middle-class reformers and dissident Christian Democrats in the FDR have no real power. In a civil war in which virtually the entire landlord-capitalist elite is on one side and the workers and poor peasants are on the other, they represent only the attempt of the popular front to paper over the deep class divisions by proclaiming a "democratic" rather than a socialist revolution. The presence of Ungo et al. in the FDR leadership is a pledge to the domestic Latin bourgeoisies and to the U.S. imperialists that the guerrilla struggle will not transcend the bounds of capitalism.

The blatantly counterrevolutionary implications of the popular front's ever more abject talk of ceasefires and negotiations without conditions, however, are causing tensions within the loosely allied guerrilla front. According to the 5 June *Latin American Weekly Report*, the leader of the Fuerzas Populares de Liberación (FPL), Salvador Cayetano Carpio, has withdrawn from the FMLN's joint command. Moreover, the FPL organ *El Rebelde*, as well as the publications of other left groups, have reappeared after their suspension as part of the unity pact. An editorial in the April edition of the clandestine *El Rebelde* declared: "The diplomatic line cannot substitute for the military line, nor is it by itself a proposition separate from prolonged people's war" (*El Dia* [Mexico], 12 May). *El Rebelde* and FPL spokesman Comandante Ana María have insisted that no dialogue with the junta could be undertaken without stringent "minimum conditions" including "an end to repression throughout the country." In practice that is to rule out negotiations for the foreseeable future.

The FPL, a left-wing breakaway from the official pro-Moscow Communist Party, is the largest of the guerrilla groups and leads several tens of thousands of workers and peasants through unions affiliated to its Revolutionary People's Bloc (BPR). It is the FPL that has driven the junta forces out of Chalatenango and withstood repeated heavy assaults on the Guazapa volcano, in sight of San Salvador. When U.S. journalist Alex Drehsler visited FPL camps this spring, an FPL guerrilla commander told him that they considered the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua to be "basically a revolt of the middle classes" and that "we want to form a society, a government, that will be more radical than Cuba." "So you see," he was told, "there is no room for compromise here" (*Chicago Tribune*, 8-10 March).

But FPL leaders, like those of the ERP, FARN and other guerrilla groups, have done plenty of compromising with their bourgeois liberal allies. The FPL/BPR reaction to the October 1979 "reform" junta, which overthrew the Romero dictatorship with State Department backing, was to call on it to carry out promises of reform. And the FPL dropped its call for a "worker-peasant government with proletarian hegemony" to help form the FDR popular front more than a year ago. If Cayetano and the other FPL leaders are wary of the dangers of the pursuit of negotiations at all costs, they are only facing the consequences of their own Stalinist-nationalist, popular-frontist line.

Military Victory and Workers Revolution

Talk of a "political/negotiated solution" in El Salvador comes from diverse sources: from Latin American bourgeois governments, fearful of the spread of a revolutionary contagion in the region; from American liberals, fearful of "another Vietnam," a *losing* imperialist adventure; from social democrats of the SI, reflecting the interests of European capital in a continuation of "détente" as opposed to Reagan's Cold War II; from Stalinist bureaucrats in Moscow and Havana, who fear a victory of the Salvadoran working masses as a challenge to their own parasitic rule. Brezhnev and Castro are so intent on pursuing "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism (even hoping to seduce Reagan!) that they will willingly sabotage revolution in El Salvador. Asked about Reagan accusations of Soviet arms to Salvadoran rebels, Brezhnev spokesman Zamyatin replied haughtily, "The Soviet Union does not provide El Salvador with arms. It never has. It never will." Traitors! The Soviet regime of Lenin and Trotsky would have considered this an inescapable internationalist duty.

Nicaragua's petty-bourgeois Sandinista leadership, only recently arrived in power and facing ominous domestic and international counterrevolutionary threats, might be expected to look more favorably on the struggles of

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Israel...

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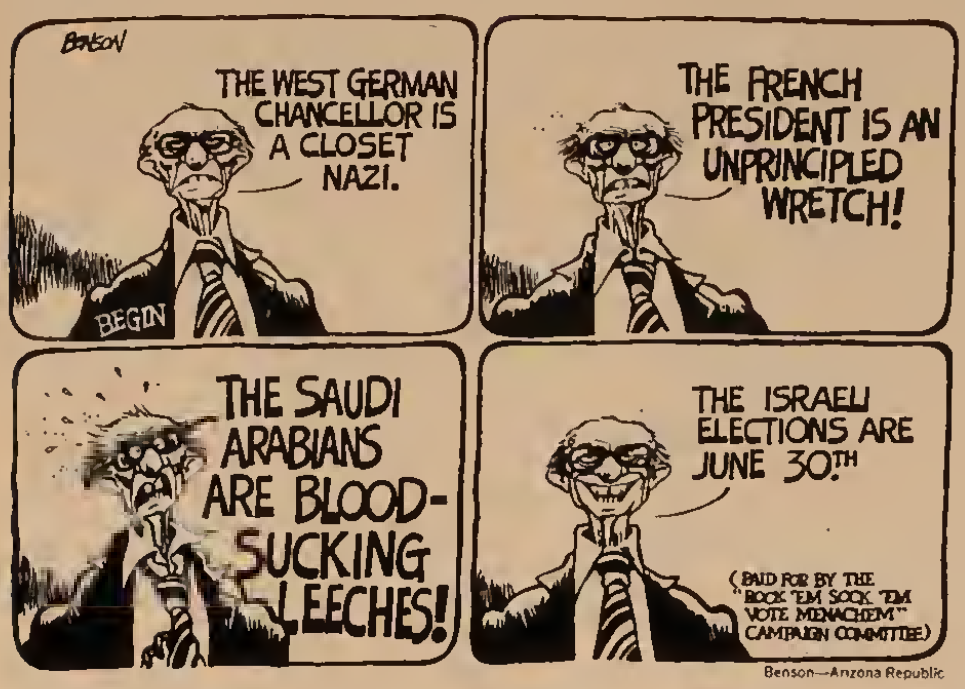
raid as its direct military objective. Jerusalem views the Reagan/Haig plan for a "strategic consensus" as a vehicle to transfer large quantities of sophisticated weapons to the Arab states. Presumably Begin reasons that if he continues his military provocations, even the most anti-Soviet of Arab regimes, notably the Saudi monarchy, will be unwilling to strike a deal with Washington because of the latter's backing to Israel. And if there's no deal, there will be fewer American weapons in Arab hands. So Begin figures (especially right before the elections) that it's worth straining relations with Washington to disrupt Reagan's overtures to the Saudis and kindred Arab regimes.



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But Begin's gambit may lose in endgame. Israel's U.S. benefactor has long-term interests which are global and it is not ultimately committed to the defense and extension of the Zionist state. And beneath all their Napoleonic posturing, the Begins, Dayans and Peres know this too. They fear that if the deal with the Arabs is right, one day the U.S. will abandon Israel. This gives to the Zionist rulers their paranoid trigger-happy quality, their compulsion toward nuclear brinkmanship. This is why for them provocation is more than a policy: mass terror is a condition for survival for the Zionist capitalist state—and to hell with the consequences, whether the death of thousands of Arabs or a world war.

Zionism Is Bad for the Jews

While the Israelis justified their raid by the threat of *potential* Iraqi nuclear weapons, Israel itself has had the bomb since at least 1974 (a fact buried by the U.S. bourgeois press). Ironically, the Israelis also used a French reactor, but obtained their uranium clandestinely—no doubt with a little help from CIA friends. Israel has never signed the U.S.-backed Non-Proliferation Treaty—they've got the bomb; they're not going to give it up and certainly are not about to allow international observers to go snooping in the Negev. If turnabout is fair play, and this is always the logic of conflicting nationalisms, then the Saudis, Iraqis, Libyans, etc. could arguably remove the Zionist nuclear threat by bombing Israel's reactor. At a cost of quite a few irradiated Jewish civilians.

Zionist Israel is no "promised land" but a historic deathtrap for the Jewish people, and some day the Arabs *will* have the bomb. In a practical way, at least many Jews sense this. Numerous Israelis, facing the economic effects of life in a garrison state—triple-digit inflation, the ever present danger of war—are voting with their feet. The Zionist state has experienced a net outflow of its Jewish citizens. Also, thousands of Jews leaving the USSR regard Israel as a hellhole and bypass it for the benefits and "safety" of New York.

In the minds of the Zionist fanatics who rule Israel, every Jew who emigrates is a traitor. Increasingly the Zionist leaders seek to imbue their society with the "Masada complex," named after the mountain fortress where in 73 A.D. Hebrew zealots committed mass suicide rather than surrender to the Romans. The Begins and Peres are equally prepared to sacrifice every Jewish man, woman and child in Israel if it comes to this in a war with the Arabs. And the Zionist rulers are not only willing to destroy their own people in a nuclear Masada, but to spark a global holocaust as well.

The Israeli leaders' fixation with nuclear war came out clearly in their vainglorious posturing after the Baghdad raid. One Jerusalem official boasted that "if Begin had been President of the United States instead of Truman in 1949, there wouldn't be an arms race" (*New York Times*, 11 June). This statement both graphically shows the siege mentality of the Zionists and lays bare the essence of imperialist "non-proliferation": nuke them before they get the bomb.

Like Begin, a significant section of the U.S. imperialist ruling class regrets that they didn't destroy the Soviet Union when they had the A-bomb and the Russians didn't. Reagan's pushing for first-strike strategic weapons indicates this desire to return to the "good old days" when the U.S. had a monopoly on nuclear weapons. But today the U.S. ruling class has a problem: the Soviet Union has nuclear weapons, and not just one or two. As opposed to the reformists and pacifists who advocate that the USSR disarm unilaterally, we demand that the Soviet degenerated workers state maintain all weapons, including nuclear, needed for its defense against imperialism.

In denouncing Reagan's right to condemn the Baghdad raid, the Israeli leaders and their lawyers, like right-wing columnist William Safire, have a certain point. Begin's provocation is indeed dangerous, but it pales before the unprecedented accumulation of the weapons of mass destruction in the hands of the American ruling class. And they are just as willing to use them as the Zionists. Remember the 1962 missile crisis when John F. Kennedy, the great liberal, came within a hair's breadth of blowing up the world to "defend U.S. security." Unless the world proletariat takes matters into its hands, the imperialists will produce the most horrible holocaust of all time. ■

Ireland Divided...

(continued from page 7)

propose a moralistic and reactionary-utopian variant of the "two-stage" revolution: in order to be broken from sectarianism, Protestant workers must be stripped of the meager privileges they possess relative to the Catholics. Since they will not willingly surrender them, they must be stripped of these privileges through the destruction of the Orange statelet and forcible reunification of the northern six counties into the Dublin clerical-capitalist regime, thereby "completing" the Irish national revolution. Bew/Gibbon/Patterson point out the obvious: transforming the Protestants into a subjugated minority in a reunited capitalist Ireland, even if it would be possible against their resistance, would only strengthen the sectarian divide. In fact, it would require such an expansion of the repressive apparatus of the Dublin regime as to prove overall *more* oppressive to most Catholics as well.

But if forcible reunification is not a democratic solution—much less a prelude to a socialist solution of the Irish question—what then? "Democratization" while preserving the union with the British imperialist state? As we wrote in our basic statement on the question, "Theses on Ireland": "...the existing tie between Northern Ireland and the British state can only be oppressive of the Irish Catholic population, an obstacle to a proletarian class mobilization and solution" (*Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977). *Class unity in Northern Ireland can be achieved only in struggle against the British imperialist forces.* That is why the call for immediate, unconditional withdrawal of the British army is the beginning of the socialist program for Ireland.

Since we are not foolish pollyannas who believe that this will produce an automatic end to communal violence, we also call for programmatically based anti-sectarian workers militias. At a time when the bulk of the left was cheering "Up the IRA," we declared: "Not Green Against Orange, But Class Against Class" (*WV* No. 7, April 1972). But at the same time we did not and do not try to wish away the national question. In our "Theses on Ireland," we wrote:

> "Ireland, like other situations of interpenetrated peoples as in the Middle East and Cyprus, is a striking confirmation of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution. The inevitable conclusion is that while revolutionists must oppose all aspects of national oppression, they must also recognize that the conflicting claims of interpenetrated peoples can only be equitably resolved in the framework of a workers state. We struggle for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles."

As social-democratic Unionists, Bew et al. now scoff at James Connolly's struggle for an Ireland freed from sectarianism and imperialism under the leadership of a united working class. No matter how confused and eclectic, Connolly had a vision of a proletarian revolutionary solution to the Irish question which in spite of partition remains valid today. No doubt the basis for common struggle has been deeply poisoned by sectarian hatred and terror. But the great Belfast engineering strike of 1919 and the massive unemployment demonstrations of the 1930s show that workers solidarity can in vital moments transcend sectarianism. What is needed is a Trotskyist party that can draw upon the tenacity and courage demonstrated by freedom fighters like Bobby Sands and prepare the class-conscious vanguard, rooted among both Catholic and Protestant workers and closely linked to the British proletariat, to smash rotting British imperialism forever. ■

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leftist guerrillas next door. Not so, and the counterrevolutionary consequences of nationalism are dramatically revealed. After the FMLN's January offensive Nicaraguan interior minister Tomás Borge told the press: "In El Salvador, the guerrillas could not defeat the army and the army could not defeat the guerrillas.... No defeat and no victory seems possible, so we feel that a political solution should be sought" (*New York Times*, 16 February). By mid-March, the State Department let it be known that Nicaragua had cut off arms to Salvadoran rebels, and now in their eagerness to placate Reagan they have begun to *arrest* people ferrying guns to the FMLN (DPA dispatch, 15 May). But where would Borge & Co. be now if a "negotiated solution" with sections of the dictatorship ("Somoza-ism without Somoza") had been pushed through two years ago?

What of the FDR/FMLN leaders? Why are they so eager to bargain with the military butchers when the masses already know that "revolution or death" is more than a slogan but the real choice facing working people in El Salvador? Wouldn't Salvadoran leftists have the greatest interest in extending the war, raising up workers and peasants throughout Central America in a revolutionary conflagration? Certainly this is true of those who fight for socialist revolution, which can only be an international struggle—especially in this region of artificial mini-states. But the FDR is a coalition linking several radical left groups to marginal liberal bourgeois politicians. In such class-collaborationist popular fronts the presence of capitalist elements serves to guarantee that the masses do not go beyond the limits of capitalism.

These bourgeois phantoms naturally lack confidence in their capacity to confront imperialism and its puppets; and they fear the consequences of an all-out mobilization of the exploited, which could open the road to social revolution. The same could be said of the reformist programs of the FMLN guerrilla leaders, an eclectic mixture of Stalinism and petty-bourgeois nationalism, which led them to tie their organizations to the class enemy in forming the FDR. Thus the struggle for a rebel victory in the raging civil war is the cutting edge of the fight for proletarian opposition to popular-front class collaboration in El Salvador today.

There is a close connection between military victory and workers revolution. A workers revolution in El Salvador is impossible without military victory of the leftist insurgents. Any "solution" which leaves even sections of the present kill-crazed capitalist state apparatus in place threatens the masses with a repeat of the 1932 *matanza*, when 30,000 were executed in the wake of a failed uprising. And the only guarantee of military victory is the mobilization of the exploited masses for their own class interests. Their revolutionary fervor will be the most powerful weapon against the better armed conscript army and mercenary security forces. But having defeated the military forces of their capitalist oppressors, the workers and peasants would not be satisfied with a few reforms. The most basic demands of the Salvadoran working people—for land, for emancipation from the imperialist yoke, for jobs and economic development—*cannot* be met without expropriating the bourgeoisie and the establishment of socialist planned economy in an international framework.

The mass of the left-wing fighters are not risking their lives in order to create ministerial portfolios for Ungo and Castillo in some U.S.-brokered coalition. Military victory of the left would open a period of dual power, posing the need for and direct possiblity of a revolution that would sweep away the entire capitalist state. But to lead the struggle for internationalist workers revolution the essential element is a proletarian Trotskyist vanguard party, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. The only "political solution" for the Salvadoran masses is a workers and peasants government, like the one Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks won in October 1917. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop Union-Busting Drive, Roll Back Fares!

Chicago Transit Crisis

CHICAGO—The capitalist politicians are poised to deliver another blow at hard-pressed working people here. The bankrupt city transit system is on the verge of shutting down. The bosses have made it clear to the workers and poor—already saddled with the highest basic transit fare of any city in the U.S.—that unless they accept a new round of fare hikes and service cuts there will be no funding for transit services. Two suburban bus lines have already folded, commuter trains are jacking fares by up to 75 percent and the Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) has already defaulted on its pension payments.

The state legislature has thus far refused to vote any new money to bail out the Regional Transportation Authority (RTA), which comprises not only the CTA but the bus lines and commuter trains of the six surrounding suburban counties. Illinois governor James Thompson this week held up $23 million of state money due the RTA for operating expenses, claiming he would release it only if the Authority agreed to disburse a "fair share" to the suburbs—i.e., less to Chicago.

Taking its cue from Reagan's wholesale dumping of social benefits, the Republican-dominated state legislature has taken the lead in trying to shaft Chicago's working people. As it is, state and federal subsidies to the CTA are relatively light, by the standards of most big cities. Only New York and one or two others actually pay a higher percentage of their expenses out of fares. So the cutbacks threatened to Chicago transit have a particularly savage and vindictive character. The legislature has seen its chance to really sock it to Chicago. For down-state legislators the windy city metropolis—with its more liberal social values, its trade unions and its heavy concentration of blacks and Latins—is anathema. The state is also one of a minority that never ratified the ERA.

Meanwhile the city's Democratic Party politicians have sought to make the most of the situation by posturing as the defenders of the CTA. Mayor Jane Byrne has declared again and again that she will take over the CTA if necessary to prevent a shutdown. But any successful resistance by the city's working people to fare increases, service cutbacks and wage slashing necessitates an immediate break with the anti-union and racist Democratic Party. Byrne's own transit plan announced this week demonstrates clearly enough that she, too, expects Chicago's working people to pay. To finance continued CTA operations outside the scope of the RTA the mayor called for a 4 percent tax on "professional services" as well as a 10-cent fare hike and unspecified service cuts.

The responsibility for letting Byrne and her Democratic cronies off the hook lies with the city's trade-union bureaucracy. It is crystal clear that the bottom line for the Democratic Party city administration is to resolve the crisis by ripping up the contracts of its unionized employees. Already drivers for suburban NORTRAN have agreed to defer 10 percent of their wages until funding is restored, while a smaller suburban line closed down when the drivers refused to accept a 45 percent (!) pay cut. But the main targets of the bosses are Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Locals 241 and 308 which represent 11,000 bus drivers and rapid transit employees in Chicago. Thus far management has shied away from implementing their threat of a 20 percent pay cut for Chicago bus drivers and has confined itself to smaller provocations like refusing to pay its share into the pension plan. But it is obvious that when Byrne and Thompson finally get together and come up with a transit bailout, it will include pay cuts, service cutbacks and hundreds of layoffs as well as fare hikes.

UPI

Oak Park Illinois: Transit workers locked out by budget-slashing state legislature.

The only response by Chicago ATU leaders John Weatherspoon and Wilford Spears has been a weak-kneed court challenge to the pension rip-off. The ATU bureaucrats in fact have no taste for any real battle against Byrne and her strikebreaking administration. In December 1979 they ended a four-day CTA strike by capitulating to a no-strike injunction. As a result the union's full cost-of-living benefits were cut in half and Byrne was left free to pick off other city unions (like the fire fighters) one at a time.

It is imperative that militants in the transit unions demand that the ATU take the lead in organizing city-wide labor demonstrations and mobilizations against the threatened transit cutbacks. Any takebacks—whether it be fare increases, pay cuts or layoffs—should be the signal for a city-wide general strike. This could quickly bring the bosses to their knees. A million people (one third of Chicago's wage earners) as well as 80 percent of those who work in the downtown Loop area are serviced by mass transit. So for all their demagogic threats of provoking a transit shutdown, even the legislators in Springfield understand that if Chicago is shut down tight then the state's tax coffers will soon run dry.

The other linchpin on which the Democratic city administration rests—in addition to strikebreaking—is its maintenance of a vicious and repressive police force. It is no accident that while nobody else is being hired by the city today Byrne still wants 900 more cops. From Chicago's cossacks in blue to the vigilante Guardian Angels, who recently showed up in town, police violence is essential to enforcing the Democratic Party's racist austerity policies. A general labor counteroffensive must address itself as well to the city's predominantly black and Latin poor: For city-wide busing extended to the suburbs to integrate the schools! For labor/black defense guards to smash the Klan and Nazi threat! No fare hike: for free city-wide mass transit!

That the second largest city in the U.S. cannot even run its trains and buses is a telling sign of the advanced decay of American capitalism. Once known as "the city that works," Chicago like other metropolitan centers today festers with unemployment, poverty and racism. Only building a class-struggle workers party, dedicated to rooting out the obsolescent system of private profit, can pave the way for a socialist planned economy by fighting for a workers government that can genuinely meet the needs of its working people. ■

Striking at Government Cutbacks

L.A. Longshoremen Walk

LOS ANGELES, June 15—The Long Beach and San Pedro ports were shut down today in protest over an impending federal bill which attacks port workers' compensation benefits. The unusual political strike was called by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 13 as part of the Los Angeles Harbor Labor Coalition. The Harbor Coalition includes eleven unions, including the ILWU, Teamsters, NMU, OCAW and others.

Up to 20,000 workers took part in the one-day action, and 5,000 jammed the Local 13 hall to hear speeches denouncing the "Washington politicians." The shutdown precedes by one day scheduled hearings on two companion pieces of anti-labor legislation, HR-25 and S-1182, which attack the Longshoremen's and Harbor Workers' Compensation Act.

Compensation is a red-hot issue on the docks, where it is virtually unheard of for a worker with ten years seniority not to have suffered some serious injury. One longshoreman told *WV*, "The attack on the Compensation Act is equivalent to taking away black lung benefits" for the coal miners. Key features of the proposed bills give the company the right to choose its own doctor in compensation cases (!), drastically slash rates of compensation benefits that have been in effect for eight years and eliminate from federal coverage most shoreside workers presently covered by the law.

The full power of labor—including massive port strikes on all coasts—must be brought to bear to defeat these bills, which are only the tip of the iceberg of the Democratic/Republican austerity/war drive. (S-1182 is sponsored by Democratic Senator Nunn and Republican Senator Nichols.) But in a letter to the locals, the Herman-led International bureaucracy of the ILWU reportedly argued *against* any coast-wide action. In San Francisco Local 10 the "Longshore-Warehouse Militant" group fought for solidarity strike action with L.A.

Herman & Co. want *no* action right before the expiration of the Longshore contract (June 30), and as usual are banking on the dead end of Democratic "friends of labor." Even the L.A. action was carefully limited—oil-related work went on, and the angry workers were dispersed by a march down to the post office to mail letters to Congressmen! But victory will not be handed down by Congressmen—it will be won by the workers through militant strike action.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 284 — 3 July 1981

Defend Vietnam and the Soviet Union!

U.S./China Anti-Soviet War Axis

Zimberoff/Sygma

Aviation Week

Haig and Deng seal anti-Soviet military alliance in big step toward WWIII.

General Haig's announcement last week at the end of his China trip that the U.S. will arm Peking with "lethal weapons" is the most dangerous provocation against the USSR since this most provocative Reagan regime took office six months ago. It is not merely another finesse of "China card" diplomacy. The deepening U.S./China alliance has now become an openly declared anti-Soviet military axis—a deal for action against the Soviets and to "increase the political, economic, and, yes, military pressures on Vietnam" (*New York Times*, 18 June). Like the Japanese invasion of Manchuria in 1931, now recognized as the very first shots of World War II, the U.S./China arms deal may well be the direct prelude to WWIII.

Joint American/Chinese military support to anti-Russian Afghans and anti-Vietnamese Cambodians is envisioned. The Chinese bless the Americans to deepen their military commitment in El Salvador and against Nicaragua and Cuba. Surely an attempted military "roll-back" in Angola and Namibia, to be fronted by South Africa, is foreseen. But the one-family-run Saudi Arabia and the hated Zia of Pakistan are less than slender reeds. And as for Begin's Israel: whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad. Considerable arm-twisting of West European allies and increasingly of an uneasy Japan are also in the cards if an effective Chinese/American bloc is to be consummated—at a cost of hundreds of billions of dollars from an economically weakened United States. And for what? It's a lot easier to hunt down and forcibly abort black welfare mothers ("Right to Life" not withstanding) than to try the same on the Red Army.

Now Haig shouts in the face of the Soviets that two years ago—when Washington lost its "listening stations" in Iran with the mullah victory over the U.S.-backed shah—the U.S. built a super spy station embedded in the Sinkiang mountains near the Soviet border. The Chinese spy station is the one place where U.S. imperialism can monitor Soviet missile tests from launch through flight over Siberia to dispersion of warheads. Together the Chinese Stalinists and their CIA "advisers" gather the most sensitive military

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Bani-Sadr On the Run— Ayatollahs Blown Away

Iran in Chaos

JUNE 28—Last night Teheran experienced probably the most spectacular terrorist action of recent times. A large section of the political rulers of Iran were wiped out by a powerful bomb placed in a meeting of the Islamic Republican Party (IRP), the political vehicle of "imam" Khomeini. Among the 72 dead was top IRP leader, chief justice ayatollah Beheshti; Prime Minister Rajai was injured. While the action was attributed to an anti-clerical Islamic group, both leftist guerrillas and U.S. imperialism have also been accused of responsibility. And in fact, the rule of the dominant clerical faction has been so oppressive that forces from just about any point on the political compass could have thought they had cause to plant the fateful explosive charge.

Little more than two years after the fall of the hated shah, Iran's "Islamic Republic" stands on the verge of total anarchy. Large-scale street fighting swept the country as Khomeini and the Islamic clerical fanatics drove "moderate" president Abolhassan Bani-Sadr out of office and into hiding. Supporters of Bani-Sadr, notably the well-armed radical-Islamic Mujahedin guerrillas, battled *pasdaran* ("revolutionary guards") and the *hezbollahi* (clerical-fascist gangs). Fighting in Teheran, Shiraz, Meshed, Qum, Zahidan, Ahwaz and other cities left scores dead and hundreds injured. After the president went underground June 11, the mullahs launched a wave of executions of leftists and any prominent Bani-Sadr supporters they could get their hands on.

Now these reactionary terrorists-in-turbans are on the receiving end, as many of their key leaders were blown to smithereens. But if the mullahs weather this crisis and keep their hold on the state apparatus, they will extract a terrible vengeance on their enemies. The left will face a bloodbath as never before. More than ever, what is desperately needed in Iran is the working class mobilized to fight for its own class power. Proletarian revolution or bloody Islamic reaction: the choice is clearer in Iran today than at any time since the ouster of the Pahlavi dynasty. And the key is a Trotskyist party, built on the program of permanent revolution, fighting for proletarian leadership of the oppressed rather than support to sectors of the ruling classes—whether shahs, ayatollahs or impotent "liberals."

"Islamic Revolution" Deepens

In the end, the only force willing to fight for the hapless Bani-Sadr, elected in January 1980 with 75 percent of the popular vote, was the left. In Teheran on June 20, 100,000 turned out for a demonstration called by the Mujahedin on behalf of the beleaguered president. *Pasdaran* opened fire to disperse the crowds while gangs of kill-crazy *hezbollahi* attacked with knives, chains and clubs. After a three-hour battle that left Teheran's Mossadeq Avenue looking like downtown Beirut, the several thousand Mujahedin militants were reportedly outnumbered by the fascist thugs, who were rushed to the scene in trucks. Nineteen were reported killed and 200 injured. Fifteen of those arrested were executed the next morning. Ayatollah Khalkhali, the notorious "hanging judge" who had hurried back from a tour of the USSR, demanded

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SL: Don't Tread on Us!

Australian SWP Thugs Attack Anti-Imperialist Contingent

SYDNEY—El Salvador protests are dividing into two camps in Australia as well, as the small-time reformists show their "concern"... to draw the blood line against revolution. Recently, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), little brothers of the American SWP, and the SWP-run Committee in Solidarity with Central America and the Caribbean (CISCAC), in a desperate attempt to seal off the communists, launched one of the worst thug attacks here in years.

In the June 13 demonstration at Sydney Town Hall Square, SWP/CISCAC goons (with a little help from the Eurocommunists of the Communist Party of Australia) attacked the 70-man Anti-Imperialist Contingent as it was moving into the line of march. But despite the reformists' fists and kicks and their attempt to mobilise the cops against the left, they were not able to silence the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, sponsored by the Spartacist League. And a week later in Melbourne, three Contingent speakers managed to address the crowd of some 300 El Salvador protesters at City Square, despite renewed attempts by SWP/CISCAC to thwart them.

In the weeks leading up to the June 13 and June 20 Sydney and Melbourne marches, there had been a constant political struggle in planning meetings and public forums. SWP/CISCAC had consistently voted down or suppressed Spartacist motions calling for "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" and repeatedly refused to allow an Anti-Imperialist Contingent speaker on the rally platform. But despite their best efforts to keep out revolutionary politics, they were afraid that many in the June 13 demo would be attracted to the Contingent call for a rally for leftist military victory, to be held in front of the U.S. consulate.

As the marchers were forming up at Town Hall Square, SWP/CISCAC went around denouncing the U.S. consulate rally as a "provocation" and threw up two lines of goons organised into chains of heavies with linked arms to block off the Anti-Imperialist Contingent. Four megaphones were lined up to chant in unison *into* our ranks in order to drown out Spartacist chants. Their goons started pushing even as the crowd was building, trying to provoke a fight then and there. As the march began and the Contingent moved out into the street, SWP/CISCAC thugs tried to block us off. Pushing them in front, we advanced toward the line of march until cops arrived.

Meanwhile, fist-swinging, kicking goons attacked Anti-Imperialist Contingent marchers from the side, ripping badges off demonstrators and trying to tear down our lead banner. Although the SWP/CISCAC managed to rip the banner calling for "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents" (showing graphically where *they* stand), and despite continued SWP/CISCAC harassment all along the march route, the Contingent marched, militantly chanting, to the consulate to hold our protest outside the main symbol of U.S. imperialism in Sydney.

The SWP assault was a premeditated attack. Clearly they were willing to disrupt their own demonstration in order to prevent communist demands and slogans from being seen or heard. As our leaflet distributed the following day said:

> "The CISCAC/SWP rally was in fact built in *opposition* to the call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents. Their demands for 'U.S. out' and 'Self determination for the people of El Salvador' camouflage their support for a negotiated deal with the junta and *their scandalous refusal to openly take a side in the civil war raging in El Salvador.*"

Members of the International Socialists (IS), who in days previous had claimed to support military victory of the Salvadoran leftists, stood with the SWP/CISCAC as they launched their thug attack.

Australasian Spartacist

Sydney, June 13: Reformists cannot silence supporters of military victory for Salvadoran left.

The SWP is evidently feeling some pressure. For years they have attempted to ignore the SL as "irrelevant ultraleftists," but in the last two weeks they have spewed out: a full-page printed leaflet against the Spartacist League; a full-page article attacking the SL in the 17 June issue of *Direct Action*; and a second, four-page printed leaflet trying to spread the lie that "Sectarians Try to Disrupt Sydney El Salvador March." Cynically they excuse their bloody attack by saying the Contingent refused to take "the place assigned to them" in the march. This refers to their brazen attempt to force the Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march at the end of the line. But even this bogus argument is a complete fraud as their attempts to provoke a clash started well before the march began.

Politically their attempt to justify anti-communist exclusionism is just as lame. Our slogan, "Defence of Cuba and the USSR Begins in El Salvador," they write, is a "'left' cover for imperialist propaganda." Some cover! What kind of imperialist calls for this? The SWP's refusal to raise demands in defence of the deformed and degenerated workers states, the ultimate and declared targets of U.S. imperialism's worldwide anti-Soviet drive currently focused on El Salvador, is an attempt to cosy up to labor reformists and bourgeois politicians for whom this is anathema. A main speaker at previous CISCAC rallies was Don Chipp, whom an *Australasian Spartacist* article dubbed "El Salvador dove, Vietnam hawk, Imperialist turkey." SWP/CISCAC hero Chipp was formerly minister for the navy during Australia's involvement in the Vietnam War.

The SWP complains a lot about the front-page photograph in the *Washington Post* of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent at the May 3 Pentagon protest, claiming that the prominent coverage was due to the fact that the *Post* "is one of the chief organs of U.S. imperialist 'liberalism'." So now imperialist liberals not only like the slogan "Defend the Soviet Union," but yearn to put pictures of leftist militants demanding "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists" on their front pages! What the SWP/CISCAC

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H-Block Protesters Revile Prince

With cries of "Stuff It, Charlie!" and "Brits Out of Ireland!" 5,000 protesters "greeted" Charles Mountbatten, Prince of Wales, when the heir to the British crown arrived at New York City's Lincoln Center June 17 to see the Royal Ballet. The jeering demonstrators marched to the sound of skirling bagpipes, waved banners and banged dustbin lids to protest the British murder of Irish Republican hunger strikers in the H-Block cells of Northern Ireland's Long Kesh concentration camp.

The tuxedoed upper crust dining at the $1,000-a-ticket feed inside peered at the largely Irish-American demonstrators through plate glass windows. No doubt they felt more secure knowing that New York's Mayor Koch had spent $300,000 to station 1,300 horse and foot cops to protect the bonnie prince from the wrath of the crowd. The British press waxed indignant about the disrespect the "mob" in New York showed to the chinless inbred scion of England's parasitic royal family, but Charlie got no more than he deserved.

WV Photo

The demonstrators chanted, "The Prince of Death Must Go!" and "There's Blood on Your Hands!" The Spartacist League also marched in the protest, carrying signs with slogans such as "Smash H-Block!" "British Troops Out of Ireland!" "Reagan Hands Off El Salvador, Thatcher Out of Northern Ireland!" and "For an Irish Workers Republic!" For good measure SL signs added, "Abolish the Licensing Hours and the House of Lords!" "Abolish the Monarchy!" and "Recall the Fate of Charles I."

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Militant Caucus Gains in Rouge Elections

It'll Take Class-Struggle Leadership to Make UAW a Fighting Union!

DETROIT—Last month local elections were held in the United Auto Workers (UAW), but nowadays the smug union bureaucracy is offering nothing but takeaways to the ranks. While union president Doug Fraser sits on the board of directors of Chrysler, some 20 to 25 percent of Detroit's auto workers are laid off—and most of these unemployed know they might never find a way back into the factories. Plant after plant has been closed while first Chrysler and now Ford blackmail the remaining workers with the threat of more job losses. "Friend of labor" Democratic mayor Coleman Young has even imported Felix Rohatyn of New York City's "Big MAC" to do a similar job of wage-gouging on Detroit's city workers. Meanwhile race terrorists like the Klan and the Nazis have been given a green light to move against blacks, while the cops escalate their own racist attacks on minorities. And the Reagan government is moving to cut back unemployment and welfare benefits and even social security.

In today's America, the labor reformists not only cannot deliver on the crumbs they used to offer, now they *give back* past union gains in order to enforce the bosses' austerity program! And the economic crisis has meant that those parties and forces in the labor movement who promise social change through reform of capitalism have withered. Trade-union reformism has nothing to offer. Thus in the United Mine Workers, "reform" bureaucrats Arnold Miller and now Sam Church have lost all credibility as they repeatedly tried to sell devastating takeaway contracts. Only the ranks' obstinate 110-day strike in 1977-78 and a 72-day strike this year, *against their own leadership*, managed to stave off defeats which could destroy the union. In the United Steelworkers dissident "Fightback" leaders Ed Sadlowski and Jim Balanoff did not lift a finger against plant closings and failed to challenge the ENA no-strike agreement despite earlier tough talk. They became so unpopular that Sadlowski lost the national election in 1977 and Balanoff couldn't even get re-elected as District 31 director this spring.

In the UAW River Rouge elections also, rank-and-file members cannot find any real difference between the incumbent Solidarity House gang and assorted out-bureaucrat challengers. Many of the reformists of years past are now out of the picture: the old United National Caucus and allied Independent Skilled Trades Council around Pete Kelley have virtually disappeared. This time around, ISTC leader Al Gardner, head of the Local 600 Tool and Die Unit, endorsed Rouge president Mike Rinaldi for reelection. General Baker, former leader of the League of Revolutionary Black Workers, ran this time on the slate of former Local 600 president Walter Dorosh. But despite Rinaldi's miserable record, the Dorosh slate with its Reutherite rhetoric was thoroughly trounced (12,000 to 5,000) in the presidential race at the largest UAW local.

But a United Front Slate (UFS) was fielded to revive the bankrupt reformist tradition at Local 600. It was backed by Jim Rothe's "600 Organizer" and the so-called Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW), supported by the Ann Arbor cult/sect Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) of Peter Sollenberger. The UFS was a typical, lowest-common-denominator electoral lash-up of various fake "militants" which quickly fell apart. Their candidate for president quit before the election complaining of being "used," and came out for the incumbent Rinaldi! And their first vice-presidential candidate gooned for Rinaldi against the Rouge Militant Caucus (RMC) at a demonstration at Ford headquarters!

The RMC, a class-struggle caucus, ran Frank Hicks for president and Charles Dubois for first vice president—receiving 1,681 and 1,090 votes respectively. It was the RMC which led the fight to drive out from the Rouge two Klan-hooded foremen who paraded through the Dearborn Assembly Plant; they also took the lead in mobilizing Rouge workers for the 500-strong labor/black demonstration in Kennedy Square, heavily built by the Spartacist League, that kept the Klan from celebrating the Greensboro massacre in Detroit on 10 November 1979.

The Rouge Militant Caucus doesn't believe that class struggle stops at the plant gates, and fights for international working-class solidarity. It brought people from the Rouge to Washington May 3 to march with the Anti-Imperialist Contingent for a left-wing victory in El Salvador against the bloody American-backed junta. And it called for military defense of the Soviet Union against U.S. imperialism. This contrasted sharply with the UFS, which lines up explicitly with the Solidarity House bureaucrats. The "600 Organizer" of Jim Rothe wrote in October 1980, "We support free and democratic trade unions in Poland like UAW president Doug Fraser"! *Like Fraser*, who like Victor Reuther and his CIA friends under the cover of "free and democratic trade unions" are trying to organize counterrevolution in Poland! The CMDUAW/RWL, meanwhile, marched with the pro-Democratic Party PAM in Washington May 3.

The CMDUAW's guru Sollenberger is a pretty funny bird for a union group to be hooked up with; his RWL publishes 3,000-word articles defending *scabbing*. Bloc partner Rothe is a more run-of-the-mill labor reformist: he just calls crossing picket lines a "tactical" question. But what sets these ballot-box hustlers spinning is when class-struggle militants organize the ranks for militant *action* to fight layoffs and racist attacks. Rothe opposed the November 10 anti-Klan demonstration while the RWL/CMDUAW denounced it as a "fraud." And when the Rouge Militant Caucus tried to organize sit-downs to stop layoffs at Ford, the CMDUAW echoed the bureaucracy by denouncing it as a "gimmick" and "just a wildcat out of the blue" ("Local 600 Fighter," 5 March)! Rothe and CMDUAW won't take action without Fraser's sanction—*and that means no action at all.*

Reformism can't deliver because capitalism can't deliver. Industrial Detroit has become the best symbol of the decay of U.S. capitalism: Dodge Main leveled, major plants working at one-third capacity or shut down, the number of workers at Ford Rouge down from 35,000 to 20,000 since 1973. And the "U-Ain't-Working" UAW is the best example of the bankruptcy of trade unionism without a revolutionary perspective. Forty years ago, Leon Trotsky wrote that in this epoch:

> "Impossible are the independent or semi-independent reformist trade unions. Wholly possible are revolutionary trade unions which not only are not stockholders of imperialist policy but which set as their task the direct overthrow of the rule of capitalism. In the epoch of imperialist decay the trade unions can be really independent only to the extent that they are conscious of being, in action, the organs of proletarian revolution."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay"

For the trade unions to go forward, resolute struggle against capitalist rule is required. Such a struggle means the forging of a vanguard revolutionary socialist (Trotskyist) party to finally abolish capitalism and establish workers' rule.

With a respectable voting base, the RMC now has its work cut out for it. They face the task of winning the most advanced and class-conscious workers to the program of proletarian power. There are many auto workers, particularly among the black proletariat, who realize they have no future under racist U.S. capitalism. The RMC must drive home the crucial difference between a class-struggle program and the dead-end of the bankrupt labor reformists, and recruit from among these subjectively revolutionary workers those who will unflinchingly defend the class line, from Detroit to El Salvador to the Soviet Union. It is only such militants who will prove capable of leading auto workers to victory in the class battles that lie ahead. ■

Coleman Young's Anti-Union Tax Hike

In a special election held on Tuesday, June 23 Detroit residents voted 3 to 2 to raise the city's income tax as part of a three-pronged plan by Mayor Coleman Young and the Michigan state legislature to bail the city out of imminent bankruptcy by making the largely black population pay for it. Phase Two and Three involve wresting wage concessions from the 30 municipal unions and draining union pension funds into long-term city bonds to the tune of $125 million.

This special election, backed by a high-powered propaganda campaign, was in large part a referendum on Young himself and represents the vote of confidence he is now using to go after the black city workers. Young is demanding that AFSCME agree to a two-year pay freeze in return for a one-year ban on layoffs, which means giving up two 6 percent wage raises scheduled for each of the next two years which were won through a bitter strike just last summer.

We reprint below a leaflet distributed to the city workers by the Detroit Spartacist League before the Tuesday elections:

UAW's Doug Fraser supports Coleman Young's wage-slashing tax hike.

WW Photo

The auto bosses, bankers and Democratic Party politicians who run Detroit are out to bust the city workers unions with the same concession blackmail they pulled at Chrysler. The June 23 vote on the tax hike is just a referendum on Young's racist union-busting plan to make the workers pay for the bosses' financial mess. Vote no, but remember: Whether or not Young gets the OK from the voters, the pay cuts, layoffs and slashes in city services are coming. The only thing that will stop them is a strike by city workers.

Coleman Young says he is out to "save" Detroit. He says a "yes" vote on June 23 is a vote for "freedom," to save Detroit from "outsiders" and "bigots." What cynical demagoguery! The "outsiders" are all *with* Coleman Young! His assault on city workers was planned by the notorious New York union-busting financier Felix Rohatyn and Ford Motor Co. executive Fred Secrest. The auto barons, businessmen and financiers have contributed tens of thousands of dollars to the "Vote Yes-Detroit Committee" because they would like to swell their corporate profits and turn

continued an page 11

French CP Capitulates to the Atlanticist Mitterrand

We Trotskyists Defend the USSR!

EXCERPTED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK SUPPLEMENT, JULY 1981

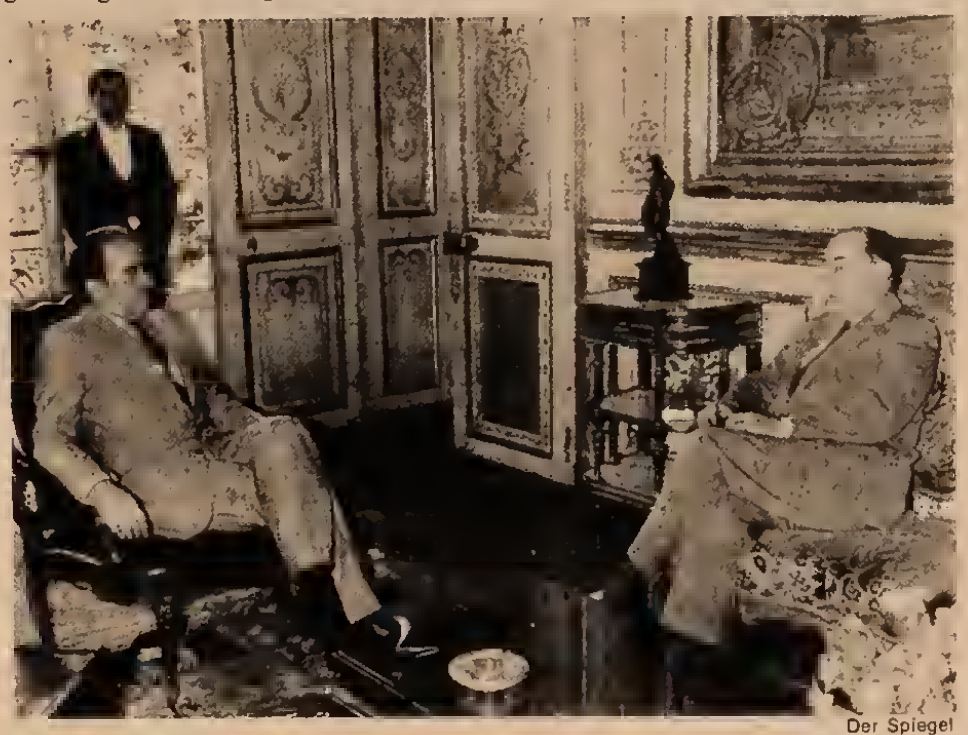
On the night of June 23 dramatic last-minute negotiations between the PS [Socialist Party] and the PCF [Communist Party of France] arrived at a "governmental agreement" permitting the PCF to occupy four seats in the Mitterrand government. The "governmental agreement" and the entry of Communist ministers is a "historic event" all right: the PCF has dropped even the pretense of defending the USSR against Western imperialism's Cold War offensive. The agreement represented a major capitulation by Marchais & Co. to the PS' anti-Soviet positions:

- Now the PCF echoes Mitterrand's pro-NATO call for nuclear "equilibrium," equating the Pershings of NATO imperialism with the Soviet SS20s, necessary for the defense of the degenerated/deformed workers states of the Warsaw Pact.
- A straight-out call for withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan where they confront CIA-backed forces of Islamic reaction.
- Jumping on the NATO bandwagon over Poland.
- Topping it off, what amounts to a no-strike pledge in the factories in the name of "governmental solidarity."

The day after the PCF ministers embraced the Mitterrand government, the Ligue Trotskyste de France [LTF] held a picket line in Paris—the only one in France—protesting an anti-Communist, anti-Soviet meeting on Afghanistan and the PCF's groveling repudiation of any semblance of Soviet defensism. The meeting, called by the SP, the CFDT [PS-led union federation], the OCI [Internationalist Communist Organization]-dominated student union and others, called for Soviet troops to withdraw from Afghanistan and for support to the Afghan reactionaries. The spirited picket line raised the slogans of "Victory to the Red Army in Afghanistan!" "We Trotskyists Defend the Soviet Union!" "Communist Ministers in NATO Popular Front: Betrayal!" and "Members of the PCF: Reject Abandonment of Soviet Union!" The picket attracted considerable attention, including from CGT [PCF-led union federation] bureaucrats leaving work at the Bourse du Travail.

Eight months ago the PCF leadership was pointing out that every time the PCF had supported a popular front—in 1936, '44 and '72—the bourgeoisie won: "three times is enough!" No, it is three times too many, and now they are at it again! But unlike 1936 and 1944 when the CP "merely" had to guarantee the suppression of workers' demands in struggle—"you have to know how to end a strike" and "strikes are the arm of the trusts"—this is different. In exchange for second-rate ministerial portfolios, the PCF has explicitly lined up with the pro-NATO cold warriors against the Soviet Union precisely in this period of renewed anti-Sovietism, when Reagan wants to teach Cuba and the USSR "a bloody lesson" by massacring Salvadoran workers and peasants, when U.S. imperialism prepares to arm the ferociously anti-Soviet Peking bureaucracy! If CP militants, fed up with Marchais' lies and the CP's groveling before Reagan's Cold War democrats and bourgeois forces, doesn't this mean that we should reject the popular front in *principle*?" Doesn't the popular front demoralize and disarm the workers (in order to guard its bourgeois bloc partners) in exchange for illusory promises of social reform? Don't popular fronts in power end up opening the gates to reaction (Franco, Pétain, Pinochet)? The PCF leadership studiously avoided these questions, of course, because they raise the spectre of Trotskyism.

It is only the Trotskyists who have forthrightly and consistently denounced the disastrous consequences of the popular front for the working class! Our aim in calling for a savagely critical campaign, decided to rip up their party card, as did many after May '68, it would be a step in the right direction.



Der Spiegel

Marchais (left) and Mitterrand at the Elysée Palace: French imperialism's twin labor lieutenants.

How Did It Happen?

But it is not enough to hate the social-democratic and Eurocommunist traitors and want to defend the USSR against imperialism. You have to know how, and to do that, understand what has happened.

Last October the PCF was singing a different tune. You refused support to the NATO supporter Mitterrand. You denounced the PS for seeking a bloc with the Gaullists and even verbally recognized that every time the PCF had supported a popular front the bourgeoisie had won and the workers movement had lost. It was for this reason that the Ligue Trotskyste de France projected critical electoral support to the Stalinist bureaucrat Marchais if the PCF continued on that course. We looked for a chance to vote for a working-class party that was not in a bloc with bourgeois forces and, in the midst of the bourgeoisie's hysterical anti-Soviet drive, supported the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and opposed the Pershings. At the same time we never had any illusions where the notoriously chauvinist PCF leadership would line up in a decisive conflict between their own imperialist bourgeoisie and the Soviet degenerated workers state. Marchais' long-standing support to the *force de frappe* (nuclear weapons)—a policy going back to the historic vote for the military budget of the Laval government in 1935—defines the Stalinist PCF as the left tail of French imperialist militarism.

The PCF's initial left rhetoric raised interesting questions for PCF militants. "If our party made serious errors in '36, '44 and '72 by allying with the social electoral support for Marchais if the PCF continued its original positions was to be able to demonstrate to PCF militants that these questions—class independence, the popular front, defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and capitalist-restorationist forces—led logically to a consistent revolutionary program, the program of Trotskyism.

Vitry: Turn the Bulldozers Against the Bourgeoisie!

The racist attack against immigrant workers in Vitry demonstrated that the PCF leadership had no interest in conducting a campaign of even partial and deformed class independence from the bourgeoisie. Vitry was not *merely* a disgusting display of racism (as the liberals and [Eurocommunist] Elleinsteins would have us believe) but effectively sabotaged workers' struggles by setting French and immigrant workers at each others' throats. This was the central point for us as proletarian revolutionaries: the PCF chauvinist campaign concretized by the Vitry atrocity dealt a real blow to common action by French and immigrant workers in plants such as Renault and elsewhere.

This campaign showed that Marchais was willing to go to any lengths to prove his loyalty to the bourgeoisie. *Vitry was in fact a prelude to the Communist ministers' entry into Mitterrand's NATO popular front.* Increasingly, all-sided chauvinism (hostility to immigrant workers, "produce French" propaganda, campaign of opposition to "Kraut steel," etc.) became the only clear political statement of the PCF campaign, making it impossible for any self-respecting militant, much less a revolutionary, to vote for Marchais. And of course from the beginning it was impossible to vote for Mitterrand for his program of anti-Sovietism and alliance with the bourgeoisie, including the Gaullists. Even after Vitry some Communist militants, in particular around the group *Le Communiste*, wanted to vote Marchais only for class independence and against Mitterrand. It is easy to understand the desire to vote against Mitterrand and for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism: the problem is that you cannot vote for the chauvinist campaign launched after Vitry and at the same time for working-class independence. Vitry is opposed to everything Communists stand for.

But this capitulation, this disgusting betrayal, is neither new nor qualitative. Communist militants who are attracted to the *Le Communiste* group and who think that the leadership of the PCF is no longer simply opportunist but has become reformist, who even think—Trotskyist heresy!—that it is time to call for a new party, must ask themselves some questions. The popular fronts in the '30s-'40s coincided with periods when the French bourgeoisie needed an alliance with the Soviet bureaucracy. So the PCF did not have to choose between loyalty to its "own" bourgeoisie via the popular front and the Soviet Union. Was PCF ministers' support to the massacres of Sétif and Madagascar after "Liberation" any better than Vitry? Was PCF ministers' support for sending French troops to Vietnam better than the PCF's current support for NATO and the *force de frappe*? Marchais can come out in favor of a "good" popular front to the recent Central Committee meeting. The fact is that in every popular front the losers are the working class.

No, comrades, the decisive betrayal by the PCF goes back much further. It goes back to the factors behind the PCF's support to the first popular front in 1936. The decisive betrayal of the Stalinist parties goes back to 1933, when the German CP, with the agreement of the Communist International under Stalin, took the line of "after Hitler us," thus allowing Hitler to take power without a shot being fired by the most powerful CP in Europe. The Laval-Stalin pact (accepting French "national defense") consolidated this betrayal for the CP, eliminating the last obstacles to its support to its "own" bourgeoisie under the popular front. Ever since then the line of the PCF has been fundamentally the same. The question is not Marchais' present disgusting antics, his willingness to support imperialist-backed counterrevolution in Afghanistan and the introduction of U.S. nuclear missiles in Europe for a seat next to Dreyfus [ex-chairman of Renault]; the question is Stalinism.

Our opposition to Stalinism has nothing to do with whimpering Eurocommunists like Elleinstein or Fiszbin. In fact, after vigorously denouncing them for social-democratic class collaboration, the PCF leadership has... adopted their program! They refuse to support the Red Army against the barbarous Afghan reactionaries, who want to imprison women in veils, shoot school teachers and flay Russian prisoners—and all this in the name of "human rights" no doubt! They abandon Moscow and Leningrad to imperialist dreams of nuclear first strikes and give backhanded support to John Paul II and Walesa. No wonder Fiszbin demands an immediate Party conference: for all his polemics against the Eurocommunists at the latest Central

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Fake-Trotskyists Hop on NATO Bandwagon

USec Calls for Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan

Sygma

Afghanistan poaed Russian question pointblank.

The title read: "For an End to the Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan! For the National Rights of the Afghani Peoples!" A communiqué by NATO's foreign ministers, perhaps? Or another U.S. State Department brief for some United Nations debate? No. This is a new appeal coming out of a May meeting of the International Executive Committee of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) as recounted in *Internationalen* (18 June), organ of its Swedish section, the Kommunistiska Arbetarförbundet (KAF).

Everyone in the world knows that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan would be a big step toward the triumph of bloody counterrevolution in its most barbaric form—the enslavement of women to the veil, precapitalist exploitation of the peasantry, physical extermination of the country's small modernizing intelligentsia. Everyone knows this would mean a fanatically anti-Soviet government on the southern border of the USSR. Western imperialism has therefore made the demand for Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan a major focus of its current Cold War offensive. That is why the French Communist Party (PCF) had to reverse its previous support for the Soviet presence in Afghanistan to obtain a few minor ministries in a NATO-allied government. *And that is also why Ernest Mandel's USec, too, has recently changed its line.*

Unlike Marchais' PCF, the USec has not actually reversed its position, since it never supported the Soviet intervention against the Islamic reactionaries to begin with. Moreover, a large minority of the organization, whose most prominent spokesman was Tariq Ali, joined the imperialist "Soviet troops out" chorus from the outset. The Mandelite center hedged the question. While strongly condemning the Soviet intervention, it stopped short of the outright *counterrevolutionary demand* for withdrawal. A USec majority resolution in late January 1980 stated correctly:

> "In the conflict between the reactionary coalition and imperialism on the one side and the Soviet troops and the [left-nationalist] PDPA government on the other, the demand for Afghan national sovereignty in the name of the right of peoples to self-determination would be nothing but a democratic guise for the aims of reaction and imperialism. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops would in no way assure any freedom for the Afghan nationalities to decide their own course. It would only open the way for the installation of a reactionary regime oppressing the workers and peasants, a regime beholden to Washington, which would consolidate Washington's position in the region."
>
> —*Intercontinental Press*, 3 March 1980

What, then, has changed since these words were written? Certainly not the war in Afghanistan. The issues there have remained substantially the same since the massive Soviet intervention in late December 1979. What has changed is the USec. The rightward motion of the European-based Mandelite current is so rapid that it now calls for what little over a year ago it characterized as "a democratic guise for the aims of reaction and imperialism"! Throwing overboard the remnants of New Leftism, the European USec sections are talking about liquidating into the pro-NATO social-democratic parties of Francois Mitterrand, Tony Benn and Helmut Schmidt. Its pro-imperialist line shift on Afghanistan gives the lie to any claim that such an entry would be designed to win working-class militants to Trotskyism, a decisive element of which is the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism.

In fact, according to the KAF account, the USec's new line on Afghanistan is even more counterrevolutionary than the stated position of Mitterrand or Tony Benn. Mandel & Co. are not just calling for withdrawal but for actual *support* to some of the anti-Soviet guerrillas: "Instead, the progressive forces which grow out of the national struggle against the occupation must be supported," says the paraphrase by *Internationalen*. "Progressive forces"?! The landlords, moneylenders, tribal chiefs and mullahs fighting the Soviet army and its left-nationalist allies would be judged reactionary by the standards of Genghis Khan! Hoping to gull the innocent, the USec invents a "third camp" in Afghanistan: "These progressive forces are forced to struggle against both the occupation power and the right-wing rebels and imperialism, the resolution states." But all talk about "progressive" anti-Soviet forces fighting in Afghanistan cannot hide the USec's support to imperialist-backed feudalist counterrevolution.

The reformist American Socialist Workers Party, which surprisingly initially supported the Soviet intervention, anticipated by a few months the Mandelites' rightward line shift. Only a few USec sections, notably the sluggish Swedish KAF and the remote Australian SWP, still oppose the criminal call for withdrawal. But given the rapid social-democratization of the USec as a whole, even their minimal posture of Soviet defensism over Afghanistan is but a faint echo of the not-so-distant past.

And when the Red Army intervention triggered an explosion of Soviet defeatism in the European USec sections, we asked:

> "Is there anything left of the primitive leftist energies which once characterized the young USec cadres who built barricades in the Paris streets in May '68 and carried Vietcong flags in the radical 'mobilizations' over Vietnam? Or have 'the children of '68' grown up through years of tailing popular frontism into ordinary anti-Soviet social democrats?"
>
> —"'Third Camp' Fever in the USec," *WV* No. 253, 4 April 1980

The recent pro-imperialist line shift on Afghanistan is a large step in the USec cadres' becoming ordinary anti-Soviet social democrats, followers and would-be successors of Mitterrand and Benn.

It is now clearer than ever that only the international Spartacist tendency upholds the Trotskyist program of unconditional military defense of the degenerated and deformed workers states, through socialist revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies. Now more than ever, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!"■

Committee meeting, it is their line that Marchais is carrying out!

The PCF leadership has for a long time been pulled between its loyalty to the Kremlin and its desire to ally with the "progressive" bourgeoisie in a popular front in the name of "socialism in French colors." The Eurocommunists have resolved this dilemma by simply seeking an alliance with the bourgeoisie and its social-democratic lackeys. Today they point the way for the PCF leadership. Where will Marchais, Fiterman & Co. stop?

For a Revolutionary Opposition to the Popular Front!

The Mitterrand government not only promises more nuclear missiles, it also promises capitalist austerity. And the Communist ministers will have more than their share of the dirty work to do. To the extent that their positions are not laughably minor, they are dangerous. Fiterman will break railway and subway workers strikes and keep the NATO munitions rolling, too. Ralite will administer cuts in social services and health care.

Meanwhile, the "governmental agreement" binds PCF militants in the plants hand and foot. The CGT vies with the CFDT to assure Mitterrand, Delors & Co. that the "social peace" will be respected. [CGT head] Séguy's position on the 35-hour week is not different from [CFDT leader] Maire's: the 35-hour week by... 1985. Where is the militant action that Séguy and Marchais promised us? It doesn't exist! The CGT tops are so dead-set against strike action that they have even refused to advance any precise demands!

We say no to the "social peace"—tear up the governmental agreement in the plants! We can expect nothing from the "new majority" except what we wrest by our own power. Fighting for even the most elementary needs of the working class means a break with parliamentarism and the popular front. Today Marchais goes further than Thorez ever dared: his line is "you have to know how to prevent strikes!" And should the workers fight against policies implemented by CP ministers, we can only be proud that "strikes are the arm of the Trotskyists!"

"Far" Left?

But not for the "far" left. The OCI openly called for a vote for Mitterrand in the first round. And as for the LCR [Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire], it has come out against strikes against the government on the grounds that they will only "aid the right." As if a prostrate working class weren't the biggest gift we could give the reactionaries! [LCR organ] *Rouge* headlines, "The PC and the PS are the majority, the bosses must give in!" Politely?

Krivine & Co. are now thinking of joining the social-democratic parties, and not just in France. Perhaps he wants to follow in the footsteps of his pal Régis Debray, ex-guerrillaist turned "socialist" courtier, and become a "Trotskyist minister." It is clear that the LCR and the rest of the "far" left have nothing in common with Trotsky or Trotskyism. Legislate the 35-hour week into existence? Confronted by the popular front in the '30s, Trotsky raised an extra-parliamentary perspective: committees of action, a general strike, workers militias, expropriation of the bourgeoisie. A workers government is not a PC-PS government, it is what the Bolsheviks set up in October 1917!

The parliamentary framework is a dead end. Even without the presence of Jobert, Dreyfus, etc., a PC-PS coalition would promise only capitalist repression and austerity with a rose-colored veneer: "democratic" cops, "democratic" expulsion of immigrants, "democratic" layoffs and a "democratic" *force de frappe*. It is not on the basis of a parliamentary bloc between these two eager servants of crisis-ridden capitalism that a workers government prepared to expropriate the capitalists and break their resistance, not politely asking them to go away, will come into being. For this the working class must create organs of proletarian power (soviets) as the basis for its rule, under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party.

The PCF gave up any claim to this role long before it formally dropped the dictatorship of the proletariat from its program. Militants of the PCF: Defend the gains of October! The PCF is no place to be a communist! If you break with Mitterrand's "Communist" errand boys, if you want to defend the Soviet Union, if you want to build a truly revolutionary Leninist party, you will be confronted with the question of Trotsky, the true continuator of Lenin; Trotsky who built the Red Army to defeat the bourgeoisie in the imperialist intervention. We Trotskyists are the party of the Russian Revolution!■

USec's Turn to Social Democracy

Following Socialist candidate François Mitterrand's victory in the May French presidential elections, the absence of an explosive upsurge of class struggle was deafening. Commentators remarked that it was a long way from the mass radicalization of May '68, and farther still from the victory of the first popular front in May '36 which erupted in a grandiose general strike. Then a centrist leader proclaimed "everything is possible" and Trotsky announced, "the French Revolution has begun." But today virtually the entire French left, from social-democratic and Communist Party reformists to the ostensibly Trotskyist trio (LO/LCR/OCI) agree that everything is *not* possible and do their best to hold back the masses, in order not to "aid the right."

The contradiction between this pusillanimous response and Trotsky's revolutionary communist program was dramatic. Where the Trotskyists in the 1930s mercilessly denounced the class-collaborationist roadblock of the popular front, which treacherously ties the workers to sectors of the bourgeoisie, today the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—French section of the United Secretariat [USec]) called Mitterrand's election achieved with Gaullist support a "First Victory" (*Rouge*, 15-21 May). The USec's Spanish LCR was even more rapturous, announcing "Mitterrand Won: Oh, là, là, c'est magnifique!" (*Combate*, 14-21 May). French LCR leader Alain Krivine even *withdrew* an earlier call for a general strike, in order not to embarrass their new "comrade president."

This flagrant capitulation to the social-democratic wave was neither new nor a particularly French disease with the USec. Rather it expresses the increasing social-democratization of the pseudo-Trotskyist followers of Ernest Mandel in recent years. In Germany, an initial bare majority in the USec's Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM) against voting for Helmut Schmidt's SPD in the 1980 elections was overturned by placing the section in receivership to Mandel, whose lieutenants pushed through a pro-SPD position. The increasing strength of the Labour "lefts" around MP Tony Benn in Britain has already led various centrist Trotskyoids there to submerge themselves in the Labour Party, and the USec's International Marxist Group (IMG) is looking to liquidate into this milieu as well.

Entrism Sui Degeneris

This general reorientation has produced what could be called the USec's "British turn" to social democracy. An article by the IMG national secretary in *Intercontinental Press* stated: "It is becoming necessary for substantial numbers of revolutionary socialists to join the Labour Party...." Internally, an IMG bulletin reported that "in Western Europe as a whole" the USec was investigating "the possibilities of fighting for Trotskyist ideas among the ranks of workers in these ['mass Communist and Socialist'] parties." The entrist perspective is indeed being pursued throughout West Europe. In Sweden the USec representative at the KAF congress in May called for entry into the social democracy, even though the latter had just expelled the "Offensiv" group (linked to Ted Grant's loyal-left Militant tendency in the British Labour Party) as being too "leftist." In Italy, an internal bulletin of the USec's LCR argued that "future factional work" in the Communist Party is "the *organizational channel* through which the most interesting processes for building the party can appear."

Thus the European Mandelites, plagued in recent months with disarray and disorientation, are poised for a liquidationist plunge into the mass reformist parties of the sort which marked the political destruction of the Fourth International nearly 30 years ago. The policy of "entrism sui generis" authored by Michel Pablo posed a period of long-term entry into the social-democratic and Stalinist parties in hopes of pressuring the bureaucracies to the left. No longer were independent Trotskyist parties necessary to lead proletarian revolutions, the Pabloists reasoned; "blunted instruments" were sufficient. This subsequently blossomed into political support to the Castro regime in Cuba (labeled "unconscious Marxists") and a series of petty-bourgeois "vanguards." Now the Pabloist/Mandelites have come full circle.

Fake-Trotskyists tail Mitterrand (left).

Francolon/Gamma

The USec has been a federation of rightward-moving centrist and deeply reformist sections for some time. It has nothing to do with a democratic-centralist Trotskyist international. Endlessly chasing after the "main chance," rather than intervening with the Bolshevik program, the militants from the barricades of 1968 have grown tame with time and the accumulation of USec betrayals. But as the Krivines and Tariq Alis now seek the company of the Benns and Mitterrands, a number of revolutionary-minded militants have rejected the centrist swamp in order to fight for Trotskyism. This is so threatening to the USec tops that they have resorted to the crudest political expulsion in Britain to purge 16 members of the Communist Faction (CF) (see article page 7).

In addition, several comrades have recently resigned from the French LCR and German GIM in solidarity with the international Spartacist tendency. Together with the CF, which now has fraternal relations with the iSt, this represents the greatest single accretion of USec cadre to the banner of authentic Trotskyism yet seen in Europe. We excerpt below the resignation by comrades Bernhard and Claudius from the German GIM; an accompanying article describes the struggle of comrade Demo, an auto worker militant in the CGT labor federation, against the anti-Leninist course of the LCR. These militants have chosen sides to fight for international proletarian revolution. Their experience points the way to others who refuse to follow the Mandelites' long march from Che to Mitterrand. ■

Trotskyists Break From United Secretariat

LCR Auto Militant Joins LTF

The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), French section of the United Secretariat is quite comfortable with Mitterrand's popular front in France, proclaiming itself the "third" component [after the PCF and PS] of the new majority while pretending that the "fourth," bourgeois, component isn't part of this alliance. But it's Jobert [Gaullist Minister of Foreign Commerce] and Faure [Left Radical Minister of Justice] who have the ministries and it's the MRG [Left Radicals] and the "left" Gaullists who will get the seats in parliament while the LCR only constitutes the fifth wheel on the cart. For LCR members who don't want to collapse into the social democracy, who refuse to be in the same majority as Jobert and [Left Radical] Crépeau, who want to fight at the side of the other workers against the bourgeoisie and Mitterrand's popular front there is an alternative—the revolutionary program upheld by the Ligue Trotskyste de France.

Recently a worker at the Renault-Cléon car plant for ten years, and a member of the CGT who has been a member of the LCR for two years, resigned from the LCR in solidarity with this program. Comrade Demos began his opposition to the class-collaborationist politics of the LCR last October. In a document printed in the internal bulletin of the Rouen branch he criticized the LCR's political support to "Union dans les Luttes," a collection of Eurocommunists, dissident Communist Party members and social democrats who campaigned for an electoral accord between the PCF

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Resignation From GIM

"The greatest honor for a genuine revolutionist today is to remain a 'sectarian' in the eyes of philistines, whimperers and superficial thinkers."

—Leon Trotsky, *Writings* [1929]

After more than a year of programmatic opposition to the headlong rightward course of the GIM and United Secretariat we are convinced that there is only *one* perspective for comrades who want to struggle for the international proletarian revolution: to get *out* of this bankrupt organization; for a serious discussion with the *Trotskyist League of Germany*.

Ronald Reagan's Cold War offensive, prepared by Carter, poses the question of the defense of the social gains of the October Revolution against imperialism (despite the Stalinist bureaucracy, which must be overthrown by the proletarian political revolution) as the dividing line for Trotskyists, just as it was in Trotsky's last political struggle—against the petty-bourgeois opposition of Shachtman. But the GIM presents itself as the appendage of petty-bourgeois pacifism instead of struggling against imperialist war and the threat against the workers states. ("The main enemy is at home.") After an interlude of over ten years in various "new mass vanguard" movements, after jumping on and off one bandwagon after another (guerrillaism, feminism, anti-nuclear power, etc.) the GIM threw the switches again most recently after Strauss ran for election—back to its home station, the social democracy. Trotskyist politics continue to go by the wayside or end up under the wheels. The slogan is "united-front orientation" vis-a-vis the SPD, and the GIM itself is degenerating

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British IMG: "Sparts" Under the Beds!

The leadership of the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), is continuing to purge the organization of insidious creeping Spartacism. Following the mass political expulsion of 16 members of the Communist Faction (CF) (see *WV* No. 282, 5 June 1981), the IMG is continuing to browbeat its membership, backing up its threats with further expulsions. The leadership's howls against "infiltrators" and "secret plots" must seem pretty empty to members who know the CF cadres as long-time IMGers whose oppositional program developed during more than a year of political struggle. While the reasons for the hysteria are clear—to make the IMG "safe" for Labour Party entry and to innoculate the ranks against left criticism—the methods are hardly likely to instill confidence among a membership which has never been permitted even to see some of the key faction documents.

Against the rightward motion of the centrist IMG, the Communist Faction led the only political resistance. The heightened Cold War mood has had powerful corrosive effects on the IMG's core cadre, which entered political activity as the "children of May '68." The pressures have generated a sharp rightward drift, demoralization and significant defections from the IMG. Latest rumor has it that long-time IMG "star" Tariq Ali was "lapsed" recently for non-payment of dues, though he continues to present himself as a "Fourth International" spokesman. The IMG has staggered from crisis to crisis with one failing get-rich-quick scheme after another. Years of incessant factional warfare (at the peak the IMG counted *six* organized tendencies) never escaped a framework of centrist impressionism and served only to dull the political senses. But with the Communist Faction it was different. Their lightning-swift bureaucratic expulsion, on explicitly political grounds, contrasts with the sluggishness the leadership displayed in dealing politically with their challenge. The questions posed will not be disappeared by any bureaucratic purge—they are the questions of the day.

The Russian question emerged as the cornerstone of the Faction program. But it was the IMG's prostration before the mullah-led "Iranian Revolution" which first provoked comrade Harney—whose ten years in the IMG includes stints on the Central Committee, Political Committee and Control Commission—to initiate the fight in late 1979. As Harney put it recently:

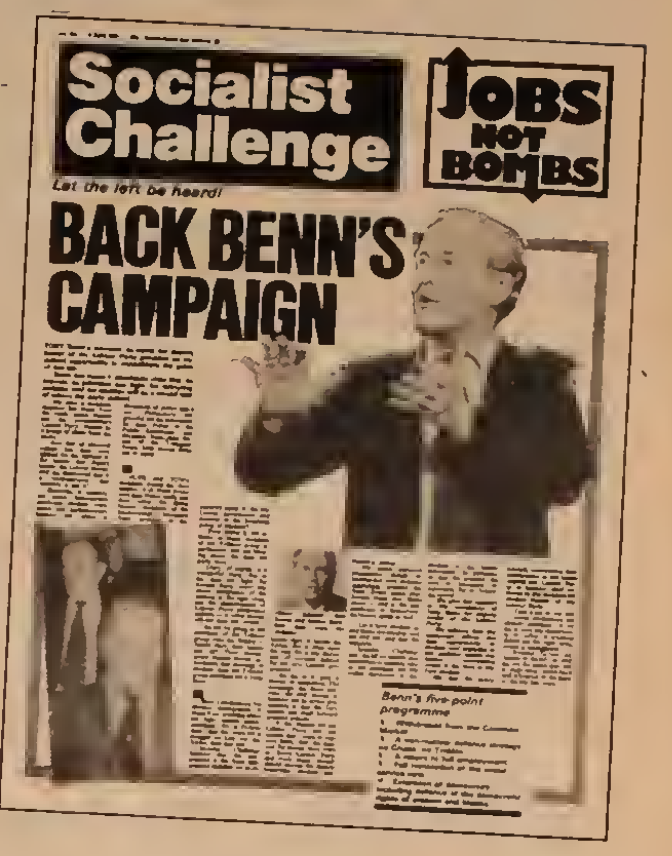
> "Perhaps I didn't know a lot about Iran at that time, but one thing I knew was that there was no way a movement led by feudalistic Persian-chauvinist religious fanatics like Khomeini was going to 'open up' the road to proletarian revolution!"

The IMG had abandoned its overtures toward various small-change state-capitalist groupings and was making its bid for the big time: Tony Cliff's state-cap Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Tariq Ali, main advocate of a swan dive into the Cliffites, authored *Socialist Challenge*'s front-page headline, "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" Even after the IMG pulled back from blocking with the imperialists in calling for withdrawal, Ali insisted, "I am unrepentant on Afghanistan" (*Socialist Challenge*, 6 March 1980).

At the February 1980 IMG national conference, comrade Harney presented his document, "So You Thought Defense of the Soviet Union Was Not a Central Issue?" In it he argued:

> "When the Soviet bureaucracy ordered the Red Army into Afghanistan, they unwittingly triggered a programmatic time-bomb that has been ticking away in the IMG. As part of our 'regroupment project,' the IMG leadership has been playing down the issue of the defence of the USSR, treating it as an entirely secondary, expendable part of our programme.... When the leaders of both major tendencies argued that defence of the USSR is not a burning issue today, *they revealed how far they have already moved towards the SWP's position*. Defence of the USSR against imperialism and internal counterrevolution is *always* a central question for Trotskyists." [original emphasis]

At the conference, Harney's position supporting the Red Army presence in Afghanistan received 20 percent of the delegate votes, while a resolution moved by him demanding recognition that defense of the Soviet Union is a principled question for revolutionaries—thus repudiating the political basis of the SWP fusion project—was passed by a larger margin than any other resolution presented to the conference.



IMG: Into the Bennite camp, out with the revolutionaries.

With the outbreak of the Iran/Iraq war, the IMG's line led to defense of Khomeini's "holy war" against the "infidel" Iraqis. This was challenged by IMG cadre Tony Vanzler in his document, "Iran: 'Best Defenders' or Revolutionary Defeatists?":

> "For Leninists the wars of the exploiters are an opportunity for the oppressed to rise up and throw off their shackles—not to reinforce them. If there is any 'gain' of the past two years of turmoil in Iran it is only this—the Khomeini regime has not yet consolidated itself fully and the Iranian capitalist state is less stable than under the Shah. This should be our point of departure—and that calls for a sharp struggle, with no mincing of words—against the politics of those who seek not to overthrow that state, but to strengthen it."

By fall 1980 it was clear that the Cliffites were not interested in the IMG's overtures, even with Soviet defensism buried. So the leadership turned its attention to a new target: the "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" (CND). Although (or because) disorientation was rife in the IMG over this new turn, the document submitted by Harney and seven other IMGers was suppressed. While the leadership urged trade-union and Labour Party branches to back the campaign "against the missiles," the Harney document, "Warning! Disarmament Slogans Only Disarm the Working Class," argued that "it is emphatically *not* our job to build CND":

> "In view of our leadership's wild enthusing over our 'successes' in this field, it will no doubt come as somewhat of a shock to many comrades to discover how *unambiguously opposed* to 'disarmament programmes' were Lenin and Trotsky. We will, of course, be accused of being 'sectarian'—so were they; of being 'abstentionist'—so were they; of putting forward 'abstract' and 'lifeless' proposals—so were they. They did, however, lead a 'mass movement' that *succeeded* in disarming the bourgeoisie; the Bolshevik revolution." [original emphasis]

The document pointed to the real target of the European Cruise missiles: the Soviet Union.

At this point the Communist Tendency was formed, with supporters in eight IMG branches. The IMG leadership was becoming increasingly uneasy. By this time they had discovered a new "main chance": the rift in the Labour Party. They threw themselves into becoming the best boosters for "left" reformist Tony Benn. From this point forward, the left oppositionists' days in the IMG were numbered. The Communist Tendency members proposed motions in their IMG branches demanding repudiation of a *Socialist Challenge* article which offered explicit support to Benn's reformist program "as far as it goes." The motion, which passed unanimously in one branch, read in part:

> "*Socialist Challenge* has given its political support to Benn's call for a 'non-nuclear defence strategy' for British imperialism. Support for ANY policy for capitalist defence spending is a violation of the historic principles of the Communist movement expressed in Liebknecht's slogan 'Not a penny, not a man, to the imperialist government'."

The IMG Executive Committee admitted in a letter to the Hemel Hempstead branch on 22 April 1981 that the *Socialist Challenge* statement "doesn't at all express our position on how revolutionaries can take advantage of the Benn campaign. The sentence

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Spartacist Britain

Spartacist contingent denounces pro-NATO Labourite lefts in London march against Cruise missiles, June 1980.

U.S./China War Axis...

(continued from page 1)

intelligence to use against the Russians: missile range, accuracy, payload, communications guidance.

The shift to an announced military alliance opens the way for Peking to modernize its arsenal with U.S. guidance systems for strategic weapons, anti-tank missiles, fighter planes, a delivery system for its primitive nuclear weapons and every kind of combat hardware. Just how much of this war machinery the Chinese military can absorb and pay for in the immediate future is not now known. But next month, their generals will be taking the short march to the Pentagon with a considerable shopping list.

Even Cyrus Vance, Carter's hapless Secretary of State, called the deal "needlessly provocative and smack[ing] of bear-baiting" (*New York Times*, June 24). But the baited Russian bear responded with deliberately measured language in a *Pravda* article under official signature, calling the arms agreement "highly dangerous," and "an escalation of reckless policy" (*New York Times*, June 28). The Russians have warned many times of the consequences of the U.S. arming China with strategic weapons. And this week again Russia warned simply and without bluster that "nobody should doubt that the Soviet people, who have good nerves and powerful means of curbing aggression, will not yield to provocations and will be able to stand up for themselves, to defend the interests of their friends and allies."

The Russian perception of the U.S./China axis is well known. Few things this side of an actual U.S. military adventure against the Soviet Union, Cuba or the Eastern bloc could be as provocative as the arming of China. The view from the Kremlin is that China is even more likely than the U.S. to squeeze the nuclear trigger in a bout of fanatical anti-Soviet frenzy and miscalculated geo-political strategy. And the Soviets may well be right. It is more than their traditional fear of encirclement by hostile powers that accounts for their obsession with China. Mao and his heirs have seemed quite crazed in their view of nuclear war. The most recent *Pravda* article, for instance, notes that "Peking has its own interests to pursue, namely to set the United States and the Soviet Union against each other so as to be able to dominate the world after a nuclear conflict." And this view of China is not new. Khrushchev recalled a conversation with Mao Tse-tung as they sunbathed at poolside in Peking in 1954:

> "Mao replied by trying to assure me that the Atomic bomb was a paper tiger! 'Listen Comrade Khrushchev,' he said. 'All you have to do is provoke the Americans into military action and I'll give you as many military divisions as you need to crush them—a hundred, two hundred, one thousand divisions.' I tried to explain to him that one or two missiles could turn all the divisions in China to dust. But he wouldn't even listen. And obviously regarded me as a coward."
>
> —*Khrushchev Remembers*, 1970

The U.S./China war axis is certainly a sinister and strangely complementary affair. Reagan and Haig dream of being the victorious survivors of a nuclear war against Russia due to high-tech "Star Wars" weapons superiority, while their Russian-hating allies in Peking nurture survival fantasies based on technological underdevelopment—sheer numbers.

It was Carter and Brzezinski who launched the present thrust toward war with the Soviets, and Reagan has escalated it dangerously. There are some things the Russians cannot abide, and Reagan knows it. When Harold Brown, Carter's defense secretary, went to China to point the way toward overt military collaboration, we wrote:

> "It is simply too dangerous for the Russians if the U.S. doomsday machinery is placed in the hands of the Chinese. For the Russians playing the China card is no diplomatic game; it is a matter of life and death."
>
> —"Russians Fed Up," *WV* No. 249, 8 February 1980

For the Russians, taking out the Chinese strategic weapons is not at all unthinkable. Last January, Leonid Brezhnev pounded a desk in Paris and laid out the Chinese tripwire for World War III. He was quoted by the president of the French national assembly as saying:

> "Believe me, after the destruction of Chinese nuclear sites by our missiles, there won't be much time for the Americans to choose between the defense of their Chinese allies and peaceful co-existence with us."
>
> —*New York Times*, 30 January 1980

Vietnam, Poland... the World

When China gets the guns, China intends to use them. As Haig and the Peking leaders exchanged smiles, toasts and condemnations of the "main enemy," Soviet "expansionism," they also agreed on the regional "danger." Russia's ally Vietnam is the more immediate target in the global war against "Soviet hegemonism." The U.S. imperialists long to punish Vietnam not only because of the Vietnamese military victory—historic evidence of U.S. decline—but also because an attack on Vietnam fits into Reagan's overall anti-Soviet containment strategy. Reagan/Haig are looking to demonstrate American military power. The targets are Afghanistan, Vietnam, El Salvador, and perhaps Angola/Namibia.

So when Haig went from Peking to a meeting of ASEAN in Manila it was Vietnam in his gunsights. A State Department official said the U.S. "will seek, if we can, to find ways to increase the political, economic, and yes, military pressure on Vietnam" (*New York Times*, 18 June). Given the recent rise of attacks against the Vietnamese on their borders, the U.S./China war axis may be planning another attempt at a "bloody lesson."

The 1979 invasion of Vietnam by China should have been a watershed for Maoists who had been born into political life as supporters of the Viet Cong against U.S. imperialism. But those pseudo-leftists who didn't back China outright wailed over the spectacle of two "socialist countries" at war with each other. At the time the Spartacist League emphasized that China was acting de facto with U.S. complicity, demanding "China Don't Be Cat's Paw for U.S. Imperialism," and calling on the Soviet Union to honor its treaty with Vietnam. Now the overt U.S./China alliance has confirmed that analysis. Thus a future attempt to "teach Vietnam a bloody lesson" will more likely be a combined imperialist and Chinese attack on a deformed workers state, part of a wider U.S. military thrust against the Soviet Union.

If Vietnam is the immediate target, it is Poland which casts the darkest shadow over the China arms deal. The precise military results for China cannot be known until the weapons are actually in Peking's hands. Thus more than one commentator has treated the announcement as a mystery while some speculate that it might be a mistake which could get Haig into trouble with the White House. But the announcement was intended as a *political* provocation precisely calculated and of global proportion.

Consider the timing and effect of the announcement. Since April when Caspar Weinberger spoke about the "linkage" between China arms sales and a possible Russian invasion of Poland, U.S. liberals have talked about holding up arms to China as a "deterrent" and "bargaining chip" with the Soviets. That is why Vance is screaming about the China arms deal as playing all the U.S.' China high cards in "no trump." He means that now the U.S. has nothing more to offer the Soviets in the way of a deal.

But he mistakes the Reagan purpose completely, which is not to deter the Russians, *but to provoke them*. The announcement is thus finely tuned and calculated to *urge the Russians toward an invasion of Poland*. Reagan and Haig want nothing more than to see Russian tanks roll into Warsaw and Gdansk. They want to see the Russians dragged into a massive bloodbath in Poland while their troops are tied down at the Chinese border. So go ahead, says Reagan. There is no SALT. No bargains over Chinese guns. Nothing.

Reagan's goading of Russia over China is part of a strategy of global confrontation. He is now talking openly of the "end" of Communism, while pushing for nuclear end-game. Last week, against the background of the China arms deal, multimillion-dollar weapons packages for Pakistan ("non-proliferation" be damned), the Rapid Deployment Force, the build-up of strategic and conventional forces in Europe and a projected trillion-dollar war budget, Reagan made the general case. "Communism," he said, is an "aberration...not a normal way of living for human beings." We are seeing "the beginning of the end" (*Washington Post*, 19 June).

While the talks were going on in China, Reagan spoke of Poland as the "first beginning cracks" in Soviet domination of Eastern Europe. The comment was supposed to be "off the cuff," but it was quite calculated. As bourgeois Russia-expert Hedrick Smith wrote in the *New York Times* (18 June): "That kind of remark from an American official is likely to harden the Kremlin's resolve to curb the movement for liberalization in Poland and possibly push ahead with military intervention despite the upheaval that is likely to ensue." When liberals like Cyrus Vance wail that Reagan has misplayed his foreign policy hand, that he has too early and too provocatively "played the China card," they assume that he is engaged in a game of diplomatic pressure tactics. In fact it is a big step toward war.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Where does the U.S. anti-Communist war strategy leave its "Chicom" ally? "You can't say that China will be Marxist forever," an American official recently told nervous Southeast Asian ministers at Manila. Indeed, any "security" China imagines it can purchase

Marcyite Exclusion Attempt Fails

SAN FRANCISCO—The would-be toughs of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF) thought they could violently suppress Spartacist League revolutionary criticism of their popular-frontist creature, the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) at its "first open meeting" here on June 18. They found out differently.

The YAWF goons, stationed outside the meeting hall to "patrol" Spartacist salesmen, and other YAWFers hovering in the rear of the room never got a chance to grab the three-foot wooden clubs they had stashed within easy reach. After a 20-minute presentation motivating PAM's "All-People's Congress" scheduled for next September, the first person called on in the discussion was a Spartacist. He attacked YAWF/PAM's class-collaborationist scheme to channel growing discontent with Reagan reaction behind the liberal Democrats. In less than a minute, the chair was hysterically trying to cut the SL spokesman off, YAWFers in the room began jeering and heckling in an attempt to drown him out, and a four-man YAWF goon squad moved in to physically silence him.

But Spartacist supporters, including several burly trade unionists, immediately rose and cut off the YAWF thugs. One SL supporter advised the lead Marcyite, "Don't do that. Why don't you look around, think about it and go sit down." Only a momentary glance around convinced the YAWF bully boy of the wisdom of this course, and he and his cohorts did as they were told.

A number of Spartacists were subsequently called on by the chair, and focused the rest of the discussion. Unable to physically silence us, YAWF grew increasingly hysterical, interrupting and cat-calling. At one point, the meeting's chairman even tried (unsuccessfully) to silence a Spartacist speaker by rushing into the audience and placing her hand over his mouth! Unable to withstand our political exposure and making a disruptive mess of their own forum, the meeting's organizers abruptly cut off discussion and rushed to adjourn the meeting.

Compared with YAWF, which has never had much of a presence on the West Coast, the Spartacist League represents a sizable and respected force in the Bay Area left. We have a well-deserved reputation for respecting and insisting on workers democracy in public meetings of the left, our own as well as all others. After YAWF/PAM's cordoning off of the Spartacist-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington May 3, and their failed attempt to prevent the SL from protesting Marcy's counterrevolutionary support to imperialist liberals at a WWP meeting in NYC June 6, we warned those who would exclude and attack the communists: "...if you try to silence our revolutionary message with fists, boots and broken bottles, then you are again at risk."

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with a U.S. military alliance will backfire. American imperialism is hostile to the expropriation of capitalism *everywhere*. The Reagan government particularly is anxious to see the eventual restoration of capitalism in China. And their handling of the issue of Taiwan is the tip-off.

The "sellout of Taiwan" has long been a hot issue between U.S. bourgeois liberals and the far right. So far the Reagan administration, sensitive to the Taiwan issue with its natural constituency, and Deng & Co. who for internal political reasons cannot appear to be "soft on Taiwan" have submerged the issue of Taiwan to their overriding anti-Sovietism. Despite wrangling among U.S. liberals and conservatives, the anti-Soviet war drive is a bipartisan consensus in the bourgeoisie. The U.S./China axis was developed steadily from Nixon/Kissinger through Carter/Brzezinski to Reagan/Haig.

This administration remembers the maps from the 1950s with rings of containment around the USSR and they are out to make it real. From Japan, through Asia and the Middle East and into Europe, Reagan is surrounding Russia with firepower meant to contain, isolate and ultimately destroy the USSR. In this conflict there can be no neutrals. Trotskyists unconditionally defend against imperialism the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state and the remaining social/economic conquests of the October Revolution!

In 1969, the SL noted the "objective possibility—given the tremendous industrial and military capacity of the Soviet Union—of a U.S. deal *with China*" ("Development and Tactics of the Spartacist League"). All of the Stalinist bureaucracies, whether Russian, Chinese—Mao or Deng—or Vietnamese share the anti-international conception of "socialism in one country." In its name they stab one another in the back seeking deals with imperialism for illusory national "advantages." The Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is one of the most conciliatory outfits imaginable. But there are limits, as Hitler found out.

Socialist revolution in the capitalist West is indispensable in order to destroy imperialist militarism—and to sweep away the Haigs, Weinbergers and Reagans who would incinerate the world in their anti-Soviet crusade. And in the degenerated/deformed workers states not simply economic advancement but survival itself demands that the workers, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, oust the Stalinist betrayers who bind them to the class enemy. As the U.S./China war axis threatens to turn the Cold War nuclear hot, one had better believe that the very existence of the planet depends on this. ■

Iran...

(continued from page 1)

that another 35 be executed by evening.

According to Teheran radio, on January 22 six leftists held in Evin Prison, the infamous dungeon where the shah had jailed and tortured his opponents, were executed. The victims included Mohsen Fazel, a leader of the eclectic Stalinist Peykar group; and Saiid Soltanpour, a well-known playwright-poet and supporter of the left-populist Fedaycen (Minority). Soltanpour, a prominent opponent of the shah whose arrest produced international protest, was condemned to death for having "bad records"! A few days later the government announced that five Bani-Sadr supporters had been executed and eight Baha'is, adherents of an Iranian-founded religious sect regarded by the Shi'ite clerics as heretics, had also been put before the firing squad. By the end of the week 60 victims, mainly leftists, had fallen to the mullahs' killing machine.

Yet at the very moment that the ayatollahs celebrate their bloody ascendancy, they are blown to bits by the terrorist bombs of...Shi'ite Islamic fundamentalists, perhaps. On June 27, Khomeini's chief military aide, Hojatolislam Sayed Ali Khameini, had his tirade in a Teheran mosque cut short when a booby-trapped cassette recorder exploded in his face. This was just for openers. The following night as ayatollah Beheshti addressed a weekly meeting of the Islamic Revolutionary Party, a bomb in a nearby trash bin turned the building into rubble. In addition to the chief justice, at least 20 members of the Majlis (parliament), four cabinet ministers and six deputy cabinet ministers met their maker.

The government attributes these bombings to a shadowy organization of Shi'ite fundamentalists. The official news agency, Pars, reported a note found in the wreckage: "This is the first gift of Forghan." Forghan is reputed to be a group of ultra-dogmatic Islamic clerics who oppose mullahs participating in political life, sort of an Iranian version of Jehovah's Witnesses with bombs. There have also been rumors of links to former Savakis (members of the shah's murderous secret police). Despite the turmoil in the Khomeiniite ruling circles, this dramatic terrorist act cannot decisively alter the balance of political forces to the benefit of the exploited masses. The fate of the mullahs' regime will be decided not by well-placed bombs, but by class struggle in the factories, fields and streets.

The rout of the "Western moderate" Bani-Sadr and his coterie dramatically exposes the left's illusions in the "Islamic revolution." Although elected by an overwhelming majority of the vote, he was never more than a semi-secular figurehead. Real political power has always been the monopoly of the mullahs who placed themselves at the head of the mass movement which toppled the hated Pahlavi monarchy. Their "Islamic revolution" which the left in Iran and internationally hailed uncritically was based on a priestly caste which organized through the mosque, propagandized and rallied from the minarets and terrorized its opponents with the *pasdaran* and *hezbollahi*.

With their control of the Majlis, backed up by the submachine guns of the *pasdaran*, the Islamic fundamentalists were able to chop away at Bani-Sadr's official powers. When he tried to appoint his prime minister according to the "Islamic Constitution," his clerical rivals simply changed the rules of the game and used their parliamentary majority to install their own man.

One of the reasons Bani-Sadr survived in office as long as he did was because of the protection of the imam Khomeini, whose backing was crucial in his electoral victory in the first place. He would whine to his mentor Khomeini and occasionally snipe at his fundamentalist foes, but only inveighed against "dictatorship" when his own neck was next on the chopping block. Remember it was Bani-Sadr who promoted the "Islamification" of the universities, a campaign of terror aimed at driving the left out of their strongholds. And when it came to suppressing the just struggles of the Kurds, Turkomans and other oppressed nationalities in Iran, he proved himself as rabid a Persian chauvinist as Khomeini or Beheshti. Before the reactionary border war with Iraq broke out, Bani-Sadr declared: "First of all, we must purge Kurdistan of armed political groups in order to be able to face the [Iraqi] Ba'ath regime."

But these services on behalf of clerical reaction and Persian chauvinism were not enough to save him. The turning point came when he called for nationwide protests against the government's closing of his newspaper, *Islamic Revolution*, along with five others. The next day a hundred thousand people streamed into downtown Teheran to demonstrate support to Bani-Sadr. Perhaps even more significant was the fact that the Teheran bazaar—the small

AP

Islamic "Revolutionary" headquarters in rubble. A Forghan conclusion?

shopkeepers who in the past have been staunch supporters of the clerics—shut down the same day.

Obviously alarmed by this show of opposition to the 'ayatollahs' rule, Khomeini denounced Bani-Sadr's call for anti-regime protest and threatened to deal with him "as I have dealt with the shah." The next day the imam sacked Bani-Sadr as commander-in-chief of the military, his last remaining position of power. Not one military commander rallied to his chief's defense. The presidential palace was besieged by *hezbollahi* chanting "Death to Bani-Sadr!" And that was the last day the president of Iran was seen in public. His taped messages from underground still profess his loyalty to Khomeini and his willingness to return to face trial provided he be granted three hours of radio time!

The Myth of a "Progressive Bourgeoisie"

If the ayatollahs had the power to easily sweep away Bani-Sadr, it is in large measure because of the criminally opportunist policies of the Iranian left. When Khomeini's reactionary Shi'ite clerics were leading a mass movement against the bloody dictatorship of the shah, the entire Iranian left supported the "Islamic revolution" and the new regime. At that time only the international Spartacist tendency warned that the mullahs' rule would be just as reactionary as the shah's and insistently counterposed a proletarian revolutionary alternative. We wrote: "This is not a victory for the working masses. Today, Iran belongs to middle-class Islamic reaction in a bloody alliance with a section of the same officer corps which has dealt out decades of death and oppression on behalf of the Pahlavis" ("Mullahs Win," *WV* No. 225, 16 February 1979).

The pro-Moscow Tudeh party, which bowed before the "imam" as its allies in Kurdistan were targets of terror bombing and its own Arab comrades in the Khuzistan oilfields had their strikes broken by *pasdaran*, is still trying to hide behind Khomeini. The cynical Stalinists had no illusions about Bani-Sadr's power; they knew he was a loser. But their own fantasy of an everlasting "détente" with the Islamic fanatics is a dangerous pipe dream. The recent banning of the Tudeh press, *Mardom*, was just a small warning of things to come. And if the Tudeh leaders think that ayatollah Khalkhali's recent "friendship mission" to Moscow will mean friendship with them, they should recall Chiang Kai-shek, who in the mid-1920s at least professed to be a radical bourgeois democrat.

The fall of Bani-Sadr has all but forced the rival Fedayeen guerrilla organizations onto opposite sides of the barricades. Last year this radical populist organization split, with the Minority more critical of the regime. Since then the Fedayeen Majority has moved close to the Tudeh as Khomeini's loyal left servants, while the Minority found itself in a de facto alliance with the Mujahedin as reluctant opponents of the dominant IRP. The Minority reportedly participated in the pro-Bani-Sadr protests, fighting the fascist *hezbollahi*.

Nonetheless, the Fedayeen Minority are caught in a fundamental contradiction. They believe in some kind of "anti-imperialist, democratic" revolution that is not socialist. Their "two-stage revolution" dogma dictates that they must support some bourgeois-democratic force. But where are the bourgeois democrats in the "Iranian revolution"? Compared to a Beheshti or Khalkhali, Bani-Sadr might look like something of a bourgeois democrat. But even this "moderate" clericalist politician was no force at all in resisting the feudalist reactionaries. Iran today offers but the latest proof that the "progressive anti-imperialist" bourgeoisie, which according to Stalinist doctrine must carry out a "democratic" revolution before the proletariat can establish its own class rule, is a fiction and a suicidal illusion.

What is needed in Iran is a Trotskyist party which hammers home that proletarian revolution is the real alternative to capitalist bonapartist rule upholding the social backwardness and imperialist subjugation, whether this takes the form of shah monarchy, Shi'ite theocracy or a military dictatorship. Such a communist vanguard would organize workers militias to defend the left, champion the right of the oppressed nationalities to self-determination, agitate in the armed forces against the reactionary nationalist war with Iraq, calling instead for a class war against the bourgeoisie on both sides of the Shatt-al-Arab, and fight for the liberation of women from the veil and other forms of feudal-bourgeois oppression. Trotskyists struggle to win subjective revolutionaries from all the tendencies of the Iranian left to the program of permanent revolution. Not shah or ayatollah or general, but a workers and peasants government! ■

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IMG...

(continued from page 7)

could be taken to imply that we give some sort of support to Benn's overall programme, as opposed to specific points. This was wrong." The letter continued:

> "But what shocks us is your demand for a public repudiation of this statement on the basis that it represents 'a gross concession to Benn's social democratic patriotism.' This thoroughly hostile reaction could only imply that you think that *Socialist Challenge* and the IMG are actually supporting Benn's programme in a consistent fashion."

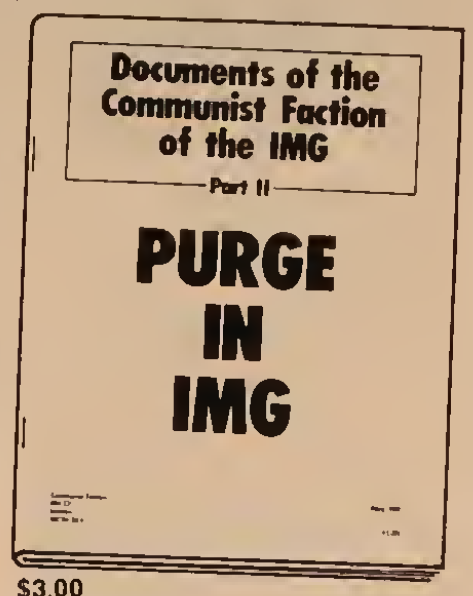
What?—publicly account for errors? Perhaps the error wasn't serious enough? Or maybe it wasn't an error....

The Labour Party entrist course had been decreed by the leadership in advance of a membership discussion. An IMG document stated: "In Western Europe as a whole the Fourth International is urging supporters in the mass Communist Parties and Socialist Parties to investigate the possibilities of fighting for Trotskyist ideas among the ranks of the workers in these parties." This is of a piece with French USec honcho Alain Krivine's statement that his group considers itself the "third component" of the Mitterrand governmental majority.

The letter to the Hemel Hempstead IMG also contained this ominous warning: "Is the Hemel branch under some sort of pressure from the Spartacists?" This signaled the leadership's intentions toward the Communist Tendency. The situation was coming to a head. The tendency announced the formation of the Communist Faction. One week later they were expelled en masse.

Three days later, the Political Committee came out with a "Dossier on the Expulsion of the Communist Faction." Along with the full panoply of misstatement, innuendo and slander, the "Dossier" contains the IMG leadership's first attempt at a comprehensive reply to the CF politics. Only when they had done their best to guarantee that nobody was left inside the organization to defend CF positions did the IMG leadership feel competent to attempt a political response—much of it an attack on documents the membership has still never seen. The tone of the "Dossier" is mock cloak-and-dagger and it isn't hard to discern the IMG leadership's relief at having found an organizational pretext for getting rid of a faction whose *politics* had already been made quite clear and quite identifiably "Spart" (or would the IMG like to claim there was anyone else on the British left that hailed the Red Army in Afghanistan from a Trotskyist standpoint?) "In the view of the PC the political and organizational clarification of the nature of the CF represents a gain for the organisation" says the "Statement from the Political Committee," because now preconference discussion will not be "diverted" into considering the CF's political positions. The main point of the "Dossier" is to intimidate future left critics in advance.

The pretext for the expulsions was the testimony of one Phil Edwards of the Wolverhampton IMG. The "Dossier" features his statement, full of dim-witted inaccuracies and lies, where he describes signing a "contract" with the Spartacist League of Britain (SL) for joint work based on the program of the Communist Tendency and the international Spartacist tendency's nine points for revolutionary regroupment. Edwards claims: "I read this and I signed. I signed in order to find out what was going on. I had made up my mind earlier on this." But did this oh-so-loyal IMGer confide in his leadership about his little spy gambit? Not a word—until he decided



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to turn in the CF as Spartacist "agents." We wonder: if he lies to the IMG leadership, and he lied to his fellow CF members, *whose* curiosity is he really satisfying?

Edwards' statement is aimed at making the Spartacist tendency sound as weird as possible, of course. Even so, we come off sort of impressive. As soon as Edwards signed an agreement for joint work, he was welcomed in good faith. The whole internal life of the SL was opened up to him. He was treated like a member. He was told that the CF would be proportionately represented on the SL's leading bodies. Armed with this presumed tale of terror, he rushed back to the IMG to provoke the expulsion of the CF.

Nine CF members were expelled as "members of a separate party, viz, the international Spartacist tendency." All 16 were expelled as "members of a disloyal faction by virtue of the fact that they defend the statement of the CF dated May 12 1981 which clearly indicated that, in the view of the members of the CF it is necessary to build a separate party to that of the IMG and FI." The statement referred to (see *WV* No. 282) says nothing of the kind. In answer to the leadership's demand that the CF "unambiguously" answer the question, "do you consider the Fourth International and its British Section to be a revolutionary Marxist organization?" the CF wrote:

> "To the question of whether the IMG and the USFI [United Secretariat] are revolutionary Marxist, we reply: we have yet to lead the working class to power....
>
> "The leadership has suppressed our disarmament document for five months, and is witch-hunting members of the Communist Faction with Stalinist-style accusations of 'factionalism,' and demanding a 'loyalty oath' as the implicit price for the circulation of our document to the membership and our further participation in the discussion. While this behaviour is not in itself a decisive proof that the IMG and USFI are *not* revolutionary Marxist, it is highly suggestive that this is indeed the case."

The IMG leadership focuses its hysteria on one point which is simply made up. On almost every page of the "Dossier" and twice in the eight-paragraph article which appeared in *Socialist Challenge*, they repeat that the CF characterized the IMG as "counter-revolutionary." From refusing to grant the IMG leadership a vote of "revolutionary" confidence in advance of discussion to writing off the IMG as "counterrevolutionary"—this is not only not logical, it is wrong. And it was *never* the CF's position. But the IMG leadership must "quote" this "position" over and over again in its cheap attempts to rally organizational loyalty against the CF.

For the IMG and USec, the definition of the word "revolutionary" comes down to whom you want to sell out to. But for serious revolutionists, a real doubt of the revolutionary nature of a leadership is the only justification for organizing one's supporters as a *faction*. The CF made this point explicitly. In fact, even the IMG's own organizational rules admit that:

> "A faction flows from the situation where it is held that other currents inside the organisation, generally the leadership, are threatening the existence of the organisation as a revolutionary force through programmatic revisions, not merely errors but betrayals of the class struggle... the revolutionary character of the current against which the struggle is being waged is at least called into question."

Supposedly, factions are permitted in the IMG. But IMGers beware! To "suggest" that the IMG may not be revolutionary is "disloyal." *And disloyal members are expelled!*

The Communist Faction, five of whose members were IMG members of more than *ten years'* standing, is called a bunch of "infiltrators" who sought to carry out a "wrecking operation in the IMG." And future left critics will be treated in the same way. The IMG leadership has now expelled another IMG member simply for raising a motion in his branch protesting the expulsions! This betrays a certain lack of confidence by the leadership, as does the motion passed in the Oxford branch forbidding IMG members to attend an SL public forum this month.

In the introduction to the "Dossier," the IMG leadership Spart-baits future oppositions in advance:

> "The IMG is well aware of the sort of operations that the Spartacists run. We are fully conscious of the fact that they may well have left sleepers in our organisation with the aim of forming a second wave.... I think we may have increased confidence now that we have the right methods...."

The "methods" in which the IMG has "increased confidence" are political expulsion and sinister Healy-style slanders that the SL is a "weapon designed solely to smash up left-wing organisations." This is a delicate way of charging that the CF is not just not part of the IMG—perhaps it is not part of the workers movement at all?

The "Dossier" is an open-ended threat aimed at the IMG membership: don't dare object to the IMG's calls for Soviet troops out of Afghanistan, better not criticize the great Iranian revolution, and above all don't get in the way of our courtship of Tony Benn. This was the first political expulsion in the history of the IMG, but it isn't going to be the last. ■

Auto Militant Joins LTF...

(continued from page 6)

and the Socialist Party:

> "The Call of the One Hundred is a call to reconstruct the popular-front Union of the Left 'in struggles.' Those who are nostalgic for the Union of the Left—Eurocommunists, Socialist Party members, nonaffiliated militants—have made an appeal to sign a petition. To amend this petition on struggles, the general strike, does not suffice to generate an anti-popular-front content. This is only, as Trotsky said, an appeal for a 'fighting popular front.' To say today that such a campaign is in contradiction with the divisive policies of the bureaucratic apparatuses is true. But on what basis? The intention of the majority of initiators and signatories is nothing other than the reconstruction of the Union of the Left (disarming the working class). The question for us is not to propose a united front on the basis of 'unity' in general. With such an intervention we appeal to the most backward elements of the working class. For the advanced workers it is a 'vague and confusing' intervention as the call for unity of the apparatuses becomes the principal axis of our program."

In a more recent document, "No, Mitterrand's Victory Is Not a 'First Victory' for the Working Class," comrade Demos exposed Krivine and company's present capitulation to the popular front: "Mitterrand's victory unmasked the LCR's real politics. To justify its support to Mitterrand it had explained that throwing out Giscard was the way to encourage workers' struggles. But now you can't find calls for strikes to win our demands anywhere in *Rouge* and even less mention of the general strike." For Krivine the task of the hour is...to vote: "Today our task is to reinforce and consolidate the united mobilization. Together we must impose a parliamentary majority of the parties of the workers movement."

The LCR leaders have been accumulating the proof that its "dynamic" is one of parliamentarism: on May 4 at the Mutualité Krivine explained that "we aren't going to go on a general strike to bring down Mitterrand because the alternative would be Chirac, the right wing" while *Rouge* called for a sort of referendum on the 35-hour workweek (!) and an LCR spokesman exclaimed, "We aren't going to go for all or nothing" (*Libération*, 19 May). Indeed! The explanation for this right turn is quite clear. As Trotsky said, "The use of the general strike is absolutely incompatible with the strategy of the popular front which means an alliance with the bourgeoisie, that is the submission of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie" ("The Hour of Decision Approaches"). Support the workers or support the popular front—you have to choose. Comrade Demos presented this choice to the militants of the LCR:

> "Deceive, calm, demoralize and defeat the working class, that's the aim of the popular front.... If tomorrow the workers begin to fight at Cléon and oppose Mitterrand they will turn to us and accuse us of having hid the truth, of having strengthened illusions in Mitterrand and of being responsible for putting a bourgeois government into power.... 'Don't play into the hands of reaction.' Now that's a new formulation in our newspaper. Comrade Krivine should leave this argument to the bureaucrats who seek to prevent or break a strike.
>
> "Krivine continues a little later: 'Many workers ask us for guarantees that they won't be betrayed one more time. Well, the only guarantee is of course their own mobilization. But it is also necessary to have a strong revolutionary organization...capable of simultaneously avoiding opportunist or extremist undertakings.' What is this 'mobilization'? Marchais also talks about 'mobilizations' but it is to avoid calling concretely for a strike. What is this 'extremist undertakings'? I've heard that too often in the mouths of Renault bureaucrats to not prick up my ears at that. It is necessary to say

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clearly to the working class: it is the popular front which leads to reaction."

Comrade Demos also had to fight the proposal of Jerome, a leader of the Matti faction at Rouen, to do an entry into the Socialist Party, the ultimate conclusion of the opportunist policies of support to the popular front. With the LCR's current positions such an entry could only be a liquidation in the service of social democracy. But this "entrism" may soon be the official scheme of the United Secretariat. As shown by the expulsion of the Communist Faction of the IMG, the leadership of the IMG understands that the future choice for the members of its organization will be social democracy or Spartacism. We hope that other members of the IMG and LCR will also understand it and that they'll make the choice of Trotskyism and the international Spartacist tendency.

GIM...

(continued from page 6)

progressively into an external (so far) faction of social democracy.

The crisis of humanity is the crisis of proletarian leadership: this sentence from the Transitional Program is today more valid than ever before. But it gets clearer and clearer: the so-called "Fourth International" will never be able to solve this crisis. We have seen how this "Fourth International" became the apologist for the clerical reactionary Khomeini and how in Nicaragua, capitulating to the FSLN, the perspective for a Trotskyist party was sabotaged and its own comrades were denounced. We saw how the line of support to the bourgeois SPD/FDP coalition was rammed through and bow now the pro-capitalist DGB and SPD trade-union bureaucracy is called upon to bring its influence to bear in Poland—which means nothing other than paving the way for the social counterrevolution. We have seen this International put out to pasture did not even manage to draw the class line in Afghanistan and take sides with the Red Army against the reactionary mullahs and khans, whose social program means only the enslavement of women, as well as the slaughtering and skinning alive of communist schoolteachers. But for us the question is at all times and in all cases the class standpoint: we had a side in Stalingrad and we have one in Afghanistan! We've had enough! We want to build a Leninist party which will lead the working class to the revolutionary seizure of power before it is too late—the GIM is nothing but an obstacle on the path to this goal.

Since the National Conference in February 1980 where a majority of the organization was *against* electoral support for the SPD, there have been a few changes in the GIM. Then, for the first time since Portugal, there were the beginnings of a halfway political discussion. But since the Extraordinary NC in June 1980 the GIM has been "homogenized" by the pro-SPD leadership on the SPD line....

In contrast to the unprincipled "middle swamp" of T5 we have tried to base our criticism of the GIM/USFI [United Secretariat] on the numerous recent examples of this organization's capitulation: in Nicaragua, Iran, Afghanistan, Poland—where it united with Heinz "All power to the madonna" Brandt (*Kritik* No. 27) and applauded "Rural Solidarity," an organization of small-time rural employers, representing a strong potentially counterrevolutionary force. We have sought the causes of the growing social-democratization of the GIM, which is logically bound to lead to liquidation into the SPD/Jusos/Falken [Jusos are the SPD youth, Falken the students and schoolchildren]....

For us it has become clearer and clearer that only the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) maintains and continues the tradition of Trotskyism. At the time, the Revolutionary Tendency (predecessor nucleus of the Spartacist League/US) struggled against the capitulation of the SWP to Castro's Stalinism.... Whereas the entire international left outdid itself enthusing over the Iranian "Revolution" only the iSt pointed out the absolute irreconcilability of the interests of women, the national minorities and the workers with the reactionary Islamic movement and made the connection with the question of the proletarian seizure of power....

Comrades, Mandel said some time ago that one could only pray for the GIM. We can imagine something better. We want to struggle for the worldwide proletarian revolution and not be "partners in dialogue" for Glotz, Voigt and von Oertsen [popular social democrats] or sell reformist/pacifist fairy tales such as "Jobs not Armaments" (*Was Tun* No. 310, 14 April) until an imperialist war decides the question of socialism or barbarism in favor of the latter (see our document, "For revolutionary anti-militarism" in [GIM] *Rundbrief* No. 4, 27 March). Therefore, we are breaking with the GIM, which cannot be reformed, on a comprehensive programmatic basis. We are resigning from this rotten organization in order to take up contact with the international Spartacist tendency, with the TLD. We call upon all comrades in the GIM who want to see the proletariat in power to contact us to discuss this perspective.

Break with Pabloite opportunism!
Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International!
Long live the proletarian world revolution!

Bernhard, Freiburg
Claudius, West Berlin

Australian SWP...

(continued from page 2)

reformists are really trying to do is to make the same argument as Stalin when he opposed workers revolution in Spain: to say that raising communist slogans could scare off the middle class, and thus the Trotskyists and other "ultraleftists" would have to be "liquidated" for the benefit of "democratic" imperialism.

Of course the SWP, which due to a historical hangover occasionally refers to itself as Trotskyist, is afraid to say this openly. Their leaflet even claims, "We fully support, not only their [El Salvadoran leftists'] military victory, but their political victory, and the creation of an FDR government." This from people who not only oppose raising this "as a slogan for the mass movement," but even try to rip down banners for military victory and attack those carrying them! As for their "political victory," the FDR is a popular front tying the leftist worker and peasant organisations to dissident Christian Democrat and "social-democratic" bourgeois politicians. This treacherous policy of class collaboration was the axis of Stalin's counterrevolutionary programme in Spain, and it is not surprising that the two-bit reformist gangsters of today resort to anti-communist thuggery to carry it out.

Having failed to silence the revolutionaries with violence, the little Scheidemanns and Noskes of the SWP/CISCAC are now relying on lies. But as the American Workers World/YAWF/PAM outfit led by Sam Marcy, would-be bedfellow of U.S. Democrats Bella Abzug and Teddy Kennedy, found out to their chagrin June 6, those anti-communist attacks can boomerang badly (see "YAWF Goons Beaten Attacking SL Demo," *Workers Vanguard* No. 283, 19 June). We warn those counterrevolutionaries who would keep El Salvador protests safe for reformism by excluding communists: Don't tread on us! ■

Post Office...

(continued from page 12)

nothing and 200 militant unionists were vindictively fired by Bolger. Now Biller claims to be fighting for amnesty for the fired workers, but if he hadn't been a lousy scab herder in 1978 there wouldn't have been any fired workers. And if he's so hot to win amnesty for the victimized militants, why did he help scuttle a resolution at last year's convention which would have mandated "that the amnesty issue must be resolved with the reinstatement of all fired workers before any contract can be signed or agreed to"?

No Contract, No Work!

At that same Detroit convention Biller's New York local submitted a motion "that this Convention assert its steadfast devotion to the principal [sic] of 'no contract—no work'" and make sure "that this fundamental principle is not treated by the Postal Service as an empty formula." But who made "an empty formula" of "no contract, no work" in 1978? And who is preparing to do the same thing today? At the June 25 postal workers' rally at the New York GPO, Biller's hand-picked successor as New York local president, Josie McMillian, told workers that on July 20 Biller and Sombrotto would determine "if Bolger has been bargaining in good faith or not." The meaning of that remark was made clear when local APWU and NALC bureaucrats tried to shut up workers chanting "no contract, no work!"

The leaders of the 1978 wildcat at the New York Bulk center, now known as the Postal Workers Defense Committee (formerly the "Good Contract Committee," the "Workers Unity" group and "Outlaw") has attracted some support among APWU and Mailhandlers union militants over the past several years. But the record of these hopped-up reformists, who are politically supported by the Maoist rump group Revolutionary Workers Headquarters, does not in fact offer anything to postal workers looking for class-struggle leadership. The Defense Committee has consistently backed every out-of-office bureaucrat and disgruntled loser who took the APWU to court over election results. The outcome of these suits has been to drag the capitalist state's Labor Department into the internal affairs of the union and to put control of New York Metro local elections in the hands of the same government that hires Bolger and the Postal Inspectors to harass and terrorize postal workers.

These supposed "radicals" have never presented more than a narrowly focused trade-unionist viewpoint in their publications. They have never openly challenged the APWU's reliance on "friend of labor" Democrats and Republicans by posing the need for independent class politics. Most importantly they have never aspired to be anything more than a left pressure group on Moe Biller. Last year they called for votes to Biller in both local and national elections. Defense Committee leader Kenny Leiner, who has twice won election as APWU mailhandler vice president, has been rewarded for his support to Biller with his own column in the union's *American Postal Worker*—in which nothing Biller does not approve of can appear. It would seem that Leiner & Co. are taking the same political path as Moe Biller himself—from reformist "socialism" to the mainline trade-union bureaucracy.

Postal workers occupy a strategic position in the economy. Without a smooth flow of mail, banks, insurance companies, stock brokerages, utilities and other mail-centered businesses would lose millions of dollars a day. Big business is visibly worried at the prospect of a postal strike come July. Yet Biller, Sombrotto & Co. have made no preparation to fight, much less win a bitterly contested strike. Reagan can threaten to pull a Nixon and send in the army, but to paraphrase John L. Lewis, you can't sort letters with bayonets. Postal workers demonstrated in 1970 that they have the power to win their demands for job safety and security, for cost-of-living protection and for amnesty for the fired strikers. What is needed is above all a class-struggle leadership worthy of the workers they presume to lead. ■

Tax Hike...

(continued from page 3)

this black/labor town into a bastion of the open shop.

All opposition to this wage-cutting, tax hike proposal is labeled "racist." Yet during the city workers strike last summer, it was Young who handed the city over to the "outsiders" and racists of the Republican Party. Most of downtown Detroit was cordoned off from its black residents and Young told the striking city workers to eat beans "'till hell freezes over!"

It was Young's police force that protected the Nazi bunkers on Vernor and Fenkell in 1977. In November 1979, Young threatened to *arrest* those who wanted to stop the Klan from marching in downtown Detroit to "celebrate" the massacre of five anti-fascist militants in Greensboro, N.C. The anti-Klan rally, initiated by Ford Rouge militants who had just driven two Klan-hooded foremen out of the their plant, and built by the Spartacist League, took place despite Young's threats and was the first mass labor/black anti-fascist mobilization in Detroit in decades. Coleman Young and his cops are the enemies of working people and black youth—and no amount of talk about "freedom" will change that!

Young and his banker buddies are getting lots of experienced help from the UAW and Teamster bureaucrats. The UAW gave Young's committee $40,000 in auto workers dues money and loaned him Marc Stepp and Buddy Battle to push his wage-slashing. The AFSCME officials say they are opposed to Young's anti-labor referendum. But they did nothing while Young threw 4,600 city workers on the street over the last four years, and now Young's bragging about it! It was Lloyd Simpson who gave up three-man crews on garbage trucks. It was Simpson & Co. who rammed home the rotten contract last summer and refused to shut down Cobo Hall and Joe Louis Arena to win the strike. He didn't want to ruin Young's "party" for Ronald Reagan. The AFSCME bureaucrats are not to be trusted! They sell out the workers by chaining them to anti-labor Democratic Party politicians.

Detroit is decaying fast. A "yes" vote for Young's union-busting will not save Detroit any more than the millions of dollars squeezed out of Chrysler workers saved Dodge Main or Lynch Road. Young's "Chrysler solution" for the city means workers bleed while the corporations get tax breaks and the bankers suck the city dry. A strike by city workers with a militant leadership could stop the arrogant Young in his tracks. Linked with tens of thousands of auto workers, this could spark a counter-offensive by labor against the capitalist austerity drive. Make the bosses pay! Cancel the debt to the avaricious banks! No layoffs, no concessions, no cuts in city services! Expropriate the banks! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Postal Workers in Nationwide Picket

Strike Against Reagan Postal Union-Busting!

WV Photo

Angry Postal ranks demonstrate in front of New York City's GPO, June 25.

On July 20 the contract between unions representing 600,000 postal workers and the U.S. Postal Service expires. With hard-line Postmaster General William Bolger virtually refusing to bargain, and with the two major postal unions led by newly elected presidents who came to office pledging more militant policies, the stage is set for a showdown in the biggest labor negotiations of the year.

A nationwide picket was called June 25 as a "warning" by the unions. In New York about 3,000 postal workers marched in front of the GPO. But the official demands were limited to such half-hearted slogans as "2, 4, 6, 8—Bolger must negotiate." What is needed for the postal unions to win against the viciously anti-labor Reagan administration is a *solid national strike*, surpassing even the 1970 postal strike in militancy and solidarity. Postal workers have an opportunity to once again lead the American working class in struggle... or get badly shafted by a management that has no intention of being "reasonable."

Bolger, unaffectionately known as "the little general," is just the man to spearhead Reagan's union-busting offensive. In April, on the eve of scheduled negotiations for a new postal labor pact, Bolger unilaterally announced that there would be no bargaining. He outright refused to meet with union negotiators, using as an excuse the fact that two small unions, the Rural Letter Carriers and Mailhandlers, wanted bargaining separate from the big American Postal Workers Union (APWU) and National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC).

After two months of management delays and appeals, the government's own National Labor Relations Board told the Postal Service that its petition for the NLRB to force the unions to form a unified bargaining unit was "a solution to which it isn't entitled." Bolger finally turned up at the bargaining table but "Stonewall Bill" is obviously in no mood for serious negotiations. He hopes to drag out the bargaining past the expiration of the contract and force takeaway demands on the postal workers.

Sitting across the table from Bolger are APWU president Moe Biller and NALC leader Vinnie Sombrotto. Both are long-time New York local presidents who won election as national presidents last year largely as a protest against the disastrous 1978 contract. Biller, a former Communist Party supporter and 22-year New York Metro local president, comes from the union's historic center of militancy, where young Vietnam vets and Maoist-backed dissidents launched a wildcat strike against the 1978 contract. Sombrotto comes from NALC Branch 36, where letter carriers launched the great postal strike of 1970. Both were talking militant last fall, pledging that if Bolger tried to put a limit on cost-of-living raises, there would be "no mail to deliver on July 21st" (*Union Mail*, December 1980).

The key issues at stake are on-the-job safety, job security in the midst of an automation drive and an unlimited cost-of-living allowance (COLA). The death by management murder of mailhandler Michael McDermott in 1979 highlighted the Postal Service's horrendous safety record. McDermott was crushed to death in a conveyor belt on which management had deliberately removed safety cutoffs. As the *Wall Street Journal* (7 January) pointed out, the Postal Service has "an occupational injury rate that is one of the federal government's worst and more than twice as bad as private industry's." COLA and job security were also the issues in 1978. At that time a miserable contract was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership because it put a "cap" on the COLA and compromised the Post Office's traditional "no layoff" policy. After wildcats on both coasts were crushed, an arbitrator uncapped the COLA but ruled that all workers hired after 1978 would be subject to layoff. The unions now have pledged to keep the full COLA and fight to restore the "no layoff" clause.

New York Times

Army strikebreaker during 1970 postal wildcat: Sort the mail with bayonets?

1970 Strike Showed the Way

Before postal workers went on the pathbreaking, *illegal* strike in 1970 they were grossly underpaid and represented by what were little better than company unions. After the strike, wages increased and five weak unions merged to form the APWU. Another result was the Postal Reorganization Act, which established the semi-autonomous Postal Service in place of the Post Office Department, allowing legal collective bargaining with the federal government for the first time. The 1970 strike electrified the labor movement and also had a profound effect on young radicals, many of whom for the first time recognized in the postal workers' militant struggle the power of the working class in action.

"The great historic importance of the postal strike," the Spartacist League wrote at the time, "is that it is the first major strike against the federal government" (Spartacist leaflet, 23 March 1970). It started when New York City letter carriers walked out, defying their national leadership. They were quickly joined by clerks and mailhandlers, not only in New York, but throughout the country. Despite deliberate strike-breaking sabotage by virtually every national and local union official, young and black militants took the lead, keeping the strike going for eight days and defying Nixon's attempt to break the walkout with army scabs. New York letter carriers burned NALC president James Rademacher in effigy and hung up signs reading: "Dump the Rat—We Have No National Leader."

Today, as in 1970, the main problem confronting postal workers is the lack of any real class-struggle leadership. When Moe Biller ran for president of the APWU last year his campaign brochure described him as "Leader of the 1970 Postal Strike and 1974 Bulk Strike." He obviously was hoping nobody remembered the truth. In 1970 Biller at first gave in to the massive sentiment among clerks not to cross picket lines set up by the letter carriers. But workers who were there remember booing Biller off the podium at the Statler Hilton Hotel for trying to get the strikers back to work later. Four years later, when workers in his local staged a wildcat strike to protest arbitrary shift changes, the *Daily World* (25 January 1974) reported that "Moe Biller, president of the New York Metro area postal union, went to the picketline of the New York Bulk and Foreign Mail Center here this morning to tell the workers to report to work."

In 1978 Biller again played the role of strikebreaker when Bulk workers honored his call for "No contract, no work" and set up picket lines when the contract expired. "Biller: Back the Bulk!" they chanted, but Biller went back to bed. Had he called out the New York local, a national postal strike would have become a de facto reality. Instead he did

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 285 17 July 1981

Racism, Unemployment, Cop Terror—

Thatcher's Britain Burns

LONDON, July 13—On Friday evening, July 3, police from all over West London rushed into the heavily Asian Southall area to protect an invading mob of fascist "skinheads" from their intended victims. That same night in Toxteth, the sprawling slum district of Liverpool known as "Liverpool 8," a crowd of youth came to the aid of a young black motorcyclist being dragged away on a false theft charge. In the ten days since, the flames ignited that night have spread to more than a dozen cities, the total number of arrests has mounted to well over 2,000, and the mythologised Britain of the orderly bus queue and the "unarmed" bobby has been made a thing of the past. The tourists beckoned to London by the decadent pomp of the upcoming Royal Wedding found burnt-out buildings and boarded-up shop windows. The "troubles" had come to Britain.

Gamma

Thatcher's racist bobbies rampage in Liverpool. Cops out of the ghettos!

Now it was clear that earlier outbursts in Brixton and Bristol were the rumblings of a volcanic social explosion that was rocking the whole of Britain. So widespread and so intense were the upheavals that it was hard to miss the connexion between the eruption on the streets and the policies of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. Sections of the bourgeoisie, commentators and the man on the street understood that 40 percent youth unemployment was simply intolerable. Even the head of the Methodist Church explained that it was the government which had driven the youth to desperation. Thatcher tried to counter with supreme arrogance in a TV performance blaming the youth and their parents who do not "teach our children" to obey the law. She asserted that poverty and violence have no connexion, and told an MP that "there are many poor societies which are scrupulously honourable." Despite her doctrine of "honourable poverty" for England, even she had to admit that economic conditions were behind the explosions.

Although Thatcher took political centre stage as Labour's MPs yelled in Parliament that she was "a stupid woman," more than the failure of policy was caught in the heat of fire. The days of raging anger raised the most basic social questions for the rotting British economic order. (No doubt the Ronald Reagan gang who have been executing cuts with a similar social vengence watched with anxious foreboding as England's cities burned from coast to coast.) Thatcher's Britain had ignited on its most volatile social periphery, jobless youth, but at the strategic center of the class struggle, the working class was bearing the weight of decades of decay

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Outraged Transit Workers Protest

New York TA Killed Jesse Cole

The signal lights were out along the whole stretch of track in Brooklyn where the Manhattan-bound IRT Number 2 train comes down off the elevated into the tunnel. When motorman Jesse Cole approached that Friday afternoon, July 3, driving the 1:42 out of New Lots Ave., no red lights flashed, no trip arms went up, no flagmen were in sight to warn of the danger ahead. Unknown to him, a second train was stopped just inside the tunnel. When Cole's train plowed into its rear, 135 people were injured in the crash. The motorman's cab crumpled up like a metal accordion, trapping Cole inside. It took them about four hours before they eventually got him out. He bled to death in three. The NY Transit Authority killed Jesse Cole.

Even while Jesse Cole was bleeding to death inside his cab, moaning for help, TA chief John Simpson was holding a press conference amid the wreckage... to pin the rap on the victim. His eyes on the insurance companies, Simpson blamed the crash on "human error," denounced Cole for not following "the rules of the railroad" and accused him of going past five dead signal lights without radio authority. Showing how little they were concerned about a serious rescue operation, the TA didn't turn off the power for at least 40 minutes. They never even brought ordinary metal-cutting equipment, of the type carried by car and truck emergency units, to Jesse Cole's crushed cab, until it was too late.

It was a gratuitous, incredible attempt to scapegoat the dying black motorman for a crash caused by the deathtrap NYC subway system, which even management admitted is falling apart. The malfunctioning signal lights had been installed in 1918 (!) and, with the maintenance cutbacks, were not due for replacement till 1994. The crash came in the wake of the latest TA crusade over "low productivity" against Transit Workers Union (TWU) Local 100. *The very morning* of Jesse Cole's death, a

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WV Photo

Transit workers won't forget who killed Jesse Cole.

SWP's Lying Frame-Up of Hedda Garza

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has added a bizarre note to its current civil suit against the FBI by charging ex-SWP member Hedda Garza with collaborating with the government in trying to "link the socialists to the illegal funding of a foreign guerrilla movement." "Ex-SWP Member Testifies for FBI" blared a headline in the 26 June issue of the SWP's *Militant*. "At two secret meetings," says the article, Garza "discussed her cooked-up story with Edward Williams, the head attorney for the government.

Garza took the stand June 12 in reply to a government subpoena. She was quizzed by Williams about conversations she had with Hugo González Moscoso—a leader of the Bolivian section of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) with which the SWP is "fraternally associated"—during his 1967 visit to the U.S. During this visit González Moscoso stayed at the home of Dick and Hedda Garza, then both members of the SWP.

At issue was a government allegation that the SWP had passed money to González Moscoso in a movie theatre where he and several leading SWPers had gone to see the film *Battle of Algiers*. Throughout the trial the SWP has denied giving money to González Moscoso then or at any other time. "It was only with Garza's appearance on the stand," says the *Militant*, "that her role in manufacturing these charges became clear.... It is now established that Garza met secretly with FBI lawyers...."

In court on June 12, SWP chief counsel Margaret Winter asked Garza if she had had private meetings with government attorneys. Garza said no. Then Williams approached the bench and told the judge that he had met with Garza off the record on two occasions, first following her appearance for pre-trial deposition and again at a restaurant, and that they had discussed her upcoming testimony.

Following the appearance of the 26 June *Militant* article, *WV* received a mailing from Hedda Garza which included photocopies of the *Militant* article and of the official court transcript of Garza's June 12 testimony, along with a mimeographed statement by Garza dated 17 June in which she denies having met privately with Williams.

Review of the court transcript confirms that the SWP article is a malicious smear job. The headline is a lie: Garza did not testify "for the FBI" any more than did the several SWPers called as government witnesses. She did testify for the SWP. The SWP is quite explicit that the alleged meetings with Williams were briefings: she was coached to say what she did. Okay, what did she say? Here is the key fragment of Garza's testimony, taken from the court record:

> "Garza: [González Moscoso] described what the situation was in Bolivia and that they were being attacked and arrested.... He said that he had come to get aid for his struggle there, yes, and that he had also come for medical attention.
> "Williams: And did he say to you or indicate to you that he had obtained the aid that he sought?
> "Garza: Yes, he said that he had gotten what he came for.
> "Williams: And what was that? Did he indicate what the aid was? Did he indicate it was money or arms or munitions?
> "Garza: Presumably financial. He said he had come for financial aid.
> "Williams: And did he indicate to you who he had obtained that aid from?
> "Garza: No, he did not.
> "Williams: Did he indicate to you that it was obtained from the SWP?
> "Garza: No, he didn't say he obtained anything from the SWP."

As Garza notes in her 17 June statement, her testimony supported that of SWP head Jack Barnes, who acknowledged that González Moscoso might well have received financial help during his visit to the U.S., but not from the SWP. An interview in the 24 April *Militant* had quoted Barnes:

> "In pre-trial testimony I told the government lawyers that when González Moscoso came to this country there was deep repression in Bolivia.... So it's entirely possible that people in this country would have raised money to help their families. González Moscoso may have gotten money from some of them.... But the SWP did not give him any money, and he did not ask us for any."

On the face of it, then, the SWP's allegation that Garza told the court what the FBI wanted to hear is simply false. The substance of the *Militant* article itself refutes the headline's claim that Garza testified "for FBI," for the quotations from Garza's testimony include her denial that González Moscoso ever said he had received money from the SWP. Perhaps the SWP noticed the problem, for the 10 July issue of the *Militant* slid over into unequivocal lying. The "Day by Day—What Happened in Court" column reports on Dick "Catarino" Garza's June 25 testimony as follows:

> "Day 54: Thursday, June 25—SWP leader Catarino Garza says Bolivian revolutionary Hugo González Moscoso stayed with him and his wife in 1967, but denies testimony of Hedda Garza that González Moscoso had told him the SWP had given him money."

The court transcript of Hedda Garza's testimony and the initial *Militant* article show this to be a pure, vicious fabrication.

Somebody Committed Perjury

The incident the SWP uses as foundation for its lies is FBI attorney Williams' claim that Garza perjured herself on the stand when she denied having met with him privately. It is clear that somebody committed perjury in federal court on June 12—either Garza or Williams. The SWP chooses to believe Williams:

> "On pain of placing himself in the position of knowingly allowing perjured testimony to enter the record—for which he could be found in contempt of court—Williams was forced to disavow the FBI's own star witness of the day."

What? Can the SWP seriously mean to suggest it is convinced that the chief government attorney has not "knowingly allowed perjured testimony to enter the record"?—this in a trial in which mountains of lying testimony of FBI bureaucrats and innumerable perjured sworn statements by FBI spies and provocateurs represent the core of the government's "case" against the SWP!

If the SWP has any reason other than its faith in the government's integrity to accuse Garza of perjury, they aren't saying. Despite repeated phone calls by *WV*, the SWP refused to comment; Garza herself cancelled an appointment to meet with a *WV* reporter saying she had been advised by her political friends not to talk at this time. Like most of us would say about "who shot Kennedy?": We don't know, we weren't there. And it is by no means clear that the "impartial Left commission of inquiry" Garza calls for in her 17 June statement would be able to develop further evidence. The kinds of things that could possibly resolve the matter—e.g., internal memos by Williams on the alleged conversations, FBI agents' reports that they were following Garza someplace else at the time the meetings are supposed to have taken place—require the application of bourgeois state power to compel disclosure and are quite beyond the present reach of any workers commission of inquiry. Garza is left in an unenviable position, charged with indefensible conduct, with no apparent way to establish the facts.

The SWP's touching faith in its bourgeois state antagonists to the contrary, government prosecutors, state and federal, are notorious for their lying, their concealing and inventing of evidence. Those who know Hedda Garza know her as aggressively emotional and no genius. Her 17 June statement seems to honestly describe her very frightened, panicky state of mind throughout. It is not clear to us whether, as a third party in a civil proceeding, she could not simply have refused to appear for any pre-trial deposition. The FBI would reasonably expect she might be vulnerable to its pressure. It is entirely possible that the government, knowing full well the hostility between Garza and the SWP and between Garza and her ex-husband, SWP leader Dick Garza, tried to intimidate Garza into testifying against the SWP; perhaps when she did not say what they wanted in court, they vindictively unleashed the SWP against her.

Certainly the *Militant* article reeks with malice. The article displays blithe unconcern for Garza as a target of past and possible future government witch-hunting. It suppresses one important fact about her court appearance: that it began with a lengthy presentation by Garza's lawyer challenging the government's subpoena on the grounds it may have derived from illegal electronic surveillance. To say the least, the *Militant* does not seem to share Garza's objections to having been the target of FBI spying. According to the court record, the government admitted to electronic surveillance of Garza without a warrant on two occasions. The *Militant* has not a word to say about this infringement of Garza's rights.

Indeed, the *Militant* tries to present Garza as an embittered ex-leftist:

> "Hedda Garza split from the SWP in 1974, along with other members of the Internationalist Tendency (IT) grouping. A number of former members of the IT have since rejoined the SWP. Garza, however, has remained bitterly hostile to the party."

In fact, under SWP cross-examination, Garza had described her efforts to carry out the USec majority's cynical program for the expelled ITers—that they should acquiesce to their political destruction by seeking individual readmission to the SWP. In 1975 or 1976, Garza testified, she sought readmission but the SWP refused to assign her to a branch or give her assignments. A year or so later, she says, she again sought to rejoin; she was assigned to a branch and worked with the SWP for "close to two years" without being accepted. Finally she was granted "provisional membership status" which was soon withdrawn. Her 17 July document notes that her appeal to the USec is still pending.

Now, we know how little the bureaucratic SWP longs to have oppositionists in the party. But surely a desire to irreparably damage Garza's appeal is not a sufficient motive for the hatchet job the *Militant* has just carried out against her. A more credible reason for the SWP's demonstrated malice is probably the government's efforts to

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 285 **17 July 1981**

Letter

July 12, 1981

Dear *WV*,

As a member of the National Association of Letter Carriers (NALC) I wanted to add a couple of points you missed in your article on the postal workers.

First of all, let me emphasize how outrageous Postmaster General Bolger was in the pre-contract period. Not only did he unilaterally announce that there would be no bargaining, but he circumvented the union negotiating committee and sent an incredibly provocative letter to every postal worker in the U.S. In this letter he proposed to extend the contract in certain limited areas should the NLRB process last beyond July 20th. For example, Bolger arrogantly announced that he would extend the grievance procedure to cover only discipline cases but not grievances on contractual violations. At that point our union leaders should have made it clear that the union stands opposed to any contract extension (no contract, no work) and should have mobilized for a strike.

But what did they actually do in response? As NALC president Sombrotto said in the June *Postal Record* (monthly journal of the NALC), "Certainly, APWU president Moe Biller and I have done everything in our power to solve this problem peacefully and legally and responsibly. Yes, we have been 'responsible' because up to this point, we have tried to keep this fight where it belongs—before the NLRB, the Congress, and the court of public opinion." The one thing they haven't done yet is mobilize our unions for a national strike to defend our unions and our jobs.

As for June 25th, the national postal action day, *WV* gives these bureaucrats too much credit, calling it a "nationwide picket." It was a totally impotent *informational* picket line specifically designed not to disrupt any postal activities. "Picketing will occur after work hours—thus, it is perfectly within the law and you cannot be disciplined for such activities" (Letter to the membership from Biller and Sombrotto). And what about those workers who work a late shift? They were encouraged to cross the picket lines!

"Picket lines mean don't cross" is one of the basic principles of the labor movement and it is the way you win strikes. Postal workers have shown that they have the power to strike and win against the Post Office, but not if they rely on the "responsible, legal, peaceful" policies of sellouts like Vince Sombrotto and Moe Biller.

D.C.
West Coast postal worker

Chicago, May 30: Stalinists call capitalist cops to cordon off Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

WV Photo

Chicago SL Campaign Exposes Stalinist Exclusion

CP Nailed for Calling Cops on Revolutionaries

CHICAGO—As protest against U.S. involvement in El Salvador has become the cutting edge for opposition to Reagan's war-drive austerity, various reformist left groups are scrambling for a fight-the-right, anti-Reagan coalition with "progressive" Democrats. And as a direct consequence the reformists have gone into a frenzy of anti-communist slander and physical goon attacks against the Spartacist League. They resort to this petty gangsterism because our call for "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" is the obvious, necessary and only revolutionary policy, and they cannot politically defend their own refusal to raise this. They do it because our slogan "Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador" raises the urgent central question which they must duck in order to court the Democratic Party liberals. So now they run to the armed thugs of the capitalist state to "get" the reds.

On May 30 in Chicago a lash-up of liberals and much of the reformist left, led by the Communist Party, called upon the racist cops to exclude the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League. The SL/SYL had mobilized a 150-strong Anti-Imperialist Contingent to march in a demonstration sponsored by the "May 30 Coalition." But even before the march began, CP supporters set us up by bringing in the police to keep out our contingent. The Stalinists and their fellow travelers (the Mao-to-Brezhnev popular fronters of the "Trend" and the Citizens Party for no-nuke capitalism) organized marshals to form a human chain with the police and block our entry. As a result of this disgusting bloc of cops and finks, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent was kept up to 75 feet behind the march by an armed cordon of police. At the closing rally we were isolated across the street by a wall of cossacks on horseback.

Since the bureaucratic degeneration of the CP in the late 1920s, the Stalinist reformists have acted as provocateurs against Trotskyists (and anyone else who fights for workers revolution), while flinging mud to cover their own crimes. But this time the Big Lie is not going down so well. Too many people saw the CP do its dirty work; too many have their own axe to grind against the Stalinists' strongarm tactics. An SL-initiated protest statement (see box) has been signed by, among others, the Chicago Communist Workers Party (CWP), Red Rose Collective leader Bill Pelz, and independent members of the Madison, Wisconsin Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES). Iowa CP member Mike Messina demanded that this vile cop exclusion be repudiated at the next central committee meeting (see "Letter to the Communist Party," *WV* No. 283, 19 June). And the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) issued a statement condemning the cop exclusion, as did Earl Silbar, a well-known independent close to the Trend.

Once the dirty work was done, the CP started denying it had brought the cops in. But we have the goods on Sylvia Kushner, the CP fink who called the cops. Before the march began, police asked Les Friedman, a leader of the Jewish organization Chutzpah and steering committee member of the Anti-Klan Coalition, "What group of revolutionaries should we keep out?" When Friedman saw that the Spartacists were being excluded by a line of cops and Coalition marshals, he complained to leading CP supporter Jack Spiegel, who first claimed ignorance and later began cop-baiting the SL. When a Puerto Rican nationalist group, the FLN, was stopped by the police from joining the demo, Friedman protested to the cops, who answered: "Not until Sylvia Kushner says it's okay to let them in" (from affidavit by Les Friedman).

Rael Garcia of the CWP directly witnessed Kushner's treacherous actions. He writes: "I was a marshal the day of May 30th and also helped organize the marshals for the march. When I heard Sylvia Kushner (known CP associate) tell the police to separate the 'Sparts' '50 feet' from the rest of the march I was outraged. Not 5 days earlier a final marshals meeting voted and agreed *not* to have the police or government intervene in the exclusion or security of said march. Particularly the police would not exclude the Spartacists.... I condemn the actions of Sylvia Kushner" (from affidavit by Rael Garcia, June 25). The "Trend," which eagerly gooned for the CP on May 30, followed up with slander stories that the SL had "attacked" the New World Resource Center on May 29. This is a lie. RSL supporter Doug Clark, who was present at the meeting, has testified that: "The scuffle was initiated by the NWRC squad. The SL attacked no one."

Communist Party: we have nailed you with the truth. *You* are the disrupters who bring the capitalist police into the workers movement and resort to despicable practices of slander and bureaucratic exclusion. And there could well have been a blood line in Chicago May 30. The Red Squad didn't call out the troops merely as a favor to the CP. The CP gave the go-ahead, but the whole operation stinks of the FBI. The cops aren't known for drawing fine distinctions between the genuine communists of the Spartacist League and the left-liberal "Coalition." The stage was set for a bloodbath! We heard one cop say to another, "If this was another country, they'd *all* be dead." No leftist demonstrator was safe that day, and the responsibility for that lies squarely with the CP and its camp followers.

Reformists who seek to keep "their" demonstrations "respectable" for Democratic Party "doves" figure they cannot afford to have their supporters exposed to a revolutionary program for El Salvador. They cannot tolerate the slogans defending the Soviet Union, which would scare away the Teddy Kennedys. That's why they call the cops on communists while calling for a "political solution" with elements of the murderous junta in El Salvador. To sell this line they hide behind the skirts of the Salvadoran FDR, the popular front with bourgeois politicians (most of them ex-junta members). Behind the talk of "negotiated settlement" the real purpose is to preserve capitalist rule, which

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Condemn CP/Cop Exclusion

On May 30, 1981 a Spartacist League initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent attempted to join a march and rally against U.S. involvement in El Salvador, sponsored in Chicago by the May 30 Coalition (and organized primarily by the Communist Party). Official May 30 Coalition marshals called in and joined with the Chicago Police Force to isolate the Anti-Imperialist Contingent behind a cordon of armed police during the march and to exclude it from the rally. As the march left the assembly site, May 30 Coalition marshals and police joined together in a human chain to prevent entry of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent into the march. There were no actions whatsoever on the part of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent which could be cited to justify such undemocratic behavior. While there are well-known differences between the politics represented by the Anti-Imperialist Contingent and those of the organizations comprising the May 30 Coalition, the Anti-Imperialist Contingent clearly had every right to participate in the march and rally.

Although not necessarily endorsing or agreeing with all of the slogans of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent, the undersigned condemn the collaboration with the armed force of the U.S. government to carry out an obvious political exclusion. The Chicago police carried out Mayor Daley's "shoot to kill" orders during the 1967 ghetto rebellions, brutally beat thousands of anti-war demonstrators and bystanders outside the 1968 Democratic Convention, and maintain a "Red Squad" which murdered Fred Hampton in his bed and has conducted extensive harassment and surveillance of left-wing and minority organizations. It has come to our attention that on May 30 police interfered with basic First Amendment rights by harassing press reporters and threatening literature distributors with arrest. Bringing in the government against left-wing demonstrators represents a grave danger, as do political exclusionism and the stifling of democratic debate. Such undemocratic practices can only result in injury to the entire labor and socialist movement and the democratic rights of all.

New York TA Killed Jesse Cole!

Bosses Blame Victim As They Let Him Bleed to Death

(continued from poge 1)

racist, rabidly anti-union *Doily News* (3 July) editorial urged the public to "tar and feather" the "surly, lazy goof-offs" and "money-grabbing goldbricks" of the transit workers.

Moreover, the crash came the same day the fare rose to 75 cents, while train delays, overcrowding and shortage of buses have been driving the riders mad. To top it off, there was a heat wave and the transit air-conditioning promptly broke down, subjecting trainmen and passengers to suffocating heat. And city unions are still reeling from the 60,000 layoffs during the 1975-77 "financial crisis." Here was an opportunity to unite the mass of the New York City population behind the powerful TWU in a fight against the cutback killers of the TA, the bloodsucking banks of Wall Street, the cynical bourgeois politicians. Transit should have walked out, the whole goddamn city should have been shut down because that black worker was crushed to death and then scapegoated for a wreck caused by a deliberate capitalist program to run the transit system, and most other social services, into the ground!

It was in this context that the leaflet put out by angry transit workers touched such a chord in MTA yards and terminals across the city (see box). "Jesse Cole was killed by the Transit Authority," they charged; the "faulty signals, crumbling structures, smoking fires, cracked undercarriages were but a few of the *thousands* of booby traps waiting to claim future victims." They called for "No 'business as usual' on Wednesday.... 30,000 TWU brothers and sisters should be at Jesse's funeral." Their attempt to organize a memorial stoppage could not only focus the hatred and disgust against this wanton killing of their union brother, but also draw the rest of the city unions and working people into a mammoth protest against the bosses' murderous "austerity" program for decaying New York.

REMEMBER JESSE COLE

Death by Signal Failure

During the next few days the press was flooded with accounts of how train crews are routinely told to operate trains with impaired headlights or taillights, inoperative horns, broken windshield wipers. Even Simpson admitted that many cars in service have dead motors. Defective signals are everywhere, but "keep the railroad moving" is the watchword. The particular section of track from New Lots to Utica Avenue where the crash occurred was the most decrepit section of a decrepit system—known among the men as the "Beast from the East" because of constant signal failures, radio "dead spots," falling mortar and bricks all along the route.

This is the hellhole of malfunctioning equipment, management capriciousness and death which transit workers are sent down into every day. This conscious management policy of deliberate disrepair and neglect, growing out of the bourgeoisie's united decision to gut NYC unions and services, even has a name: "deferred maintenance"! The *New York Times* (12 July) reported that 169 signal maintenance workers were eliminated in the 1975-77 NYC financial crisis, for an annual savings of $3.7 million. Only 29 of these jobs were later restored! And the very day of Jesse Cole's funeral, the TA announced on top of the 25 percent fare increase another $17.5 million in transit cuts, including axing the Franklin Avenue Shuttle and the JFK "train to the plane," cutting token booth service at another 66 stations, and cutbacks in car cleaning. Cars which now have the filthy graffiti cleaned off them once every 20 weeks will be cleaned once every 64 weeks; floors will be mopped only once every 12 weeks!

Simpson's lying frame-up of Jesse Cole soon came apart. Now the TA admits there is no evidence Cole's radio was working at all. Moreover, the tunnel portal was a notorious "dead spot." Simpson himself admitted the command center did not even try to warn Cole because, according to the schedule, Cole's train was still supposed to be in-station at New Lots. Yet the bosses also now agree that Cole had been ordered by the local dispatchers to take his train out early. Not only were the signals out, but they had their trip-arms deliberately hooked down so that there was nothing to stop the train! And there were no flagmen as required by the "rules of the railroad" Simpson accused the dying Cole of breaking.

Jesse Cole was framed up. An 11-year veteran in the New York transit system, he was known to his fellow workers as "a very good motorman" who "cared about his job." And the day before, another transit worker, Al Lamberti, a trackman, was killed, run over by a train. Then, too, Simpson blamed it on "human error." What really has transit workers up in arms is how the TA let Jesse slowly die trapped in the cab. At the funeral, *WV* and other papers interviewed Earl English, the conductor on Jesse Cole's train, who told how they tried to get the dying motorman out with their bare hands:

> "He says, 'English, get me out of here.' I tried to get him out but I couldn't.... They came down there with a circle saw that you cut wood with, with teeth in it. They didn't even have a metal ripper.... The cops were down there with a crowbar. I did more with my bare hands than the cops did with a crowbar."

So outraged TWUers have some unanswered questions, hard ones: (1) Why did it take as much as *three hours* to bring up the "jaws-of-life," an ordinary piece of equipment carried by many emergency crash units? (2) Why did it take *40 minutes* after the accident to turn off the third rail? Fire and rescue crews are reluctant to work and bring in any equipment when the power is on. And there are other questions for which it isn't hard to figure out answers. One transit worker expressed the feelings of many. "Put the blame where the blame is due—the system's dilapidated and old. But they're trying to get him because of the lawsuits—dead men can't tell any tales." If the TA can get its "human error" story to stick, it will cheat Jesse Cole's widow out of the death benefits.

No "Business as Usual" on Wednesday

Transit workers all over New York were boiling mad at how they let Jesse die and then framed him up. More than 150 TWU members signed the leaflet calling for "all out" at the funeral on Wednesday. In addition to scores of rank-and-file members who circulated the leaflet, it was also signed by "ex-dissidents" now in Local 100 official positions, exec board members and shop chairmen. Jesse Cole's brother and his brother-in-law (a transit worker) both endorsed it.

When militants brought the leaflets into bus depots, train barns and repair yards, transit workers snatched them up; everywhere conversations broke out. It was a life-and-death question. What happened to Jesse could have happened to any motorman and coming to his funeral was an elementary act of respect and solidarity. The protesting TWUers began leafleting early in the morning: "A downtown A train, an uptown F, a downtown F train, then an uptown AA, an uptown D, a downtown D... and by 7 o'clock I had to report to work." Within an hour to an hour-and-a-half, "we had leaflets to every crew room in the system... I didn't hear of anybody refusing." At one terminal a militant shut off the TV in the crew room, climbed up on a bench and said, "We just want to be there tomorrow to bury Jesse. The Transit Authority killed him. Those trains and buses shouldn't roll tomorrow."

Where did the union leadership stand? Local 100 president John Lawe and his cronies went all out, all right... to try and sabotage their own members' action. As protest was mounting in the shops, the bureaucracy first tried to claim the Cole family didn't want the union members at Jesse's funeral. His brother-in-law called up to denounce this as a lie. The family insisted, "That'll be beautiful... you have my permission" to the effort to bring the union brothers out to show their sympathy for Cole. When his vicious ploy didn't work, Lawe circulated a counter-leaflet for an

Jesse Cole's Death Was An Outrage!

We Won't Pay with Our Lives!

The following leaflet by TWU Local 100 militants was signed by more than 150 union members.

Motorman Jesse Cole was killed by the Transit Authority! The New York City transit system is a death trap. Why? Because the banks, the mayor, the governor made it that way!

Faulty signals, crumbling structures, incessant smoking fires, cracked undercarriages—these are but a few of the *thousands* of booby traps waiting to claim future victims. And not just transit workers like Jesse and trackman Alfred Lamberti, who was run down the day before in a clear case of management negligence. The hundreds of passengers injured in last Friday's collision and all riders—working people in the main like ourselves—*risk their lives* every day!

A dead man can't talk. Simpson scapegoated Jesse to the press while he bled to death in his crumpled cab. Why did it take *four hours*, why wasn't the necessary equipment readily available to free this man from the wreckage? Simpson and Koch can now blame a silent witness for this tragedy. But *Jesse Cole is not to blame*! Transit workers didn't run this system into the ground, the bosses did. According to the *Daily News*, Jesse was one of those "money grabbing goldbrickers" who deserved to be "tarred and feathered," as they editorialized on the very morning of his death. To us he was a brother who fell victim to the bosses' war on the unions and all working people in this city.

Jesse's funeral will be Wednesday, July 8. No "business as usual" on Wednesday! The TWU should make Wednesday a day to commemorate our fallen brother. Enough! We won't pay for the bosses' transit crisis with our lives! 30,000 TWU brothers and sisters should be at Jesse's funeral! Call the union if you agree: 873-6000.

Victory to Canada Postal Strike!

TORONTO—At midnight June 29 the 23,000 members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) walked off the job in a nationwide postal strike. Picket lines were set up at major postal installations across the country. In the tradition of labor solidarity established over the past few years, postal truck drivers in the major centers, members of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC), refused to cross the CUPW lines. Within days Canadian postal service had ground to a halt.

Once again postal workers were on the front lines in a battle for all Canadian labor. Talk of reimposing wage controls is circulating in Ottawa and the Trudeau government has declared that its phony "war on inflation" will begin with its own employees—in particular the militant postal unions which have traditionally stood in the forefront of winning gains for all public sector workers. The big business press is screaming for strike-breaking legislation to order CUPW strikers back on the job. But the government thinks it can starve the postal workers into submission to an austerity contract. Refusing to give an inch, Donald Johnston, head of the Treasury Board (the government's negotiating body), has indicated that he is willing to sit out a long, hot strike in the post office.

Militants on the picket lines recall the "illegal" postal wildcats in the 1960s that won the right to strike for all government workers. Today again postal workers have the opportunity to lead the Canadian working class in a struggle against government austerity, strike-breaking and union-busting. Meanwhile, the hardlining Reagan administration is pushing U.S. postal unions toward a strike as contracts run out at the end of July. Although labor misleaders on both sides of the border are unprepared to wage a militant class struggle, the possibility is there for a powerful postal walkout throughout North America.

From the start the CUPW tops have been more than willing to buy a sellout deal based on the paltry recommendations of the chairman of the conciliation board—a miserly 70 cents-an-hour wage increase, a cost-of-living allowance that doesn't trigger until inflation rises another 6 percent, "investigation" into the use of TV surveillance of inside postal workers, and one seven-week paid maternity leave. Nine days into the strike union president Jean-Claude Parrot said he would drop even his pitiful "condition" (that the government accept the conciliation board report) for returning to the bargaining table. In exchange he demanded that Michael Warren be sitting across the table. (Warren is to be top boss when the post office is converted into a crown corporation, a semi-autonomous government-run business.) The government's answer was no.

Spartacist Canada

CUPW pickets at Toronto post office in 1978 strike which ended when Parrot caved in to government repression.

Postal workers cannot afford to leave the conduct of the strike in the hands of the vacillating CUPW bureaucracy. Already CUPW picketers in Toronto are complaining bitterly over the disorganization of the strike there and the lack of effective picket lines—clerks and maintenance workers organized by the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) are daily crossing the line. Militants must demand mass mobilizations to enforce the picket line and must put forward a program to win: a big wage increase, full uncapped COLA, a shorter workweek at no loss of pay to beat back job loss and speed-up, the right to refuse unsafe work, an end to management harassment and surveillance and the unconditional right to strike.

The government is using the rotten deal it made with the leadership of the LCUC, the other major postal union, as a club against CUPW. In the face of increased job loss and speed-up, the LCUC tops sold a stinking contract to the ranks—agreeing to increase productivity in the name of a phony "free lunch." And the CUPW bureaucracy has done its bit to play along with the government's strategy of exploiting craft divisions separating postal workers to weaken both unions.

This time around Parrot & Co. are asking for an 18-month contract to ensure "labor peace" as the post office is being converted into a crown corporation—a demand which would end the common expiration dates of the LCUC and CUPW contracts. Postal workers must fight this treachery. LCUC should scrap its sell-out contract and join the CUPW on the picket lines in a nationwide postal strike to win a decent contract and lay the basis for a merged union of all postal workers.

In 1978 the CUPW waged the most dramatic labor showdown in years against the capitalist government, striking for nine days in the face of strikebreaking legislation which carried with it the threat of massive fines, firings and imprisonment. The top leaders of the Canadian labor movement turned their backs on embattled postal workers while Trudeau brought out his cops, courts and secret police of the RCMP to break that strike. Parrot was jailed, other CUPW national executive board members arrested and thousands of CUPW members fired, suspended or disciplined.

All trade unionists—and particularly public sector workers—are paying for this treacherous betrayal. When 5,000 federal clerks organized by PSAC struck last year injunctions were brought down threatening workers who respected lines with fines and firing. Last month Grace Hartman, the national president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees—the largest union in Canada—was jailed for "violating" no-strike legislation. *Now* is the time to turn the government's union-busting offensive around!

With the backing of the rest of the labor movement, CUPW can *win*. A victory for the postal workers will be a victory for the entire labor movement! Any attempt to enforce back-to-work legislation must be met with protest strikes and other concrete solidarity action by the entire labor movement. Mass pickets must be built to keep the post office shut down tight! For a joint CUPW/LCUC strike! Smash government union-busting! Victory to the postal workers! ■

"official" protest the following day—a one-hour lunchtime deal at TA headquarters at Jay Street in Brooklyn.

On Wednesday, July 8, some 500 transit workers came up for Jesse Cole's funeral in the Parkchester section of the Bronx. An overflow crowd spilled out of the funeral parlor onto the street; overhead passing motormen on the elevated Pelham line slowed their trains and tooted their horns in salute. Boss Simpson had the gall to show up—he was jeered and booed with cries of "You hypocrite!" and "You killed him!" Inside at the service the Rev. Clifton Gatewood of Harlem accused the city of killing Cole: "The city [was] more interested in the budget than with persons," he said. Then, as uniformed union men lined both sides of the sidewalk, the pall bearers carried Jesse's coffin out to the hearse. As for the union brass, some of the "ex-dissidents" were there, although having done nothing to actually bring the men out. But in an act of racist contempt John Lawe didn't even show up; a union spokesman said he had other things to do.

Higgins/NY Times

Jesse Cole's cab: Why did it take four hours?

The next day at Jay Street, the bureaucrats' protest was half-hearted at best. About 350 TWUers picketed outside Simpson's office. Lawe made a brief, defensive appearance amid heckles for his refusal to show up at the funeral services for Cole. Guest of honor was dissident Democratic candidate Frank Barbaro, now posing as a "friend of labor." One TWUer yelled out, "Barbaro, you voted for Big MAC and Big MAC killed Jesse!"

A Socialist Fight to Save New York

The outrage among transit workers over the TA's cold-blooded killing and frame-up of Jesse Cole attracted wide public attention. All the major dailies reported the TWU militants' call for a walkout; every TV station covered the funeral. The reason was obvious: the tremendous social power of the transit union could bring this metropolis, the center of American capitalism, to a grinding halt. This is what could and should have happened. Various self-proclaimed "socialist" groups also tried to latch onto the protest, without saying anything which could get them in trouble with the TWU tops. *Workers World* quoted from the militant leaflet, but focused on their usual schemes of turnstile jumping and impotent protests by commuter front groups over fare hikes. A leaflet by the Socialist Workers Party could have been titled "Don't Organize, Mourn," saying they were "saddened" by management's "callous disregard" of safety. The Communist Party was pushing the campaign of Democrat Barbaro, now the de facto mayoral candidate of TWU "dissidents" like Arnold Cherry *and of the Lawe bureaucracy*.

Instead, what was needed was militant union action not only by the TWU but extending to the other city workers unions and all of NYC labor. As one of the protesters said of the deliberate refusal to maintain the subways: "We didn't create this situation. This was instituted by the banks, by Koch, by Carey.... We should have had a one-day general strike in New York City to put the powers that be on notice that we're tired of being blamed for a system that made us victims." The whole subway disaster, from the tunnel of death to the massive cutbacks and layoffs, is a symbol of what working people are facing. Those dead signals and the killing of Jesse Cole not only showed the decay of the city, but the decay of capitalism.

The call for a memorial work stoppage is a fundamental, traditional union right and duty. The miners even have it written into their contract. And all the more so where the union brother was killed because of the deliberate neglect and sabotage by TA bosses. It *should* have led to a general strike, a direct political challenge to the capitalist politicians, corporations and banks who run the city. Who is responsible for the deadly subway crash? It is TA chairman Ravitch, not underpaid and overworked transit workers, who is ravaging the subways. It is banker Rohatyn who cuts back thousands of transit and other city workers' jobs, making working conditions impossible and destroying essential services. It is Mayor Koch who breaks transit strikes while sending his cops to attack black people in Harlem protesting his closing of their hospitals. So all of NYC labor should have walked out—a big proletarian fist in the face of Simpson/Ravitch/Koch and all of the racist rulers.

Democrats, Republicans—it makes no difference—all the capitalist politicians voted for the killer cuts. These are the phony "friends" supported by sellouts like Lawe—who couldn't even bother to show up for Jesse Cole's funeral—and the "dissidents" who would replace him. The pro-capitalist bureaucrats must be dumped and a class-struggle leadership forged in the unions; this means breaking with the Democrats and building a workers party, to fight for a workers government. The only militant, effective response to the killing of Jesse Cole is a socialist fight to save New York. ■

Interview with Ceylonese Tamil Leader

TCC

A. Amirthalingam

We print below excerpts from an interview with Mr. A. Amirthalingam, leader of Sri Lanka's Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF), currently the main parliamentary opposition to the government of President J.R. Jayewardene's United National Party (UNP).

Last month, in the predominantly Tamil Jaffna peninsula, cops and troops went on a murderous rampage and a state of emergency was declared throughout the island. A recent 8 million rupee bank heist ($450,000), allegedly by the underground Young Tigers Liberation Movement, and an incident of cop killing provided the pretext for J.R.'s wave of terror (see *Spartacist Britain* No. 33, June 1981).

On May 31, marauding troops and cops burned to the ground at least 48 Tamil-owned shops, the Jaffna headquarters of the TULF and the home of a Member of Parliament (MP). The next day the Jaffna Public Library (one of the best in Asia), the Tamil-language independent paper *Eelanadu* and all the shops in the old market area were razed

Spartacist Britain

Ceylon Tea Centre, London, June 6. In London, New York and Bonn, International Spartacist tendency joined with exile Tamils to protest murderous repression in Sri Lanka.

(see exclusive photos of the destruction and murder on facing page).

The TULF has countered Jayewardene's onslaughts in the streets of Jaffna with parries in Parliament and pro-Tamil proclamations to the United Nations. But, akin to Sun Yat-sen's pre-1923 Kuomintang, the Parliament-oriented TULF has been pushed by bloody repression to the limits of its bourgeois-nationalist politics. In the context of the 1977 pogroms, they adopted a plank for "scientific socialism."

Yet the TULF is now seeking an alliance with the bourgeois, Sinhala-chauvinist Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) of Mrs. Bandaranaike and other out-of-power parliamentary parties (LSSP, CCP, MEP). This bloc, which first appeared on May Day 1981, aims at the same kind of coalitionism which in the past has had such tragic consequences for the Ceylonese masses, such as the crushing of the 1971 JVP uprising. Remember: the 1977 massacres in Jaffna were also carried out under the bloody Mrs. B!

The recent anti-Tamil pogrom has served to harden communal divisions on the island, enhancing among the oppressed Tamils the appeal of "Eelam" (a separate Tamil state in Ceylon). The iSt and the newly-formed Spartacist League/Lanka (see *Spartacist* No. 31-32, Summer 1981) stand for the right of the Tamil national minority to self-determination, i.e. the right to a separate state. But we have argued against such a resolution of the conflict, pointing to the enormous misery which partition would cause for the over one million stateless Tamil plantation workers. These estate workers would face the grim choices of remaining in the concentration camp plantations, migrating to refugee camps in the economically barren "Tamil Eelam" or destitution in a foreign India.

Our road is the road of united Sinhala/Tamil class struggle. If the communal divisions on the island become unbridgeable, then secession may become the only means to open the way for revolutionary class struggle. But what is needed is a Trotskyist vanguard party, uniting Sinhala and Tamil militants on an anti-chauvinist program to win the masses of Tamil plantation workers, women, Sinhala workers and all the oppressed to fight for a workers and peasants government in Ceylon, part of a socialist federation of South Asia.

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WV: The first question I'd like to ask is about the current wave of government terror against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka. How did it begin? Is it a significant escalation from before?

Amirthalingam: The police and army terror has been unleashed on them on several occasions. It actually started when, at the World Tamil Conference in 1974, the police attacked a peaceful, cultural meeting and nine Tamils died as a result. Then again in 1977 the police set in motion forces which caused widespread rioting and killing of Tamils throughout the island. In 1979, under cover of stamping out guerrillas, again violence was unleashed on the Tamil youth.

The latest outbreak was on the eve of the elections to the Development Councils. It started on the 31st of May and went on until about the 7th or 8th of June. I will say that the last one was the worst as far as the malicious destruction of cherished institutions is concerned: the destruction of the public library, the only newspaper office in Jaffna, the headquarters of the TULF, the house of the MP, the main shopping center in Jaffna city. All this shows a planned attempt on the part of the police to almost commit cultural genocide against the Tamils. Ninety-seven thousand volumes of valuable books being destroyed in the public library is an unprecedented act of vandalism for which there was no excuse. And no excuse of any type can be given in the future.

WV: One of the things that the government claims in its publicity for the Free Trade Zone is that Ceylon is a good model of democracy. And yet you are a Member of Parliament and the Leader of the Opposition and you were arrested at the time of these attacks. Could you say a little about your arrest and when and why you were released?

Amirthalingam: You see, the claim that Ceylon is a good model of parliamentary democracy is far from the truth. Immediately after independence [1948] one million Tamil workers were disenfranchised and made stateless and up to date the problem of the stateless Tamil plantation workers remains unsolved.

Then the media is almost fully controlled by the government. The Prevention of Terrorism law, the Public Essential Services law are all calculated to enforce under normal conditions things which were done under emergency conditions under earlier governments. So that I reject outright the claims of the government that Ceylon is a democratic government. On the contrary, Mr. Jayewardene's government is going fast on the road to totalitarian dictatorship of the right, on the model of the Philippines and certain other countries which are hangers-on of the imperialist powers.

As far as our arrest goes, that shows the extent to which democracy is perverted under this government. Police and army officers came to my house at 2:45 in the morning [June 4] and they said that the competent authority had ordered my arrest. When I asked for the charge on which I was being arrested a fantastic charge was mentioned. That was the charge of "disrupting the democratic process." So I asked this officer, "Under what law is this an offense, and what have I done to disrupt the democratic process?" The officer said, "Please don't ask me these things." I had no alternative but to go with him to the army camp, where I was handed over to the custody of a lieutenant. And then the president of my party and two other Members of Parliament were brought there.

Thereafter I think the government had realized that their boast of democracy will be exposed thoroughly if they kept us in custody at the time of the elections. So at about 9:00 the army officers came and said that the president [Jayewardene] wanted to talk to me. He said, "It has all been a mistake. I have ordered your release. I am sorry about it."

But as an afterthought in order to get over the embarrassment, the government information minister issued a communiqué that we were taken into "protective custody." I asked him the pointed question in Parliament: "To protect us from *whom*? From the police and the army. You ask the police and the army to take us into custody and take us to the army camp to protect us from the army. It is a fantastic situation."

WV: The government claims that their actions and some of the anti-Tamil violence were being provoked by the actions of people they call "Tamil terrorists" like for instance the Eelam Tigers—actions like the bank robbery and some killing of policemen. Do you have any comment on these accusations?

Amirthalingam: On the 31st night, there is no doubt that someone had shot at a policeman and one policeman died immediately. But the reaction on the part of the police makes one suspect the real perpetrators because the rapidity with which the police arrived and the way they behaved make one suspect whether the shooting itself was not done by some agent provocateurs in order to give an opportunity for the police to run riot and attack pre-planned targets. The violence and the terrorization that the police and the army resorted to was out of all proportion to the one incident that took place.

In Jaffna this was, to my mind, a pre-planned affair and it was well organized. The D.I.G., Deputy Inspector General of police who was in charge of the Northern Region, a Tamil officer, had been removed one week before this incident. A Sinhalese D.I.G. was sent there to take charge of the situation. And these 300-odd men who behaved in this way were hand-picked and sent and they were housed in the stadium ostensibly for election duty.

WV: When I was in Jaffna, one of the things that struck me was the presence of soldiers and police on many street corners and a real sense of occupation. How long has the army presence in the Tamil areas been like that?

Amirthalingam: The army was first brought to the Tamil areas in the '60s for the purpose of checking illicit immigration from south India. There was no doubt at that time a certain number of persons who had been sent out from Sri Lanka used to come back that way. Today there isn't even two or three percent of Tamil persons in the police and not even one percent of Tamils in the army. This has now become an army of occupation in the Tamil territories and their only function is to keep down the Tamil movements for the rights and liberation of the Tamil people.

WV: It's not just in the north, though,

Workers Vanguard Exclusive

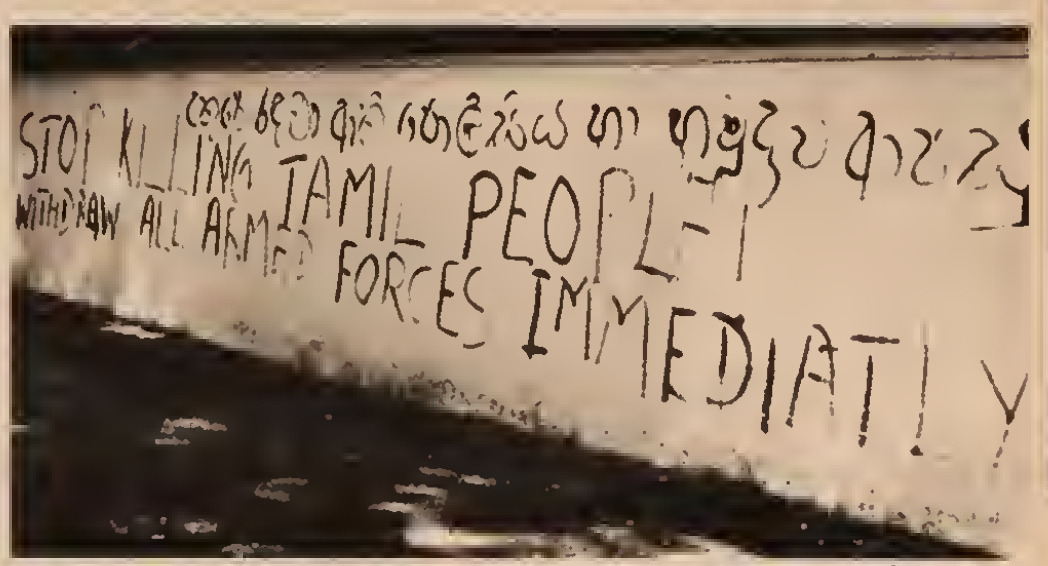
The Face of Anti-Tamil Terror

Spartacist Photos

Jaffna: TULF worker Balasothy of Thampalai, shot in the head by army at house of MP Sivasilhamparam on the night before the elections.

Jaffna public library with ancient archives and stacks destroyed.

House and car of Mr. V. Yogeswaran, Jaffna MP, razed as fires burned citywide.



Colombo: Spartacist League/Lanka was the only voice raised against anti-Tamil violence in the North.

that the Tamils are being attacked. For instance in the education system they've stopped giving courses in Tamil at the other universities outside Jaffna.

Amirthalingam: Yes, certain Tamil streams have been closed down. The excuse they give is that there are not enough Tamil students. Even in the Colombo University. As you know, with the Tamils and the Muslims taken together, Colombo city is more than 50 percent Tamil-speaking. In spite of it, even in the Colombo University gradually the Tamil streams are being dried up.

But the worst discrimination has been in the numbers of Tamil students admitted to the universities. The Tamil students admitted to the various faculties got reduced even below their population ratio. Their ratio was much higher in the past when merit was the basis. Now only 30 percent [of students] are admitted on merit. The rest are admitted on a district basis with the result that the proportion of Tamil students admitted has been reduced very much.

WV: I don't know whether you were aware of struggles against this at Colombo University. Some of our comrades played a leading role and there was, in fact, coordination between the Jaffna University Students Union and these students.

Amirthalingam: Yes, I am aware of that. In fact in matters like this we have taken up the cause of the Sinhalese students.

Even when the recent strike of the workers took place, our union, the Tamil-language unions, also joined in their strike and we tried our level best to get the government to reinstate the workers whom they dismissed. So that we also have taken up the cause of the Sinhalese students and the Sinhalese workers when they were penalized by the Jayewardene government.

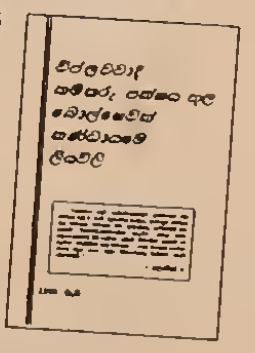
WV: One of the things that the imperialists always did—and the British were very good at this—was to institute policies of "divide and rule." Some observers point to the role that the early establishment of an English-language missionary education system in the north had in the Tamils playing an important role in the administration.

Amirthalingam: You see, the British no doubt played one against the other as is usual with imperialisms. But in the early British period, that is sometime in the early and middle parts of the 19th century, missionaries opened up the English educational institutions. American missionaries, Anglican missionaries, Methodist missions, Church of England schools. They were all opened in the north. Americans were the earliest. The first institution was opened—what they called the "Patikota" Seminary—in 1813 in Vaddukottai, near my own home. And the Tamil people who were normally very hard-working took to the universities. Because of the arid nature of their soil they cultivated their brains and they became cogs in the wheel of British imperialism. And not only in Ceylon, but in Malaysia, Singapore, Burma.

WV: I wanted to get to a bit about the left movement in Sri Lanka, which has had a strong association with people claiming to be Trotskyist. It seems to us that the record of the left has been very bad on the Tamil question. For instance I believe that the LSSP, when it was a much healthier organization, at the time of independence, accepted a flag with the lion on it, which has a lot of Sinhala symbolism.

Amirthalingam: I was, as a student in the university, a very ardent sympathizer of the LSSP, and I studied Marxism in Dr. N.M. Perera's house, and I even attended Marxist classes in Mr. Philip Gunawardena's house. But when, at the beginning of independence, Mr. Philip Gunawardena, of all people, supported the adoption of the lion flag as the national flag of Ceylon, I felt that they were just politicians and not Marxist revolutionaries in that sense. But I even then continued to have some faith in Dr. N.M. Perera.

Documents of the Bolshevik Faction of the Revolutionary Workers Party
May 1980
(in Sinhala)



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In '56 when the Sinhala Only Act was introduced, the LSSP headed by Dr. N.M. Perera and the CP, that is the Moscow wing of the Communist Party (of course, at that time they had not split into Moscow and Peking), stood for parity of status and they supported us in our struggle. But within four years, in 1960, after Bandaranaike died, they made an all-out bid to capture power through the polls. When that failed, the Communist Party was the first to capitulate. They accepted Sinhala only, subject to certain rights. And then the LSSP also capitulated.

The surrender to Sinhala chauvinism was complete in 1964 when Dr. N.M. Perera and the LSSP joined Mrs. Bandaranaike's government. At that stage it was only Mr. Edmund Samarakkody and Meryl Fernando who broke with them. I was also in Parliament at that time and we all voted together with Edmund Samarakkody and Meryl Fernando, and by one vote we were able to defeat Mrs. Bandaranaike's government. From that time onwards the LSSP and the Communist Party started completely aligning themselves with the chauvinist SLFP.

In 1970 when they came to power, they themselves drafted a constitution. Colvin R. de Silva, one of the theorists of the Trotskyist movement, was the Minister for Constitutional Affairs. We met him and talked to him to include at least certain rights for the Tamil language in the constitution. He was *worse* than Mrs. Bandaranaike in these matters. He was so intransigent. They wanted to convince the Sinhala people that they were more Sinhala than even

continued on page 11

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

on a hit-and-run terror campaign against Nicaragua. The sadistic assassins slip over the frontier to rape and kill, retreating when the troops arrive and seeking sanctuary with the Honduran army. In one incident in April, Nicaraguan troops chased a band across the border near the frontier post of El Guasaule, where they were picked up by Honduran army trucks. FSLN commander Daniel Ortega told a World Peace Council meeting in Havana that the raiders have picked out teenage literacy crusade volunteers as special targets, killing seven and raping more than 15.

To counter this very real danger of a counterrevolutionary invasion, the FSLN has been training volunteers in the Sandinista People's Militia. The Sandinista army already numbers 20,000 and the militia is projected to enroll one in every ten Nicaraguans, or roughly 200,000 men and women. Building the militia has been the main priority this year, and pictures of volunteers from union and student groups appear daily in the FSLN organ *Barricada*. One of the women's brigades is now reportedly armed, a change from previous government policy. Immediately after the overthrow of Somoza, the Sandinistas attempted to round up all arms, even jailing leftists who retained their weapons. Now the militias are trained with arms, which are then locked up—a graphic example of the relationship between the bonapartist FSLN and the working masses.

While arming against the invasion threat, the regional policy of the Sandinistas has been to conciliate dangerous right-wing enemies. Rather than militarily supporting the Salvadoran leftists and seeking to broaden their struggle into a region-wide civil war, Nicaraguan defense minister Tomás Borge declared in Havana that "We are supporters of peaceful coexistence.... We will do everything possible to avoid conflicts in Central America" (*Barricada*, 15 June). In May the coordinator of the Nicaraguan governing junta, FSLN comandante Daniel Ortega, met with Honduran strongman Paz in an effort to stop the border incursions, but the raids soon resumed. Chitchat with Paz, whose control over the army in any case is shaky, is no defense at all against the imperialist-organized cabal of military dictators lined up against Sandinista Nicaragua.

The State Department's Fifth Column

Reagan/Haig's strongest allies in their "destabilization" campaign against the Sandinistas are the Nicaraguan capitalists and the bourgeois political opposition which has coexisted uneasily with the FSLN since Somoza's fall. When the FSLN pledged to preserve private industry and to permit their capitalist opponents to organize freely, they allowed an imperialist fifth column to mobilize for counterrevolution. The remnants of the old Conservative Party, Somoza's puppet opposition, have been slandering the FSLN regime with claims that it holds 8,000 "political prisoners" and has "disappeared" an equal number. The fact is that some 4,000 torturers and assassins of the old regime are in jail, no one has been executed (to the dismay of some of their victims, who justly protested the Sandinistas' leniency), and the special tribunals to try these criminals have been disbanded.

A more serious threat is posed by ex-junta member Robelo and his Nicaraguan Democratic Movement (MDN), which has become a lightning rod for bourgeois discontent and an echo chamber for the imperialist propaganda campaign against Sandinista Nicaragua. Robelo, a cooking oil millionaire with extensive holdings in El Salvador and Costa Rica, has worked hand in glove with Washington since before the overthrow of Somoza. More recently, Robelo denounced the expansion of the Sandinista militia on Costa Rican radio, condemning the FSLN for using the threat of foreign intervention as "a pretext to militarize the country" (*Barricada*, 14 March). Within 24 hours a State Department spokesman repeated this denunciation in virtually identical words.

Robelo's biggest provocation to date was his attempt in March to stage a mass anti-government rally in the southern Nicaraguan town of Nandaime. Coincidentally (or perhaps not?), the rally was scheduled to take place at the same time as a border attack by Somoza guardsmen from Honduras. Moreover, shortly before the rally an MDN leader in the area was arrested (later released) in connection with a clandestine arms cache buried on his ranch. When Interior Minister Borge pledged to allow Robelo and his rabble to hold their rally, it didn't go down well with the Sandinista rank and file and some other FSLN leaders. The head of the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS), Leticia Herrera, called on the population to take to the streets to mobilize against the meeting. Demonstrations of hundreds of students burned effigies of Robelo, and the Sandinista Youth clashed with MDN supporters. The FSLN women's organization circulated a telegram protesting the decision to allow the rally. This angry popular mobilization forced Robelo to cancel the rally.

The Comandantes' Dilemma

The FSLN is performing a delicate balancing act, seeking to conciliate pressure both from the working masses on one side and from the capitalists and U.S. imperialism on the other. Although it has scored economic successes, unemployment remains at 18 percent, shortages are increasing due to hoarding and lack of foreign exchange, and the Sandinista leadership has broken a number of strikes of construction, textile and sugar mill workers (see "Nicaragua on the Razor's Edge," *WV* No. 277, 27 March). Yet all the concessions to the bourgeoisie, from staying out of the El Salvador fighting to liberal loans for private businesses, have failed to placate Washington and domestic capitalists. FSLN leader Daniel Ortega explained the comandantes' dilemma: "The pressure at the base is strong. We must understand this and give it an objective, without which we risk finding ourselves without the people and with the bourgeoisie against us" (*Le Monde*, 19 June).

So far, the "objective" offered to the Nicaraguan masses has not been the expropriation of the capitalist class but

Sygma

Gusano Captain Hook. Too bad he escaped the Bay of Pigs.

a campaign of bogus "national unity" of the exploiter and the exploited. "The workers must sacrifice—from them we need discipline, work, effort and consciousness that the big problems of the country can't be solved overnight," said FSLN comandante Luis Carrión in a speech on January 10 ("El patriotismo, base de la unidad nacional"). And when bourgeois banker Arturo Cruz resigned from the junta in March, marking a step toward an all-Sandinista government, this was balanced by the simultaneous resignation of FSLN "hard" Moisés Hassan. Borge insists that the Sandinistas have not taken the "Cuban road." "Our model," he says, "is framed in a mixed economy, and its synthesis is political pluralism" (*Intercontinental Press*, 6 July).

After the collapse of Robelo's provocation, the next crisis for the FSLN was in its relations with the church. On June 1, the Catholic bishops conference of Nicaragua announced that if four priests serving in the Sandinista-dominated government, including foreign minister Miguel D'Escoto, did not resign their posts they would be considered "in open rebellion and formal disobedience." The government responded that the episcopal letter was unsigned, some of the bishops were out of the country, the pope didn't order the resignations, etc., and encouraged pro-Sandinista religious demonstrations. Borge opined that if Christ "had a submachine gun he would have used it" against the Pharisees. But to no avail.

Meanwhile, thousands of Catholics are making pilgrimages to the village of Cuapa where a sacristan saw a vision of the Virgin Mary on May 8. "The cult of the Virgin of Cuapa is a response to the fear of Communism," one priest said. Robelo announced, "I believe in miracles. I am a Catholic," and a spokesman for Archbishop Obando y Bravo gave his approval, recalling apparitions in "countries going through difficulties." The obvious and ominous reference was to the Virgin of Fátima in Portugal in 1917, whose message was to save Russia from Bolshevism. So the Sandinistas are now reaping the fruits of their alliances with businessmen and the church. The latter now pose a powerful threat of counterrevolution as fundamental class antagonisms deepen.

In answer to the opposition attacks, the FSLN initiated a "Forum for the Discussion of National Problems" in order to have face-to-face conversations with the right wing. The discussions, predictably, have done nothing to resolve differences between government and bourgeois opposition. But they have registered the adaptation of the one-time left opposition to the FSLN. The Workers Front/People's Action Movement (FO/MAP), whose leaders were jailed last year and whose organ *El Pueblo* was banned for urging land seizures and strikes, now sits beside Sandinista leaders in the bloc of "parties of the revolution" in the Foro. MAP leader Alejandro Gutiérrez explains that "We have abandoned some of the more radical slogans of the first period [after the overthrow of Somoza] because conditions aren't at that level presently" (*Barricada*, 31 May). And the small Nicaraguan Communist Party (PCN), whose CAUS union federation was also a victim of FSLN strikebreaking and repression, has joined the Sandinista bloc. The PCN now advocates workers "participation" in management rather than confrontation with the capitalists.

The Test of El Salvador

Reagan and Haig may have already written off Nicaragua as lost to Marxism; the exiles are feverishly organizing to bring back "Somozaism without Somoza" (or perhaps with Somoza IV). But sophisticated imperialist spokesmen believe the point of no return hasn't been reached. The conservative London *Economist* (13 June) advised the U.S.:

> "Nicaragua may not yet be lost. The continued existence of a large private sector shows that the Sandinists are still in a dither about their revolution. The United States could yet follow Mexico's sound advice to stick a fistful of dollars through a door that remains even a quarter open."

There are also quite a few officials in the State Department who have this view. The *Wall Street Journal* (13 July) quotes one as saying: "Nicaraguans can do Castro's bidding if they choose, but they could do our bidding too." Another U.S. analyst was quoted worrying that if Nicaragua radicalizes and follows the Cuban road, "We're going to have a fight on our hands in El Salvador. It's hard to see how you could win in El Salvador."

The Sandinista-bourgeois government now reaching its second anniversary is facing a series of challenges which will necessarily push Nicaragua off the "middle course" which the FSLN has tortuously sought to steer. As Trotsky pointed out at the time of the Russian Revolution of 1905, and as the Bolsheviks' October Revolution of 1917 confirmed, in the backward capitalist countries emancipation from the imperialist yoke can only be achieved through proletarian revolution. The Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution explains that the Stalinist-reformist/nationalist dogma of a "democratic" stage spells disaster for the working people. Either a popular insurrection must rapidly grow over into socialist revolution or it will prepare the way for bloody counterrevolution, as occured in China in the '20s and Spain in the '30s.

The most serious test now facing revolutionaries in Nicaragua is posed by the civil war in nearby El Salvador. And following its petty-bourgeois nationalist course of "peaceful coexistence," the FSLN's policies point straight to disaster. State Department propaganda aside, the Sandinistas have, as comandante Daniel Ortega insists, offered nothing to the Salvadoran leftist rebels but "the example of our revolution" (*Newsweek*, 16 March). The FSLN pushes the imperialist-liberal/social-democratic line of a "political solution" with a sector of the murderous Salvadoran junta. In May they even announced that they had arrested people attempting to run guns to the leftist insurgents battling the U.S.-supplied Salvadoran army. Over 9,000 have died so far this year in El Salvador as the Sandinistas assume a "hands off" posture that is closer to that of Pontius Pilate washing his hands of murder and treachery.

Two years ago we wrote, "The present 'unity' of the anti-Somoza revolution

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Ex-PAM Marshal Joins SYL

We print below the application for membership in the Boston SYL of Mark D. who rejected Sam Marcy's counterrevolutionary goon squad to become a Trotskyist.

I first found out about the SL just before the May 3 demo from one of their members who was distributing copies of the party papers in Cambridge. He talked to me about the situation in El Salvador and tried to convince me that I should join the Anti-Imperialist Contingent in Washington. I had already made plans to march with PAM though, and had a seat reserved on one of their buses, so I felt committed to this decision.

I did pick up a copy of *Workers Vanguard* though, and was fairly impressed at the time with their unique position on El Salvador: Military Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents. At the time though, I did not realize how important it was to build a true Anti-Imperialist Contingent. I thought my participation in PAM's demo was enough of a statement against the Junta and its conniving U.S. government financiers. I had also been considering joining Workers World Party. For about a year-and-a-half I had been listening to all the left groups that were around and I had friends in their party. I'd decided that they were the best I'd heard. I had taken part in several of their demonstrations in Boston and had gone to the March 22, 1980 anti-draft demo in Washington with them, so I wasn't interested in going to Washington with another group.

When the May 3rd weekend came around I was on a bus with the PAM group. On the way down a PAM organizer asked for volunteers to help "police" the march. She said that "marshals" were needed to help keep the demonstration as orderly as possible and explained that the Moonies could be expected to show up and attempt to disrupt the march, and try to organize a counterdemonstration. I volunteered because I had seen how the Moonies had tried to cause trouble at the March 22 demo a year before, and I certainly wouldn't mind putting a few of *them* down.

WV Photo

May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent, Washington, D.C.

On arriving in Washington, the newly appointed marshals were given instructions on crowd control and told that if the Moonies tried to break into the main demonstration we marshals would be called into the area and would link arms and keep them separated from the demo.

The march began and I walked along the edge of the crowd, keeping an eye out for trouble. As I'd expected the march went along very smoothly, and I could not see any disruptions or problems arising at all. About two hours into the march though, one of the organizers came up and told me and the other marshals to run ahead to the second bridge, that the Moonies were on the move and were causing trouble there. I ran up there and could see that there was indeed trouble. People were being pushed and shoved around—but it was the march organizers who were doing the pushing and shoving—and the "Moonies" were in fact the Spartacist League.

I couldn't believe what I saw. SL members were trying to sell copies of *Workers Vanguard* to the marchers and were being thrown out of the march for doing so. They were challenging the marchers to "take sides," to fight for "Military Victory for the Left-Wing Insurgents," they were explaining that "Defense of the USSR Begins in El Salvador" and they were being silenced by the bourgeois-liberal-Democratic reformists from the People's Anti-War Mobilization. The march organizers told all of the marshals there to link arms and make a barricade to keep the SL out. I refused to do it. I realized that all along I was being lied to by the PAM organizers. I didn't see any Moonies around at all that day.

PAM realized that if they wanted to stop the SL demonstration, they'd have to justify it to us by saying "it's the Moonies" trying to stop the march. I realized I wouldn't want to be a member of any "revolutionary" group that sets up goon squads to silence true Marxists while herding their supporters into the Democratic Party. I found out that day which side of the class struggle these groups are on. After witnessing PAM's politics in action, politics which were representative of every left group I knew, I read *Workers Vanguard* on the bus home and decided then that I wanted to join the SYL.

As a member of the SYL I will fight for and defend the building of picket lines—not the crossing of them; defense of Cuba and the USSR beginning in El Salvador; the mobilization of labor and minorities against the Klan and Nazis and all fascist groups; and stand for the Military Victory of the Left-Wing Insurgents in El Salvador. I am also convinced that in order to lead the world proletariat in a socialist revolution, we need a strong Leninist vanguard party. The SL is this party. I will abide by the discipline of the party and I will work to learn more about Trotskyism and revolutionary politics. This is the first time in years that I have actually felt motivated to really learn something and I am very anxious to get started. I believe that I can learn more as a member of the SYL by fighting for socialism than I could by standing on the sidelines. I look forward to working in the SYL and hope that my application is accepted.

Mark D.

will be shattered, one way or another, by class conflict" ("What Next for Nicaragua," *WV* No. 238, 17 August 1979). We noted that while the "government" was an unstable Sandinista/bourgeois coalition, real power lay with the FSLN guerrilla army—which, however, was not presently wedded either to capitalist or proletarian property forms. This petty-bourgeois bonapartist regime could go in opposite directions: along the "Cuban road" to a bureaucratically deformed workers state, or on the "Algerian road" reconstituting a bourgeois state under the sway of Yankee imperialism. And we stressed: "There is another road, along which lies the real hope for the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution: the emergence of the working class as an independent conscious contestant for power."

With its Cold War II program to "draw the line against Communist expansion" in El Salvador, the Reagan administration may well push the Sandinistas to go farther than they wished on the Cuban road. But "socialism in one banana republic" is no more viable than "socialism in one island." The only real defense of the beleaguered Nicaraguan masses, encircled by American-backed dictatorships and facing a counterrevolutionary "destabilization" campaign, is to expropriate the branch-office bourgeoisie and extend proletarian revolution throughout the region. And that requires the leadership of a Trotskyist party of permanent revolution to stand at the head of the working masses. As long as the Robelos continue to exercise a stranglehold on the Nicaraguan economy, as long as the vise of capitalist military dictatorships has not been smashed, revolution in Nicaragua is in mortal danger.

Break with the bourgeoisie! For workers and peasants governments throughout Central America! ■

Garza...

(continued from page 2)

portray the IT as "terrorists." Garza's document recounts efforts on her part to contact the SWP following her subpoena for pre-trial deposition. She says she asked the SWP for legal help and told them she wanted to be a "friendly witness"; the SWP refused collaboration. Maybe it was just sectarianism, but it suggests that the SWP above all did not want to present itself to the government as having any possible interests in common with the expelled IT.

The *Militant* charges Garza with rehashing an FBI slander in her comment that "My own feeling is that we were thrown out of the party precisely so the SWP could not be tainted with terrorism...." Garza's 17 June statement refers to the SWP's use of the IT expulsion in court and Judge Griesa's own conclusion, which we have quoted previously in our press:

> "There was never anything in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the U.S. In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

That the SWP used the expulsion of the IT to display its anti-"terrorist" respectability is not slander; it is fact. What the FBI is saying when it claims the SWP expelled the IT to enhance its court position is that the expulsion was a legal fiction for a hypocritical SWP which secretly agrees with the IT's positions. This is nonsense. Of course, as far as the FBI is concerned, all left organizations are part of a world Communist conspiracy; the existence of different tendencies represents merely a division of labor among latent Russian spies, terrorists and dupes. We wonder if the SWP undertook the destruction of Hedda Garza merely as a way to dramatize the idiocy of the FBI's line.

Garza's conduct in court on June 12, though visibly subjectively hostile to the SWP, did no damage to the SWP's case. Her testimony on González Moscoso was fully consistent with that of the SWP. Hedda Garza is no government fink. On the basis of the evidence available to us, the SWP, whatever its purposes, has done the deepest and most savage kind of injury to Hedda Garza. Jack Barnes' reformist party stands condemned as vicious liars.

A more substantial article on the SWP court suit will appear in the next issue of *WV*. ■

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NEW YORK CITY

Britain Burns...

(continued from page 1)

and austerity.

This conflagration highlights the absence of revolutionary leadership of the working class. The British Labour Party wants to save Britain from Thatcher in order to save it for capitalism. Thus it is content to snipe at the unpopular Thatcher from its benches in Parliament and wait for its turn at the polls.

Cops Out of the Ghetto! Down with the Riot Courts! Drop the Charges!

The comparisons with Northern Ireland were unmistakable, pervasive and striking. Running street battles with riot-helmeted cops; brick walls being torn apart for ammunition; youths flinging petrol bombs; CS gas never before used for crowd control in "mainland Britain." The experience of imperialist repression in Ireland is today being looked to for new nightsticks, new riot gear, new police training, new courtroom procedures and even the army. Bemoaning the difficulty of securing convictions before juries, Thatcher mooted the use of "juryless court trials" for rioters, à la the notorious [anti-IRA, no-jury] Diplock courts. Liverpool City Council requested that the army be placed on standby. "It would be a sorry day if we had to have an army on the streets on the mainland of Britain" declaimed Home Secretary William Whitelaw—even as the army on the streets of Belfast carried out an obscene show of force at hunger-striker Joe McDonnell's funeral when the "snatch squad" shot and arrested Republican honour guard.

When the black population of South London's Brixton exploded against the racist cop occupation three months ago, a year after a similar event in Bristol, we wrote that this "evokes the palpable feeling that Britain is coming apart at the seams" (*Spartacist/Britain*, May 1981). Unlike Bristol and Brixton (and also the ghetto rebellions in the U.S. in the 1960s) the conflagration of the past ten days is not simply or even predominantly racial. It is not a case of black or Asian youth fighting the cops while the white population at large generally sympathises with the forces of "law and order." In Liverpool, Manchester and elsewhere desperate white youth joined with blacks in burning Thatcher's Britain. The London *Times* (6 June) described what happened in Toxteth as "the sudden fusing of elements common to black and white youths." This, probably more than anything else, has shaken the British ruling class about the fragility of its "civilisation."

Southall, the first incident to leap into the headlines as a "riot," was in fact a case of outright community self-defence against fascist terror. When several hundred fascist skinheads swarmed into the Hambrough Tavern for a "rock jig," a thousand Asian youths came out on the streets to surround the pub. While the police cordon kept the Asian youth at a distance, fascists who had been escorted to safety out of the burning pub proceeded to run riot on the nearby streets. "They should put the skinheads in the gutter," said one white woman resident later. And by the time the evening was over, 61 cops had been injured, 23 arrests made (15 of them Asian youth!) and a number of the fascists *had* been put in the gutter, in some cases by youths armed with sticks and hammers.

"We want to survive, it is as simple as that," said a community spokesman afterwards. And it is as simple as that. Only the day before the Hambrough fascist rally, the residence of a Pakistani family was burned out, killing a young woman and her three sons. And the Southall Asian community no doubt remembers that two years ago the cops killed Blair Peach at an anti-fascist demonstration. Now, confronted with a manifest unwillingness of the cops to stop the fascist scum, Southall youth threaten to organise self-defence squads.

Painfully aware of the potential cost of racist polarisation, the bourgeois press abandoned its normal stance of denying the fascist threat. Even Thatcher decided to "condemn fascist organisations," and Whitelaw once again invoked a month-long ban on marches in London under the Public Order Act (originally directed against the hunger marchers of the 1930s). That was all it took to stop an ill-prepared anti-fascist march in Islington, but it did not stop 70 fascist thugs from marauding the area, carrying out random assaults on leftists.

Now is the time for powerful workers defence guards organised in common with the black and Asian communities to sweep the fascists into the gutter for good. *Smash the Public Order Act—Mass Labor Action to Crush the Fascists! Drop the Charges Against the Southall 16!*

It is no accident that Britain's "long hot summer" started in Liverpool, a city which epitomises the country's social decay. So when on July 4 the cops moved en masse into Liverpool 8 they met the fury of black and white youth alike, armed with bricks, sticks and petrol bombs. Riot shields dropped by the retreating cops were triumphantly picked up by the youths; a hose being used to control the crowd was captured and turned on the cops. In the first two nights, nearly 200 cops had been injured and 70 youths arrested. A line of buildings down Upper Parliament Street stood gutted and burned, including the National Westminster Bank and the posh businessmen's Racquets Club. At the same time, several community centres were conspicuously left standing. And accompanying the street action was the looting: some of it random and aimless, some of it a chance to acquire something which subsistence in Liverpool 8 made a luxury—like the new fridge being pushed out of one shop by a mother and child, some of it clearly the work of rather more professional types who moved in like vultures.

Bankrupt Capitalism, Bankrupt Reformism

While the gutter press tried desperately to conjure up "outside agitators" behind it all, and the Chief Constable of Merseyside denounced "black hooligans...indulging in criminal activities," the bourgeoisie's more sensible mouthpieces knew better—and they were worried. The *Economist* (11 July) found Toxteth a "conscious rebellion against property and police," proof that this generation of jobless, unlike their grandfathers in the 1930s, would not "wait for an official war before starting to fight." And above all, the ruling establishment wrung their hands in open consternation that, confronted with massive social unrest, they were saddled with a political leader whose grasp of social reality seemed to start from the nightmare fantasy that the good grocer's daughter was about to be violated by a red-starred Mongol horde.

This murderous bourgeoisie will not balk at upgrading police fire power and repression to maintain its "law and order." But Thatcher was treating unemployed youth in England, white as well as black, no differently than she treated the Irish Republican hunger strikers. While cabinet "wets" and Labourites alike bemoaned the social overhead of Thatcher's brutal economic policies, the truth is that they have no viable alternative. Britain cannot pay for the sort of token aid programs bestowed by the American ruling class upon its ghettos after the upheaval of the '60s. Even the *Economist's* piddling proposals for expanding the number of apprenticeships as was done in Germany ignores the painfully obvious fact that in Germany there are profitable industries to employ apprentices! The "central problem" is that British capitalism is down the tubes; Britain is bankrupt.

Life in Liverpool 8 does not afford the luxury of illusions—purveyed by a myriad of fake communists—that Tony Benn's parliamentary road to tepid "socialist policies" offers any hope out of the misery of Thatcher's Britain. And of course, true to form, Benn hid in his sickbed throughout the week and said nothing about the battle between Thatcher's cops and ghetto youth. Labour Party leaders Dennis Healey and doddering Michael Foot attacked Tory economic policies for leading to... the breakdown in law and order. The *Militant* tendency, perennial "Trotskyite" reds under Tony Benn's bed, were catapulted into the headlines for a Liverpool LPYS (Labour Party Young Socialist) leaflet demanding that the charges against the "looters" be dropped. Yet what these tame reformists called for was "democratic control of the cops."

The upheavals of the past week were certainly not race riots, as portrayed by the tabloids—even though Toxteth and Brixton in particular were immediate responses to racist cop occupations. What Britain witnessed was a wave of elemental outbursts by the victims of a capitalist society in the throes of terminal decay. They were primarily a reaction—not a rebellion, much less a coherent social struggle—against oppressive racism, against cop harassment, against the despair of a future which promises a dole queue [unemployment line] from womb to tomb, and also against the cruel hoax of the small-change parliamentarist reform.

But the uncritical glorification with which the fake-Trotskyist International Marxist Group and the anti-Soviet workerist Socialist Workers Party treat the Liverpool 8 upsurge reflects nothing more than their usual pollyannaish raving over the "masses in motion." Random looting and firebombing of small shops, many of them Asian-owned, are not only anti-social but self-defeating acts—when the smoke blows away the ghetto is that much harder a place to live in. Certainly with a cop dragnet carrying out massive indiscriminate arrests, we demand that all the charges against the "rioters" be dropped—cops out of the ghettos! But these essentially apolitical upheavals of lumpenised youth can go in many directions. Thus while Toxteth was primarily a response to a cop occupation of a black community, that was not the case in the white Liverpool suburb of Kirkby (where the fascists have grown dramatically in the past 18 months), when a mob of white youths reportedly taunted the cops they were fighting as "nigger lovers."

In their ferocity Britain's street battles demonstrate the massive pent-up frustration with this arrogant Tory government and its intolerable economic austerity. A militant labour movement would take to the streets in massive demonstrations that would bring down the Tory government and smash the fascists, galvanising anger against Thatcher into powerful struggles for the interests of the working class and its allies. It could pull behind it the blacks, Asians and unemployed youth demanding: An end to all racist discrimination and immigration laws! Free higher education for all, skills trained at full pay! For trade-union/black defence guards to crush the fascists! For decent housing, social services and jobs for all! Such a movement would show the way out of Britain's economic disaster through the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat.

George Orwell once remarked that it was hard to imagine a revolution in such a law-abiding country as England. Well, it is not hard to imagine now. But neither is it hard to imagine a fascist counterrevolution. Black and Asian youth have little choice but to fight to survive. However, many of the white youth who today lob bricks alongside them can lob bricks *against* them tomorrow. Their despair of a decent future, their hostility not only to Margaret "Let them eat cake" Thatcher but to the piddling reformism of the Benns and Len Murrays can be mobilised behind a fascist crusade for a "white Britain." But the vision of red revolution, of the socialist reconstruction of this most decayed capitalist society, can also inspire Britain's millions of desperate youth. The flames which swept from Liverpool 8 to London's Brixton this past week illuminate the fundamental choice before Britain: socialist revolution or fascist reaction. ■

Just Out!

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Summer 1981

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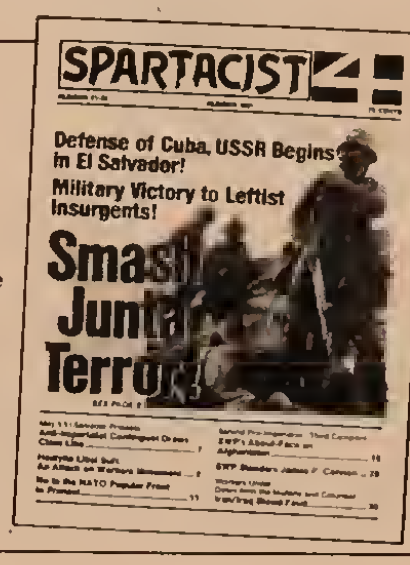

Chicago Exclusion...

(continued from page 3)

would be severely shaken by a leftist victory in the civil war. And they look to the imperialists to broker such a deal. The Anti-Imperialist Contingent countered this dangerous illusion with the chant: "Remember Bay of Pigs, remember Vietnam—Democratic Party, we know which side you're on!"

For the last month the Chicago left has been in an uproar over the cop exclusion. Even the People's Antiwar Mobilization, controlled by Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism (WWP/YAWF), was pitched into turmoil over the events of May 30. WWP/YAWF/PAM are among the most frantic of the reformists seeking to slander, physically exclude and attack the SL. At the PAM-sponsored May 3 Pentagon march they built a platform for imperialist liberals while linking arms to prevent marchers from joining an anti-imperialist rally initiated by the SL. Outside a talk by WWP guru Sam Marcy in New York City June 6, Spartacist supporters had to administer a lesson in workers democracy to a frenzied Marcyite goon squad which attacked an SL demo with ten-foot wood planks and broken bottles (see "YAWF Goons Beaten Attacking SL Demo," *WV* No. 283, 19 June).

But in Chicago, the Marcyites are feeling the heat from some of their coalition partners. A few days after the May 30 demonstration, Chicago PAM

passed a motion *against* the police exclusion. The WWPers who run PAM now refuse to produce this motion, and when at a subsequent PAM internal meeting the SL statement of protest was read, Marcyites leaped to their feet shrieking to "table" the discussion. (Obviously their anti-exclusion motion is a worthless sop.) Then at a June 21 public PAM meeting, the contradiction between WWP/YAWF's fear of revolutionary politics and their need to placate bloc partners exploded. A Spartacist sales team was first told it could set up a literature table along with other organizations in the hall; when they returned three minutes later with more literature, the door had been locked. Through the glass you could see a CWP supporter attempting to open the door while Marcyites blocked his way and the rest of the motley coalition bickered in the background.

The latest shot in the Stalinists' war of lies is a leaflet being passed around by the NWRC aimed at setting up the SL for exclusion and repression by the capitalist state. The Trend's slander sheet begins with an elaborate attempt to portray the AP wirephoto of the May 3 Pentagon march (centering on SL banners calling for military victory to Salvadoran leftists) as an imperialist plot. (This theme has become so common that it's a wonder they don't claim the Anti-Imperialist Contingent arrived in Washington in a sealed train paid for by the German general staff.) Along with easily disproved lies—like the claim that the cops only moved in when the SL prepared to join the march (they were there from the word go)—it contains valuable admissions. First, it *never denies* that the Coalition called in the police and tries to argue that the SL brought it on itself by refusing to follow the "planned order of marching, which placed them at the rear." So our "crime" is refusing to go to the back of the bus. The leaflet also tacitly admits that it was the NWRC which initiated the confrontation at the June 29 film showing by trying to "move them [the SL] toward the door" for trying to win people to the Anti-Imperialist Contingent.

With the usual cloying nastiness of Stalinists trying to sound like Quakers, the NWRC leaflet asserts: "The truth is that behind the slogan of 'military victory' lies the real SL position of *political opposition* to the forces which can alone bring that victory—whether it is the FDR in El Salvador, the MPLA in Angola, or the NLF in Vietnam." Why stop there? What about Mao in China and Stalin in Russia? *Our* political victory was a rather good proletarian revolution in Russia in 1917, led by Lenin and Trotsky. But then there was a politically limited counterrevolution under Stalin giving rise to a hideously deformed nationalist regime, suppressing any germ of workers democracy. The same bureaucratic regime was reproduced in the China of Mao and his heirs. That is *your* political victory. But we defend these states against imperialist attack—where do you stand? You *oppose* calling for military victory to Salvadoran leftists and for defense of Cuba and the USSR!

The heart of this classic smear job is to cop-bait on political grounds: "We see a political line which consists mostly of opposing everything from the 'left'—an easy line for an infiltrator to parrot." You see, left equals right in the best 1984 Stalinist tradition. Then a pious note: "We hope the SL is not developing along the lines of the former National Caucus of Labor Committees"—a repetition of the Marcyite "neo-fascist" insinuation, a technique straight from Stalin in the '30s when the Trotskyists were accused of being agents of Hitler and the Mikado *and then murdered*. And the ominous end: "*We will be closely watching the conduct of the SL* in the next period, to see whether we can still afford to regard them as part of the left. We welcome your comments on this subject."

You want comments? Okay. To begin with, this is a vicious apology for thug attacks and cop exclusion. And you are watching from very far to the right as the whole reformist swamp—from the CP to the Mareyites and renegades from Mao—tries to cement a bloc with a wing of the Democratic Party. Can you "afford" political debate with the Trotskyist SL? Apparently not, for this same gang (and don't forget the "peaceful-legal" social democrats of the Socialist Workers Party) has repeatedly resorted to violence in a vain attempt to silence the Spartacists. Now you "unite" with the repressive forces of the capitalist state against the revolutionaries (forgetting who will be next on the cops' hit list), justifying this betrayal with slander. May 3, May 30, June 6—it's the same story, but this time the reformist finks and goons did their dirty work in a particularly blatant, stupid manner—and got caught.

Given the way this gang has been going—tailing the tail of the Democrats, who are tailing Reagan—they're already *politically* a good way out of the workers movement. It would indeed be better if they would at least defend some of the rights of the revolutionary left. But in the present context we are expecting a hard time from the government—which tries to write off all socialists as agents of "Soviet terrorism"—and they've made it clear whose cheering squad they're on. These treacherous reformists-for-a-political-solution in the midst of a raging civil war in El Salvador have all the backbone of an uncooked egg yolk. It's a far cry from the tens of thousands in the late '60s who called for a military victory to the Viet Cong. But in all the Kremlin's "détente" fantasies and the excuses for Peking's counterrevolutionary alliance with U.S. imperialism (Angola, Vietnam, Afghanistan and now U.S. arms to China), this is long forgotten.

The Spartacist League is the *only* left tendency which openly supports a victory on the battlefield for the heroic insurgents in El Salvador. For us, proletarian internationalism is more than a slogan. It means fighting everywhere for the cause of the exploited and the oppressed—not some kind of treacherous "unity" with the class enemy. The line is drawn in El Salvador—which side are you on? Down with the junta—workers to power! Military victory to the Salvadoran leftists! Defense of Cuba/USSR begins in El Salvador! ■

Tamil Leader...

(continued from page 7)

Mrs. Bandaranaike.

Mr. Edmund Samarakkody and others broke away and formed a group, which they then split into two, Mr. Bala Tampoe's group and Edmund Samarakkody's group, and they were nowhere as far as the elections are concerned in 1965 and subsequently, and they lost all popular support.

I should say, to the discredit of the LSSP, in 1970 they were part of the government. For the first time, strikes by unions were completely smashed up and people were dismissed by the government with so-called Marxist ministers in office. So that their record, not merely on the Tamil question, but even on the general working-class question, after a certain stage is very, very unsatisfactory.

WV: We have always regarded the action taken by Samarakkody and Meryl Fernando in refusing to vote for the coalition as a very honorable and courageous stand and an important, decisive break from coalition politics. The SLFP has been a party that has always been notorious for its Sinhala chauvinism, and so we see it as very bad to make alliances with them. I wonder how you can see the way free to make a bloc with them for last May Day?

Amirthalingam: No. You see, we had made it very clear. We are not entering into any electoral alliance or any alliance with them. To oppose the UNP government's anti-peoples actions we felt united action by the entire opposition is called for. There were five matters that we placed before the people. One, the removal of the subsidies, food subsidy and other subsidies. Number two, their anti-working-class legislation in the form of the Essential Public Services law. And their so-called Prevention of Terrorism law. Fourth, their attempt to deprive certain opposition party leaders of their civic rights and political rights and thereby stifle opposition altogether and take the country on the road to a one-party totalitarian government. Number five, their action against the strikers last July in dismissing them. We felt that on these five matters only, we joined hands with all these parties, that is, the SLFP, the LSSP, the MEP (that is formerly Mr. Philip Gunawardena's party) and Mr. Shanmugathasan's wing of the Communist Party. We felt that united action was necessary; otherwise J.R. Jayewardene will install a dictatorship of the right.

WV: I've seen reports that in an independent Eelam, Trincomalee might become the capital. It's one of the best naval harbors in the world, an historically very important strategic center, and there are a lot of reports about the Americans being very interested in having it as a base. I wonder what your attitude to that is and in particular what you think the attitude of the Indians might be to this, especially since India is in a military alliance with the Soviet Union.

Amirthalingam: I think that is one of the most important points of potential conflict in the South Asian region. I have openly said in Parliament and outside that any move by this government to give any facilities to America in Trincomalee would be opposed by us, and I made that an issue because the Prime Minister issued a press statement on the 25th of May, when he returned from the Philippines wherein he said that the Defense Agreement with Britain of 1947 is still in force as far as the UNP government is concerned.

I know that India is very much concerned with that and very much alarmed and this will bring Ceylon, Trincomalee and the Indian Ocean into the vortex of big power struggle.

WV: There are many millions of Tamils in India itself. Do you think there is a real prospect of an Indian intervention if, for example, the independence struggle came to a major crisis in Tamil areas?

Amirthalingam: You see, the 45 million Tamils in south India are themselves not their own masters. They have been only part of the larger Indian setup. As to what may happen in the future, we know, taking all these matters together: Trincomalee Harbor, the possibility of an American base being given there, the Indian attitude toward that and our struggle—all these things may create a situation of intervention by outsiders in this struggle.

WV: You certainly must be familiar with the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which says that in order to end national oppression you have to go forward to the socialist revolution. I wondered how you envisage an independent Eelam. Is it going to be a capitalist state, or a socialist state?

Amirthalingam: In our manifesto in 1977 we categorically stated that scientific socialism is our objective. We did not want to just say socialism, because everybody calls themselves socialists. Even Jayewardene calls himself socialist. And we have said that the Tamil Eelam will be a fully socialist country where exploitation of all types and distinctions based on caste, all that is abolished. And it will give fraternal support to the Sinhalese to establish a socialist state in their part of the country.

WV: If there was created an independent Tamil Eelam in the North and Eastern Provinces, what do you think would happen to the Tamil plantation workers and the other Tamils, for instance in the Colombo area. Often when you've had partitions of this sort, say India and Pakistan, they have been accompanied by forcible population transfers or communal slaughter.

Amirthalingam: But in spite of all the forcible population transfers, there are 100 million Muslims yet in India. After Bangladesh and Pakistan separated, there are more Muslims in India today than in Bangladesh or Pakistan taken individually.

But as far as the plantation Tamils are concerned, once their status in Sri Lanka is decided, then we will know what the number is that we have to deal with. You know after every outbreak of violence against Tamils in those areas, more and more are migrating to the Tamil areas. So that there is a transfer of population daily taking place. We need not forcibly do such a thing.

WV: But you have to agree that what's happening now brings a lot of hardship with it.

Amirthalingam: It does, and particularly in the context of there being no machinery to provide for them. But I think if we have the machinery to look after them, the bulk of them may be able to develop the lands in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

WV: What do you envisage as a settlement for the Sinhala settlers who moved into the Eastern Province and into areas under the Mahaweli?

Amirthalingam: In our manifesto we put in: full language rights, full rights of citizenship in Tamil Eelam.

WV: Our new group Spartacist League/Lanka has put a lot of emphasis on the effort to seek a joint class struggle between the Tamil and Sinhala working classes. We would like to see, rather than a partition, a bi-national workers state.

Amirthalingam: The unfortunate situation is that left movements inside Ceylon, including that new left, the JVP, they are all essentially Sinhala-oriented. The JVP, in their lectures delivered to their recruits in 1970, before their insurgency, one was on Indian expansionism. It was not Indian expansionism, it was essentially directed against the plantation Tamil labor and they believed in destroying the plantation industry and the plantation laborers. Even the Communist Party has at least said that the right to self determination should be recognized. Of course they say that the right to secede is not there.

I have openly said that if any revolutionary left movement grows in the south which is prepared to recognize our right of self-determination, we are prepared to throw in our lot with them in a common struggle. But unfortunately I don't see the prospects of a force like that emerging in the south. And in the meantime, before that happens, we run the risk of being crushed altogether. So we have to struggle by ourselves.

If there is a movement of sufficient strength among the Sinhalese which recognizes our right of self-determination—including secession, as the Bolshevik Party in Russia under Lenin put forward before the revolution—we are prepared to join hands with them in a common struggle. Maybe at the end of it we may agree to work out some way of living together.

WV: We would certainly say that the right of the Tamils to self-determination must be recognized and that the Tamil question is an acid test for revolutionists.

Amirthalingam: I have seen the document signed by your group. I appreciate very much the stand that has been taken there. But it will take a long time for your group to gather sufficient momentum to be a force with which we can align there. Certainly, on any common issues, we are prepared to join hands with them in struggle. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America!

Sandinista Nicaragua Under Reagan's Guns

At the second anniversary of the ouster of the tyrant Somoza, Sandinista Nicaragua faces a many-sided campaign of "destabilization" by U.S. imperialism and the domestic capitalist opposition. From Washington to the would-be Iron Triangle of military regimes in Central America, preparations are under way to reimpose the "democracy" of the M-16, napalm and the Huey helicopter. Utopian appeals for "national unity" by the leaders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have run onto the rocks of irreconcilable class antagonisms. The "new Nicaragua" must go forward to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie or the masses will suffer in misery under restabilized capitalist dictatorship—either decreed by the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN or inflicted over its dead body. And only a socialist mobilization of the working masses, not just in Nicaragua but throughout the isthmus, can defeat the counterrevolutionary threat.

"Détente" deals are dead. The Republicans came to power on the back of Carter's Cold War crusade vowing to roll back the "Marxist Sandinista takeover of Nicaragua." Once in office, the Reaganites have pushed Managua to the wall, vituperating against "a Soviet plan to communize Central America and use that land bridge as a dagger pointing north and south" (*New York Times*, 16 May). Having made El Salvador the nexus of its anti-Soviet war drive, continuing the Carter Democrats' support to the murderous junta, Reagan/Haig threaten Cuba and Nicaragua with dire consequences over their (unfortunately) mythical aid to leftist Salvadoran rebels. But just who is it that is exporting "international terrorism" around the world, and to Central America in particular?

19 July 1980: Sandinista army celebrates first anniversary of Somoza's defeat.

Franken/Sygma

- Recalling the days before the Bay of Pigs invasion 20 years ago, Miami's "Little Havana" is overflowing with armed men in camouflage uniforms. In the swamps of southern Florida a reported 600 Nicaraguan exiles, most of them former officers and mercenary troops of ousted dictator Anastasio Somoza, have been training alongside anti-Castro Cubans for what they say is an imminent attempt to overthrow the Sandinistas.
- Somozaist gangs under the protection of the Honduran military dictatorship have recently stepped up their murderous attacks. In less than two weeks in June, 16 Nicaraguans were killed by the terror raiders. Altogether, well over 100 FSLN supporters have been killed by the counterrevolutionary marauders since the "jackal of Managua" was overthrown on July 19, 1979.
- Last month the State Department raised a hue and cry over supposed shipments of Soviet tanks from Cuba to Nicaragua. "We see nothing to justify" such armaments says General Haig. But U.S. sources note that Managua presently has "no armor and no air force." And the Secretary of State neglected to mention that neighboring Honduras recently received 20 British Scorpion tanks.

The story on the economic and diplomatic front is no different. After blackmailing the FSLN to forswear any aid to left-wing insurgents in El Salvador, the U.S. announced April 1 that it was cutting off all economic aid to the Sandinista regime anyway. Earlier a $9.6 million "Food for Peace" wheat sale was canceled, and now Washington is threatening to stop imports of Nicaraguan beef unless Managua cancels plans to purchase Cuban breeding stock. For anyone who has trouble figuring out what's up, the *New York Times* (2 April) reported that "some State Department officials are also known to favor a policy of first 'strangling' the Sandinist Government economically and then...'financing dissident groups'." And the Somozaist counterrevolutionaries received the message loud and clear: the cancellation of American aid "encouraged right-wing Nicaraguan exiles to step up attacks from inside Honduras and to start planning a full-scale invasion" (*New York Times*, 5 April).

Kalusny/Sygma

No secret: Ex-Somoza National Guard killers and Cuban gusanos train in Florida to overthrow FSLN regime.

Terrorists Made in U.S.A.

None of the Somozaists' provocations would be possible without the permission (and in fact encouragement) of United States authorities. With plenty of money and guns, linked to similar exile brigades scattered around Central America, these *gusanos* (worms, as they are known in Cuba) swaggering before *Parade* magazine and ABC-TV cameras are eagerly awaiting the word from their friends in the CIA to stage Bay of Pigs II in Nicaragua. "I think we'll be ready in two months," one spokesman said in April. "But we can't wait six months," said another exile. "By then the Sandinists will be too strong. The green light has to come soon from the United States" (*New York Times*, 2 April).

The *somocistas* in Honduras, with backing from at least some sectors of the divided Honduran military, are carrying

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 286

31 July 1981

Smash Zionist Terror–Arab/Hebrew Workers Unite!

Mad Bomber Begin

Flying low, the American-made fighters came in three waves over the strife-torn city of Beirut last week. The raid lasted at most twenty minutes. But by concentrating their rockets and half-ton incendiary bombs on heavily populated areas, the Israeli fighters massacred 300 and wounded another 800. It was the most savage raid by the Zionist state in seven years. The Israeli government claimed it was targeting the headquarters of guerrilla organizations belonging to the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In fact the main targets were apartment buildings, schools and a mosque.

With the logic of mass murderers who believe that one of "us" is worth at least a hundred of "them," and who have the accoutrements of state power (including, as Moshe Dayan recently confirmed, the A-bomb) to impose their will, Israel claimed the raid was in retaliation to a PLO rocket attack on northern Israel earlier that week in which three Israelis were killed. In reality the rocket attack was provoked by three Israeli air strikes which killed 65 and wounded 250. The Beirut bombing was only the most ferocious act in a two-week mass terror campaign in which Israel has been continuously shelling coastal towns and villages, blowing up roads and bridges, bombing and strafing Palestinian refugee camps.

The Beirut bombing raid was reminiscent of Deir Yassin, where in 1948 Zionist terrorists of the Irgun and Stern gang gunned down 254 unarmed Palestinians, mainly women and children. No wonder yesterday's Irgun terrorists are today's Israeli rulers. The bombing raid announced to the world that the Butcher of Deir Yassin and Irgun leader Menachem Begin had been returned to the premiership of the Zionist state. Following the bombing raid Begin issued a personal statement which was not so much a justification as an unabashed open declaration of genocidal warfare against Palestinians:

> "We shall however, continue to attack terrorist bases and headquarters, even if they are purposely located in the vicinity of, or within, civilian concentrations."

As with Israeli bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, imperialist and Zionist "friends of Israel," especially in the U.S., expressed chagrin at the antics of mad bomber Begin. The bombing was timed to cause maximum embarrassment to the U.S. It occurred on the heels of a visit to Israel by U.S. State Department counselor Robert McFarlane, who was sent to admonish Begin for the Iraqi nuclear reactor bombing. It came just after Reagan's "special envoy" to the Near East Philip Habib resumed his mission to resolve the so-called Syrian "missile crisis." And the Beirut bombing occurred in the last days of the imperialist summit in Ottawa where the U.S. was already catching some heat because Reaganomics was savaging American working people in a manner that did Washington's imperialist allies and economic competitors no favors.

On July 20, the Reagan administration announced that given the "escalation of violence" the shipment of four F-16 fighter-bombers suspended after the Iraqi bombing would continue to be held up, as would another six F-16s scheduled for shipment that day. On Wednesday Secretary of Defense Weinberger went on the TV program "Good Morning America" to state that Begin's policies "cannot really be described as moderate at this point." Not about to be called to account by imperialist butchers, Begin responded to criticism from Washington:

> "I don't want to hear anything from the Americans about hitting civilian targets. I know exactly what the Americans did in Vietnam."

But not willing to strain relations with his imperialist patrons too far, Begin has accepted an American-brokered "cessation of hostilities" that will be as short-lived as those notorious Lebanese ceasefires.

Begin Bombs Reagan's "Strategic Consensus" Again

The bombing of Beirut, like the bombing of the Iraqi nuclear reactor, blows up Reagan/Haig's Near East strategy of an anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" uniting Israel and the Arab states against the Soviet Union. What we wrote about mad bomber Begin last month also applies to the Beirut raid: "In fact, sowing discord between the U.S. and the Arab states was as much the purpose of the raid as its direct military objective" ("Israeli Nuclear Terrorists," *WV* No. 283, 19 June). Fake leftists who believe that in order to assert the reactionary character of the Zionist state of Israel it is necessary to pretend it is a completely subservient puppet of U.S. imperialism do not understand that the Israeli rulers' own interests are often in harmony with U.S. imperialism but are no less reactionary when they are not.

UPI

Natchwey/Black Star

Zionist mass terror bombing of Bierut massacres 300.

No doubt there is an enormous element of hypocrisy in the spats between the United States and Israel. The U.S., for example, is still very much dependent on Israel not only to police the Near East but as an arms supplier for regimes so reactionary that the U.S. did not want to have direct dealings with them. Israel supplied over 90 percent of the arms to the Somoza regime and today Israel is the main arms supplier for the Salvadoran junta. The blood of the thousands of workers and peasants that have fallen in the civil war there is on the hands of the Zionists. Nevertheless, U.S. commitment to Israel is entirely subordinate to its global interests in which control over Mideast oil

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SWP Gets Its Day in Court

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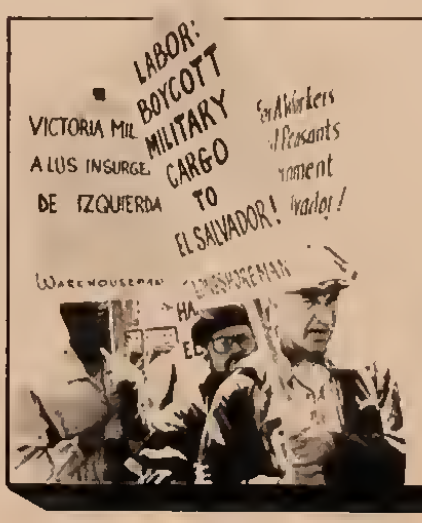

El Salvador

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Socialism vs. Irish Republicanism

To Editors of "Workers Vanguard"

I'm writing concerning the May issue of your paper [*Workers Vanguard* No. 280, 8 May] which included an article on the late Irish Revolutionary hero, Bobby Sands.

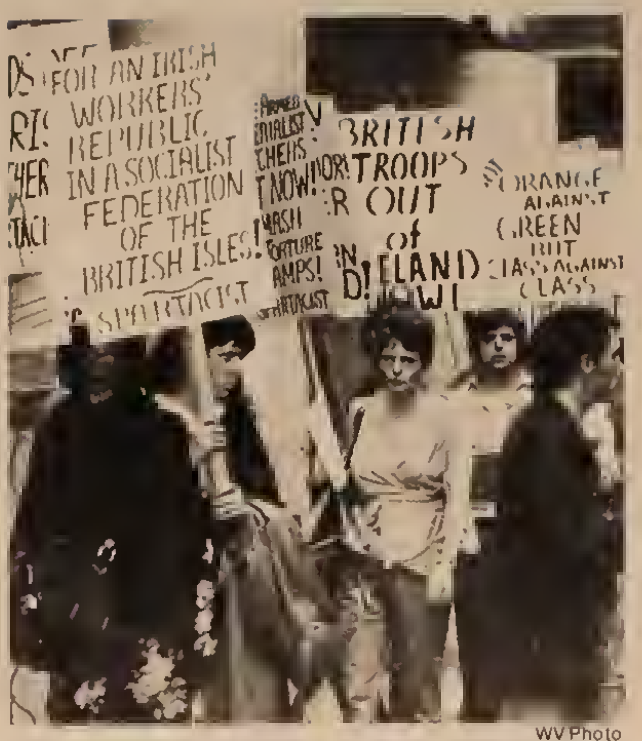
I'm glad to hear your organization joined the anti-British imperialist activity in New York and here in California. As a union man, a Socialist, and an Irish Republican I welcome you. I also agreed with most of your article. But towards the end there is a serious mistake. I hope it is unintentional. You state, quote, "the Republican's fight for cross-class Catholic unity—a capitalist united Ireland." That is not true. In "Republican News" the newspaper of the Sinn Fein and the I.R.A., it has been stated many times that the goal of the I.R.A. is for a *united Socialist Ireland*! That goal has also been stated by the Irish National Liberation Army, the other organization participating in the Hunger strike. The U.S. capitalist press clippings will verify this, there has been bitter anti-socialist attacks on the I.R.A. precisely because they do support, so strongly, a socialist Ireland with no place for "Shamrock Capitalism."

Please correct your error and continue your efforts to get the British occupation army out of my parents' homeland. Victory to the Hunger Strikers! Up the I.R.A.!

Sincerely,
Tom Brennan
San Francisco, California

WV replies: Brother Brennan raises actually two important questions. One, does the IRA stand for socialism in Ireland in reality and not just on paper? And two, should socialists support the slogan of a "united socialist Ireland"?

For the IRA, the "united" comes before the "socialist" not only in the slogan but in reality. The Provisionals in effect advocate the forced unification of Northern Ireland with the existing Irish Catholic capitalist state (despite the fact that it persecutes them). As for the more "socialist" Officials (now Sinn Fein—The Workers Party), the overwhelming thrust of their politics is for a united Ireland, ignoring the class nature of the Dublin regime and the will of the Ulster Protestant working class. Neither wing of the IRA organizes the working class, North or South, for socialist revolution.



WV Photo

Chicago demonstration against H-Block, 22 May.

Brother Brennan takes for granted that any socialist should support a united socialist Ireland, ignoring the will of the Ulster Protestant community which constitutes two-thirds of the population of Northern Ireland and one-quarter of that of the entire island. Northern Ireland is not a nationally homogeneous area seeking liberation from imperialism. It is a case of interpenetrated peoples, like Cyprus or Lebanon, where the will of the Protestant community must be taken into account in any genuinely democratic solution. The Ulster Protestant workers fear incorporation into an Irish Catholic state and are prepared to resist it violently. Possibly the Ulster Protestant workers can be won to a program of a unified Irish workers state, which would necessarily have a secular character. But such a workers state cannot be created through the forced incorporation of the Ulster Protestant community.

Instead of a "united socialist Ireland," we call for an Irish workers republic (not necessarily including the Ulster Protestant community) within a socialist federation of the British Isles. In addition to providing the framework for a democratic resolution of the national question, a socialist federation bears on the economic basis for unifying the Ulster Protestant and Irish workers. As poor as Ulster is, south Ireland is poorer still. If the Ulster Protestant working class is to accept being part of a unified Irish workers state, they (as well as the rest of the Irish working class) should have their share of the wealth available from the socialist integration of the British Isles.

As we wrote in "Theses on Ireland," our basic statement on the question:

> "We struggle for an Irish workers republic as part of a socialist federation of the British Isles. While the establishment of a united workers state of the whole island may be preferable, the above demand is algebraic, leaving open the question of where the Protestants fall. This recognizes that the nature of the Protestant community has not yet been determined in history. As such, it is counterposed to calls for a 'united workers republic' or for a 'united socialist Ireland' (where this demand is not simply an expression of left/nationalist or Stalinist two-stage theories). Placing the demand in the context of a socialist federation has the additional advantage of highlighting the essential relationship of the proletarian revolution in the whole area and the virtual impossibility of the resolution of the Irish question on a working-class basis outside this framework."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 24, Autumn 1977

LO and French Elections

June 15, 1981

Dear Comrades:

In *Workers Vanguard*, 13 March 1981, you stated that the Lutte Ouvrière group "basically approves of the PCF's municipal policy on immigration" and was guilty of "capitulation to the most backward layers of the proletariat, and even to their racism."

This is a distortion. LO supports *past* PCF policies of defending immigrant workers and opposing government racist attempts to exclude immigrants from living in certain areas. (See the 6-page article in *Lutte de Classe* No. 82, 20 January 1981.) As your *WV* article reported, LO opposes the new PCF policy inaugurated last December at Vitry, where the Communist mayor led a raid to destroy a housing project to which African workers had been transferred.

So the PCF has capitulated to racism; LO opposes this capitulation; therefore LO is guilty of capitulation to racism?

Other criticisms of LO likewise do not stand up to careful examination. LO is not "electoralist"; it uses election periods to broaden its propaganda without encouraging illusions in the electoral process. It is not "workerist"; it concentrates its propaganda on workers to win them to revolutionary politics. LO is not "state-capitalist"; it rejects the concept of "deformed" workers states because it holds the traditional marxist view that workers' states can only be created by the conscious actions of the workers themselves.

In *Workers Vanguard*, 5 June 1981, you told a half-truth when you said that LO's election slogan was to vote for Mitterrand. This was only their *second round* policy. In the first round LO ran its own candidate, Arlette Laguiller, who got 660,000 votes. You thus give the false impression that LO's support of Mitterrand was uncritical, when in reality it was not only very critical, but *visibly* critical.

In fact, LO's policy of voting Trotskyist in the first round and Mitterrand in the second was the clearest way of putting your own slogan, "Giscard never, Mitterrand no!" into practice. Much better than total abstention.

Marion Syrek
Berkeley, CA

WV replies: Reader Syrek, for many years a leader of the tiny syndicalist *Spark* group who now has his own one-man operation, seeks to defend the credentials of his long-time mentors of Lutte Ouvrière. But the facts do him in. On Vitry, as our 13 March article (*WV* No. 276) reported, LO's *Lutte de Classe* of 22 December 1980 supported PCF immigration policy of calling for "a maximum quota of immigrant workers for all towns" saying, "At bottom, we cannot criticize it [the PCF] because what it is saying is valid and well-founded." Vitry was a racist atrocity and initiated a chauvinist campaign against immigrant workers. But the PCF has called for chauvinist municipal immigration quotas for years. Would comrade Syrek like to advocate this in the U.S.? How many Mexican immigrants would he be willing to permit in Berkeley, for instance?

LO is notoriously electoralist—its main slogan in two presidential elections has been "Vote for a worker, vote for a woman, vote for Arlette Laguiller." And LO's policy of electoral support to Mitterrand was *not* limited to the second round (when their slogan was "Vote Mitterrand without illusions, but without reservations"). In *Lutte Ouvrière* No. 669 (28 March) Arlette Laguiller said, "The aim of my candidacy is not to create an obstacle to Mitterrand's election." This expresses the Ligue Trotskyste de France's slogan, "Giscard Never, Mitterrand No!"? Only if "no" means "yes."

On the class nature of the East European states, it is true that LO usually tries to hide in ambiguity. However, in an English-language pamphlet, "The People's Democracies: Are They Socialist States?" published by *Voix Ouvrière* in 1966 they state unambiguously: "Where the working class never took power and never smashed the bourgeois state, these state apparatuses remain bourgeois." LO not only rejects the Trotskyist characterization of them as deformed workers states (i.e., bureaucratically ruled but on the basis of proletarian, collectivized property forms), above all it refuses to defend them against imperialism.

SWP Exclusions and Watersuit

New York
30 June 1981

To the Editor:

As *WV* readers will recall, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) excludes Spartacist supporters from its public events. This "national policy" was enforced at the February 7 New York SWP rally held to publicize the SWP's "watersuit" against the FBI, even though such blantant political exclusionism risks estranging any principled defenders of civil liberties among those the SWP appeals to about its court case.

As a Spartacist supporter, I went to the June 6 "Watersuit" rally in New York. This one was sponsored by the SWP's "Political Rights Defense Fund" (PRDF). Peter Camejo was selling tickets. I asked him what the policy was on admitting Spartacists. He laughed and said something like, "Oh, it's $50 for members of the Spartacist League." When I asked for a straight answer he referred me to the head of the "security" team. This guy, along with another who identified himself as a PRDF spokesman, told me this was not an SWP meeting but a PRDF meeting. The implication was that I was SWP-baiting an independent-minded civil-liberties organization.

I bought a ticket and went in. But I was not surprised to find out recently that the Spartacist League was excluded from the PRDF-sponsored public meeting held June 13 in Chicago. *WV* readers may draw their own conclusions.

Fraternally,
D.M.

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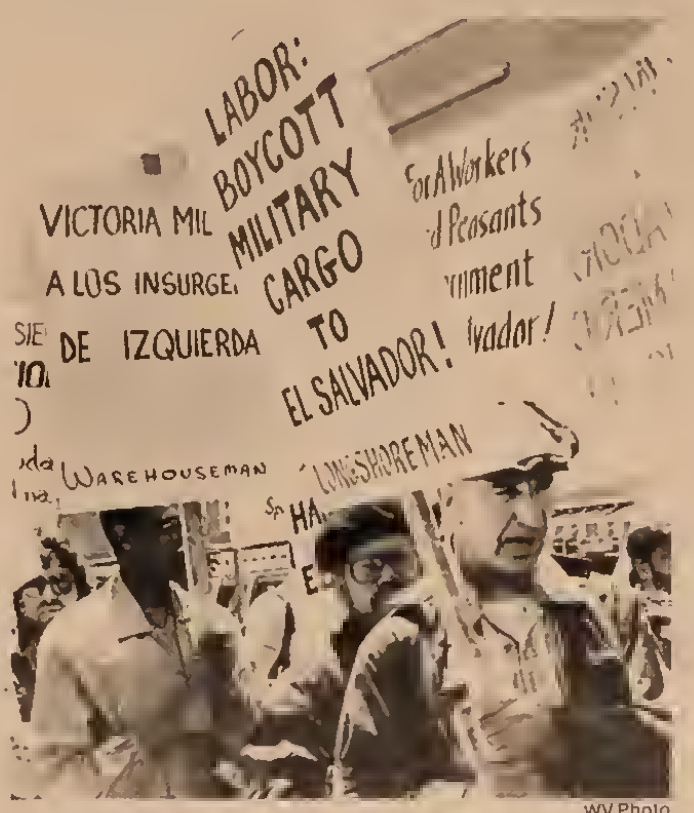
No. 286 **31 July 1981**

Oust the Bureaucrats–Break with CIA's AIFLD–Boycott Military Goods!

Labor and El Salvador: Class Struggle vs. Cold War

SAN FRANCISCO—More and more American workers are realizing that mass unemployment, racism and union-busting are the domestic face of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive, currently targeted on the tiny Central American country of El Salvador. Already, AFL-CIO chiefs are forced to order state and local labor councils to toe the federation's official pro-junta line. In the Bay Area, an "Open Letter to President Reagan Against U.S. Intervention in El Salvador" signed by 800 northern California trade unionists appeared in the 8 July *Oakland Tribune*. And in the union ranks there is a growing, angry opposition to the Reagan/Haig war and austerity policies. But the squabbles among pro-business bureaucrats—between those who follow the straight CIA line and liberals who call for an imperialist-brokered "compromise" in El Salvador—offer no way forward for working people. All wings of the American ruling class fundamentally support a Cold War II, and the only way to fight them is with sharp class struggle at home and abroad.



ILWU militants demand union action against Salvadoran junta, San Francisco, July 19.

WV Photo

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, heir to super cold warrior George Meany, directed union officials in a letter last March that any statements on El Salvador "should be in line" with a February federation executive council resolution. And he included an inch-thick "information kit" just so everyone would get the line straight: military and economic aid to the "reform-minded" junta while pressuring the Democratic Party to pressure Reagan to pressure the colonels for more Vietnam pacification-style "land reform," and "free elections" (in the middle of a civil war!) monitored by the Organization of American States (the notorious "Yankee ministry of colonies"). There was also a note of mild regret over the assassination in January of three officials of the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) in the San Salvador Sheraton. They don't mention, of course, that the AIFLD is a well-known CIA "labor" front financed by the American government. The policy of Kirkland & Co. is to prettify and shore up the hated junta, urging more "reform by death" and please stop shooting AIFLD/CIA operatives.

Meanwhile, self-styled "progressive" union bureaucrats in California are calling for a "political solution" in El Salvador—a coalition between elements of the present dictatorship and the popular-front FDR opposition. The Santa Clara County Central Labor Committee was hauled onto the carpet for taking out a paid ad in the 24 March *San Jose Mercury* titled "No Vietnam in El Salvador." Reagan and Haig could agree to that, since they're hell-bent to "win" this one over the corpses of the Salvadoran people, but it was too much for the AFL-CIO. The *Oakland Tribune* advertisement, placed by Trade Unionists in Solidarity with El Salvador (TUSES), suggests writing your Congressman to support HR 1509, a bill to end U.S. military aid to the junta. But it deliberately avoids calling for an end to the much larger *economic* aid, which is what keeps the Salvadoran regime afloat. This is the old tactical difference between "hawks" and "doves" in Vietnam over how best to "fight communism": bomb 'em or buy 'em. But so far it's an academic question in El Salvador where Reagan wants to "teach the Soviets a bloody lesson."

Loyal "Left" Lieutenants

The *Oakland Tribune* ad is the sole concrete "action" to come out of the Trade Union Committee on El Salvador (TUCES, predecessor of TUSES) in the six months of its existence. The founder and leading light of TUCES/TUSES is Walter Johnson, president of Department Store Employees Union Local 1100. Johnson frequently sets up these labor "solidarity" committees in order to cultivate a "progressive" image and provide a sandbox for fake-lefts like the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But he's careful not to step on toes in Washington, whether at the AFL-CIO or out at Langley. At the January 22 founding meeting of TUCES, when militant phone workers raised a motion condemning the policies of "pro-capitalist labor leaders who for years have collaborated with big business and the CIA in setting up and maintaining the AIFLD" Johnson refused to recognize them. Later, a TUCES leaflet lamented the death of "two AFL-CIO representatives" in El Salvador. (On January 14, the AIFLD pair were described in court by the U.S. solicitor general as "some kind of undercover persons working under the cover of a labor organization.")

And no wonder. Johnson is a frequent emissary from his own Retail Clerks International Union (RCIU) for work with the Asian American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), a counterpart of the Latin American AIFLD, to build CIA-dominated anti-communist unions in places like Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. (For evidence of Johnson's AAFLI-related activities see *Local 100 Report*, 14 November 1980; also *UCFW Action*, March 1980 and September 1979, and *Local 870 News*, March 1978.) The RCIU along with the Communications Workers (CWA) gets prominent mention in the award-winning documentary *On Company Business* as the unions most up to their necks in CIA/State Department "free trade union" dirty work.

At a June 25 public forum co-sponsored by TUSES and Casa El Salvador/Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the main speaker was perennial teach-in "Latin American expert" Bill Bollinger, who pretended that the last two years have been a "democratic springtime" for trade unions in El Salvador! After this fantastical claim he tried to argue that the good outweighs the bad in the AIFLD/CIA: "An interesting feature of the AFL-CIO's work in El Salvador is that in trying to fight communism they also come into sharp contradiction with the landowning oligarchs." A Spartacist League supporter responded during the discussion period:

> "...what we're getting is the view of Lane Kirkland, because no one but him

continued on page 4

For Military Victory to the Salvadoran Leftists!

During the 24th biennial convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), held in Honolulu April 27-May 2, Howard Keylor of the Militant Caucus (a class-struggle opposition in the union) presented the following minority report on El Salvador.

WHEREAS:

Reagan's foreign policy is gearing up for World War III with the Soviet Union. The steps along this road to nuclear holocaust are clear—first El Salvador, then Nicaragua, Cuba, Poland and finally the USSR; and

WHEREAS:

The conflict in El Salvador is a civil war. On one side are the workers and impoverished peasants. On the other side are the landlords, coffee barons, the right-wing death squads, the military junta, and the U.S. government. Every single union hall has been bombed and destroyed and the killing goes on; and

WHEREAS:

The ILWU and the rest of the American labor movement has a stake in this fight and must take sides with the workers and peasants. Only a military victory of the left-wing insurgents can prevent a bloodbath. American labor must take all necessary action to help our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador to *win*; and

WHEREAS:

The International's policy to boycott military cargo bound for El Salvador is a first step toward international labor soldarity. But the military boycott has to be made real on the waterfront *and* extended to Teamsters and Seamen. If war-crazy Reagan sends in the Marines the ILWU and all labor must be prepared to strike to stop U.S. intervention; and

WHEREAS:

Real victory for the workers and peasants can only be won through independent struggle in their own class interests. This means the establishment of workers' and peasants' governments in El Salvador and throughout Central America to expropriate the coffee plantations, the corporations and the estates without compensation; and

WHEREAS:

The ability to carry out this independent class struggle means breaking politically with the so-called progressive capitalists who are angling for a negotiated "political solution" that will maintain capitalism in El Salvador. Such a deal with the junta would leave the corporations and landed estates intact and social conditions for workers and peasants unchanged. For Salvadoran workers the only choice is victory or death;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the ILWU:

1. Call for military victory to the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador;
2. Call upon the American labor movement to hot-cargo all military goods destined for El Salvador and other Central American dictators;
3. Urge our class brothers and sisters in El Salvador to politically break with the capitalists and to struggle for a workers' and peasants' government;
4. Demand an end to *all* U.S. military and economic aid to the Salvadoran junta.
5. Demands U.S./OAS/Latin American capitalists—all hands off El Salvador and Nicaragua!

Begin...

(continued from page 1)

and the destruction of the Soviet degenerated workers state carry far greater weight than crushing the Palestinians.

Israel: Fascist Garrison State?

A representative of the Palestinian news agency WAFA, whose headquarters in Beirut were hit in the Israeli raid, said: "That madman in Jerusalem hit the nuclear reactor to win the elections and now he is slaughtering us to form the government." Begin's desperate military adventurism and arrogance even toward his main imperialist benefactor have their domestic reflections in the growth of fascist, bonapartist and religious obscurantist tendencies in the barracks of the Zionist garrison state. The contradictions generated by trying to create a racially pure Jewish state over the dispersal and genocide of the Palestinians brings to the surface all that is reactionary in nationalism. The survivors of the Nazi holocaust ape the methods and ideology of their executioners in their effort to build a Zionist Reich.

The growth of fascism and religious obscurantism is denounced in Israel not merely by leftists and civil libertarians but even by pillars of the Zionist establishment. Jerusalem mayor Teddy Kolleck said that Begin "has fostered a hysterical personality cult which arouses fears of the growth of fascism in this country." That one-time darling of the Zionists and cause célèbre of American liberals, Argentine publisher Jacobo Timerman, who fled to Israel to escape fascist-like anti-Semitic persecution, said of his new-found "promised land": "I see very clearly a repetition of what happened in Argentina here."

During the recent Israeli elections, campaign meetings of the Zionist "Labor Party"—which ruled Israel for 30 years and fought four wars in the cause of anti-Arab Zionist expansionism—were broken up by youth members of Begin's party Herut (political successor to Irgun) chanting, "Begin, Begin, King of Israel." Herut fanatics carry huge posters of Begin's picture through the streets and demand that bystanders kiss them like a holy icon or be beaten up. Gush Emunim, the Zionist clerical fascists who terrorized the Palestinians of the West Bank, have now been turned loose on the streets of Tel Aviv and West Jerusalem to terrorize the Jewish populace. Yet if the entire Hebrew-speaking population of Israel were Gush fanatics such methods would not be necessary.

Begin is exploiting a kind of primitive, messianic Judaism found not only among Jews of North African and Near Eastern origin, the Sephardim, but also in the East European Pale or ghetto—i.e., closed Jewish communities untouched by the enlightenment and French Revolution. Here the Judaism of the Kaballa finds a common language with the Shi'ite ayatollahs of Qum. Begin is dependent for his parliamentary majority on a religious party, Agudat Israel, dominated by a "Council of Torah Sages" of 18 elderly rabbis who demand all conversions to Judaism not performed by an orthodox rabbi be annulled. To legitimize building a modern state over the usurped national rights of the Palestinians, the religious obscurantism of the Dark Ages must be revived and combined with sophisticated F-16 fighter-bombers.

Pseudo-socialists and Palestinian nationalists have often viewed the Hebrew population of Israel as a uniformly reactionary militarized society without class or other social contradictions. This is but the echo of the Zionist vision. With its growing arms industry, an increasingly bloated and privileged military establishment and the domination of right-wing and fascistic parties over the corporatist institutions of Zionism, this vision has been increasingly approximated. But still hundreds of thousands of Israeli workers will pour into the streets on May Day to protest Begin's economic policies, triple-digit inflation, etc., which are the overhead for creating a garrison state.

The argument that Israel has already become completely militarized is used to justify the indiscriminate terrorism of the PLO. On the very day that Israeli fighters were bombing Beirut, PLO artillery was shelling a maternity hospital in north Israel. While in no way comparable in scale, such indiscriminate nationalist terrorism reflects the same genocidal racialism that the Zionists implement with all the advantages of state power. It is no more justified by Zionist oppression of the Palestinians than Zionist oppression is justified by the Nazi holocaust. PLO indiscriminate terrorism is to be condemned not merely on moral grounds, but because it contributes to suppressing the internal contradictions of Israeli society and to the realization of Zionism's sinister vision of a nation of warriors.

A Zionist Sparta will be but the scene of a second holocaust provoked by its own arrogance and chauvinism, a holocaust in the context of America's anti-Soviet war drive which threatens a nuclear final solution for all of humanity. The only alternative is Arab/Hebrew proletarian revolution and a socialist federation of the Near East in which the right to self-determination of both Palestinian Arab and Hebrew-speaking peoples can be realized. To paraphrase Trotsky, the conditions for proletarian revolution are not merely ripe but desperately overdue and growing somewhat rotten. ■

El Salvador...

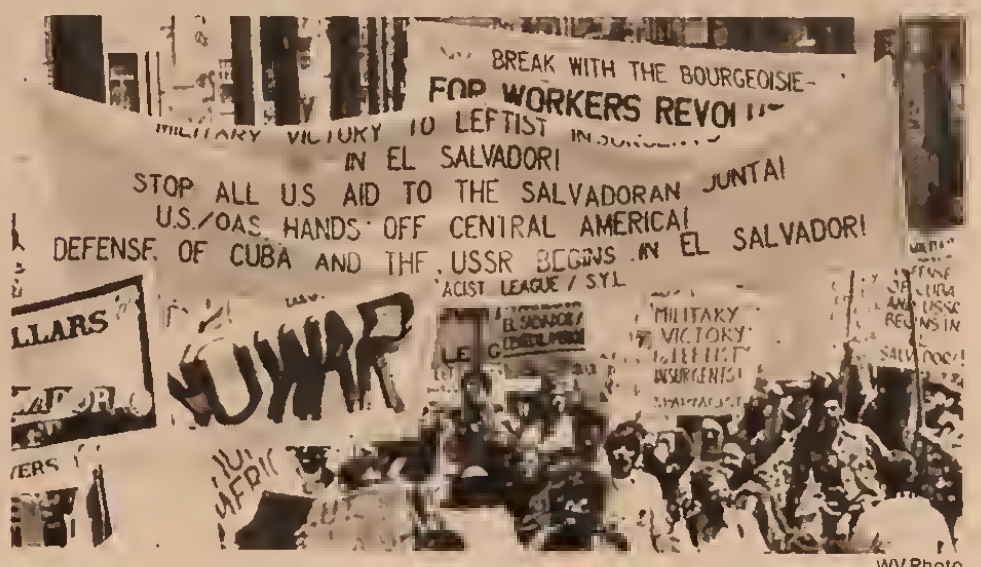
(continued from page 3)

> and the State Department characterizes the present Salvadoran junta as 'a centrist force.' And no one but defenders of the slaughter of 20,000 people since 1980 could call that, as you did, giving the trade unions 'space to flourish.'... As you well know from the history of 1932, nothing less than a military victory of the left will prevent another massacre of that order."

At that moment, TUSES/CISPES organizers (prominently supporters of the CP and SWP) whipped up a commotion to drown out the rest. In the course of many Bay Area El Salvador meetings the reformists have become conditioned to froth at the mouth, heckle and disrupt at the words "military victory to leftist insurgents" and "socialist revolution."

The Walter Johnsons of American labor, no less than the Lane Kirklands, are committed opponents of socialist revolution in Central America, and the same goes for CP/SWP reformists and the Salvadoran FDR popular front. Their common platform of a "negotiated settlement" in El Salvador would preserve the capitalist army, ensuring that the killing would go on and on. The "split" in the union bureaucracy merely reflects the "split" between the pro-junta bipartisan Congressional majority and the Teddy Kennedy out-of-power liberal Democrats. But "doves" and "hawks" in the bourgeoisie unite when it comes to the fundamental class questions. Only by waging internationalist proletarian struggle against imperialism is it possible to *defeat* the Reagan Cold War drive, from El Salvador to the U.S.

Holding up the rear of TUCES/TUSES is the house opposition of the miniscule Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (SL-DC), consisting of one Steve Bryant and his extended family, whose appointed task is two-faced reformist polemics against the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Spartacist League. In its May 1981 *Labor News*, the SL-DC attacks the Spartacists and the SL-initiated Anti-Imperialist Contingent as "sectarian" for raising at nationwide May 3 demonstrations the demand, "Defense of the USSR and Cuba Begins in El Salvador!" This slogan, said the small-time social democrats, "played into the hands of Haig and every reactionary right-winger."



WV Photo

Bay Area SL/SYL calls for military victory of Salvadoran leftists, July 19.

The SL-DC claims to defend (in the abstract) the USSR against imperialism but denounces our uncompromising Soviet defensism because they are tailing the popular-frontists of the People's Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) and CISPES, who in turn are tailing Democratic Party "doves" like Bella Abzug and Teddy Kennedy.

The "socialist" "doves" of the SL-DC, best known for their support to cop strikes, castigate our supposed "failure to raise any slogans calling for US labor strikes against military intervention and a political campaign against the AFL-CIO leadership's support for the Salvadoran military junta through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD)." In the first place, as part of our struggle to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy in the labor movement, the Spartacist League has been fighting the AIFLD since before the SL-DC ever heard of it. At the January 22 TUCES meeting, SL phone worker supporters tried to raise such a motion; the SL-DC called for "democratizing" AIFLD friend Walter Johnson's "solidarity" committee. These fakers appeal to the likes of Lane Kirkland to "cease all cooperation" with this CIA front. This is the same Kirkland who not only heads the AIFLD board, but is also an ex-member of the U.S. government's Labor Missile Sites Committee and a leader of the ultra-cold warrior Committee on the Present Danger.

For an example of the class-struggle policies the SL supports in the labor movement, see the accompanying motion on El Salvador by Howard Keylor at the May 1981 convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). When Keylor, a member of the ILWU Local 10 executive board and a spokesman for the Militant Caucus in that union, attempted to present a motion at the January TUCES meeting calling on labor to hot cargo military goods to El Salvador, for military victory to the leftist rebels and a break from the bourgeoisie, for a workers and peasants government, Johnson ruled this out of order with the hypocritical excuse: "We don't want to be telling the peasants in whatever country what to do." The SL-DC, when it isn't busy chasing after Walter Johnson, is trying to build illusions in California AFL-CIO secretary John Henning in the "Bay Area Coalition for a Labor Party," and lauding Lane Kirkland's September 19 march in Washington to support the out-of-office Democrats.

As the reformists capitulate to the liberal bourgeoisie, as they warn against "turning people off with sectarian slogans," the Spartacist League has been winning militants to its program for workers revolution, from war-ravaged El Salvador to the imperialist citadel of the U.S. While the fake-lefts tail the "labor lieutenants of capital" the Trotskyists fight for a new class-struggle leadership of the workers movement. Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! U.S./OAS hands off Central America! Stop all U.S. aid to the junta! Defense of Cuba and USSR begins in El Salvador! ■

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Asylum for Refugees from Salvador Junta Terror!

Reagan's Mass Deportations to Death

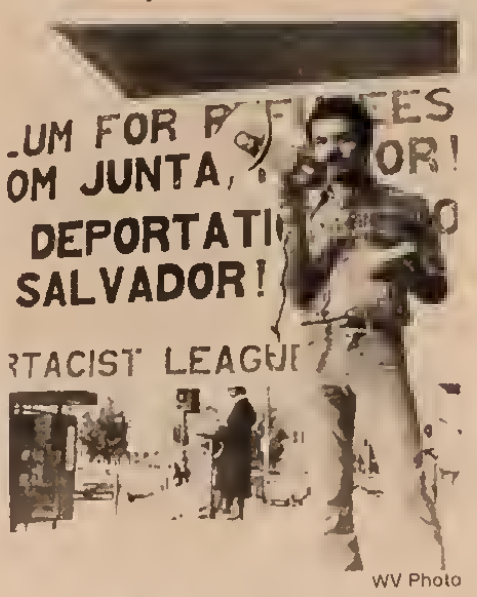
LOS ANGELES—The threat of mass deportation now directly faces tens of thousands of Salvadoran refugees in the U.S. The *Los Angeles Times* (15 July) reported that "the Reagan Administration has quietly taken the first step toward deporting thousands of refugees from El Salvador who have applied for political asylum in the United States." According to the article, some 1,200 State Department letters have been sent out to Salvadoran emigrants, telling the vast majority that their requests for asylum have been turned down.

In the past year alone, some 4,000 applications have been pending due to the outgoing Carter administration's decision to freeze all Salvadoran requests and leave the "refugee question" up to the new Reagan government. Now Reagan's decision sets the stage for mass deportations back to torture, misery and death at the hands of the bloody Salvadoran junta. On July 24 the Los Angeles paper, *La Opinión* reported that so far this month more than 309 people have been deported from the Los Angeles area to El Salvador, averaging about 15 people a day.

This "airlift to death" by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) came to light last January through a hunger strike at the concentration camp operated by *la migra* in El Centro, California after refugees had learned about a Christmas Day massacre of a group of deportees at the San Salvador airport. The Spartacist League was the first organization to mount demonstrations against this direct U.S. complicity in the slaughter of refugees by the Salvadoran junta. In March, SL-initiated united-front demonstrations drew attention to the nearly *12,000* Salvadorans sent back to the clutches of the murderous junta and its right-wing execution squads last year. Now as Reagan's INS gears up to implement a policy of mass murder through deportations, it is urgent that the left and labor movement raise protests demanding "Stop Deportations to El Salvador!"

Fleeing in fear for their lives, many Salvadoran refugees have witnessed the brutal murders of family members, seen their houses burnt to the ground. Hitchhiking and walking over mountains and deserts, they are at the mercy of the "coyotes" who slip them across the border. Last July, 13 Salvadoran refugees were left by these cutthroat smugglers to die in the scorched Arizona desert. Once in the U.S., the refugees are picked up by the INS; unable to meet the bail, they are imprisoned for months in the "detention centers," more precisely concentration camps, of El Centro, El Paso and Fort Isahel. Now the Reagan administration will not permit them entry unless they can show written "proof" that they are political refugees who will be persecuted if returned home. But civil wars claim their victims with bullets, not affidavits.

Take the case of Ricardo Hernández, a young trade-union organizer incarcerated for eight months at El Centro, interviewed by *Los Angeles Times* reporter Laurie Becklund. Assassins who killed his cousin pinned a note on his chest they were looking for Hernández. He told Becklund, "The judge wanted concrete proofs! How am I supposed to give him concrete proofs? Three times they came looking for me because I was active in a labor union at my factory. The last time they shot at me, but they missed. I know who they were, they were National Guardsmen in civilian dress, and they had government guns. Everybody in El Salvador understands these things."



WV Photo

SL spokesman Jose Silva at Los Angeles anti-deportations demo, March 23.

On July 15, some 90 Salvadorans were temporarily released from El Centro, due to the efforts of two community groups, the Tucson Ecumenical Council and the Manzo Area Council, to provide legal aid and raise thousands of dollars in bail. The busloads of just-released refugees arrived in L.A. last week where they were greeted by cheers from their supporters. *WV* attended a "freedom party" where the Salvadorans told their stories:

Juan, a trade unionist: "I was the treasurer of my union. I was friends with the manager of a company where I worked. We went fishing together. So he told me that I and two other union officials (the president and general organizer) were targeted for assassination, so we should get out. I told the other two, but they didn't want to leave because they were afraid the union would fall apart. I went through Guatemala for six days. I called home and the other two (officials) had been murdered. I fled to the U.S. and applied for political asylum. I was denied."

Luis, a sharecropper: "I came to the U.S. because they did violence to me. They were really looking for me, but they didn't find me. They found my 21-year-old wife and one-year-old baby daughter and a woman living with us and shot and killed them. They came to my house for no reason. It is a daily occurrence that they go through the areas where farm workers live, burn homes and slaughter livestock. Because I opened my home to other farm workers who had their homes burned, they said I was a subversive. I was with the poor. I was on the side of the Catholic Church. I sold everything I had and bought a bus ticket. I was picked up at the border."

José, a self-employed mechanic, described conditions at El Centro, located in the middle of the desert where the temperature is 110° and there is no rain, no air conditioning and no medical treatment. Guards beat the prisoners here; there are weekly sweeps through the camp in the middle of the night during which everyone is awakened and his identity demanded. One kitchen worker described how he was forced to work from 5 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. for $1 a day, how his life was threatened when he refused to work during a hunger strike in July. And on top of the daily abuse, there are the *orejas*, junta-planted spies in El Centro who report back via telephone to the headquarters of the Salvadoran National Police.

At the Spartacist-initiated demonstration outside the INS office in Los Angeles March 23, militants pointed out how the U.S. has long been a haven for the Somoza lovers, the Hitler-loving Marshal Ky, the Nazi war criminals and CIA-trained *gusanos* who killed Orlando Letelier. Yet the door was slammed on the thousands of Chileans who fled Pinochet's terror, as it is being slammed on the Salvadorans today. In March, the Los Angeles-area CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) actively worked to sabotage the SL-initiated demonstration, calling up its mailing list with the lie that the demonstration had been canceled. Why? These sectarian reformists are guided above all by their fear of the revolutionary politics of the Spartacist League, particularly our demands "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador" and "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador."

These slogans would, of course, alienate the Democratic doves that CISPES tails—indeed, they never raised the deportation issue while Carter and the Democrats were at the helm. But now it's Reagan Country, so they have belatedly and half-heartedly taken up the issue. But you can't fight deportations with Democrats. Now hard-line U.S. policy is pushing for new bracero programs, South African-style internal pass systems for non-citizens and rapidly escalating mass deportations of Salvadoran refugees. As defenders of U.S. capitalism the Democrats will not fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers. Nor will the reformists—even the New Left's darling, Cesar Chavez of the United Farmworkers, at one point even called for the INS to pick up "illegal" Mexican immigrants!

To the thousands of Salvadorans in the U.S., deportation means death. Only the labor movement has the strength to beat back this deadly threat. Labor must come forward to demand "Stop the Deportations to El Salvador! Asylum for Victims of Junta Terror!"■

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Spartacus Youth League
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Congress Can't Whitewash U.S. Concentration Camps

Japanese Americans Demand Reparations

During World War II over 110,000 Japanese Americans were rounded up into concentration camps for four years, in a frenzy of racist hysteria spearheaded by FDR himself and prominent liberals like Francis Biddle and Earl Warren. After the atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki at war's end, they were unceremoniously dumped from the barbed-wire compounds and told to "go home." Most found their property had been either lost, stolen or sold. Thousands more, trapped into renouncing their U.S. citizenship while imprisoned, fought agonizing court battles to avoid being deported to Japan. Today, some 40 years after this searing outrage, the U.S. government has established a "Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians" which will "consider" some compensation to these citizens.

Whatever meager guilt-money the government may decide to dole out, it will never be enough! Japanese-American groups testifying before the Commission have made this point, and of course we fully support their efforts to get as much restitution as possible. Today it's cheap enough for the bourgeoisie to shed a few crocodile tears over its old "excesses," while laying the groundwork for World War III. But America's concentration camps were no "tragic mistake," no "aberration." Tule Lake, Manzanar, Santa Anita—they are still ready and waiting. And they *will* be used again, unless the racist, warmongering capitalists who run this country are overthrown.

Today the reformists as well as the liberals support the Japanese Americans' claims; there was a recent article in the Communist Party's *Daily World* (18 July) on the case. But at the time, the CP was one of the most vehement supporters of FDR's racist roundup—it *expelled* all its Japanese-American members, while the *Daily Worker* was full of chauvinist poison about "fifth column greengrocers" and "enemy aliens" (see "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps," *WV* No. 139, 7 January 1977, for full documentation of this vile betrayal). And that too was no "mistake," as the CP in a weasly 1972 "apology" tried to claim. It was the direct result of the Stalinists' strategy of supporting the U.S. imperialist war effort and the "progressive bourgeoisie."

It was only the Trotskyists (and a very few courageous pacifists) who dared to stand up for elementary human decency and who aided the Japanese Americans as best they could at the time. We stand in solidarity with this revolutionary tradition of American Trotskyism, which was then under terrible persecution from the government for its intransigent opposition to the American bourgeoisie's imperialist war aims. And as we said last year at our Hiroshima Day demonstration in Los Angeles, "To Remember Is Not Enough!" Only socialist revolution, which will rid the world forever of the inevitable racist atrocities and wars of imperialism, will avenge the agony of these victims of U.S. imperialism!

SWP Gets Its Day in Court

REFORMISM ON TRIAL

On April 2 the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) finally got its civil suit against the government to court. The SWP launched the case nearly eight years ago in the post-Watergate period. Subsequent "Freedom of Information" revelations documented some of the FBI "dirty tricks" employed against the SWP under the vicious "COINTELPRO" disruption program. Testimony was heard by Judge Thomas Griesa through June 25, when the case recessed for the summer, after which both sides will submit their closing briefs.

To believe the SWP, the case has been an uninterrupted series of crushing blows against the FBI and its partners in crime. "By the end of the first day it had become clear that the government was reeling from the socialist strategy in the courtroom" was the modest assessment of the 17 April *Militant*. Every issue since has insisted on the same theme: the SWP has "put the government on trial." Unfortunately, what is most striking about the case is the extent to which it is the SWP and not the government that is on trial.

The government, as might be expected, concedes virtually nothing. It blithely reads into the record every slander ever "reported" by an FBI informer, insists it can "investigate" the left under grossly anti-democratic laws, brings into court scholarly Hoover Institution types to testify as "experts" on socialism. It apologizes virtually not at all for the bag jobs, warrantless wiretaps, poison-pen letters; it defends deportations, firings, evictions; it demands protection of the anonymity of its finks planted in leftist, labor and black organizations (so-called "informer privilege").

On April 24 the government announced that the Immigration and Naturalization Service was "reviewing" the SWP to explore the possibility that SWP members are "excludable or deportable" based solely on their political views. This vindictive provocation raises the spectre of some of the ugliest of witchhunt weapons—remember the Palmer Raids of 1919, in which hundreds of foreign-born Communists, anarchists and others were deported. During the McCarthy period deportation proceedings were instituted against hundreds of foreign-born members and ex-members of the Communist Party, some of them many-year residents of the U.S. Laws were passed making it a felony for a Communist or ex-Communist to even apply for a passport.

But the SWP went to court in a pretty strong position. Especially in the Nixon period of paranoid Watergating, the government—unable to distinguish a Daniel Ellsberg from a Bob Avakian—committed anti-democratic "excesses." When it all came out, the liberals were genuinely outraged over Nixon's having treated the Democrats like they were the GPU. The FBI backed away from the most obviously irrational of its crimes while the reformers/budget-cutters said: clean up your act. Meanwhile, a raid by militant pacifists on an FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania had brought COINTELPRO to light. It emerged that the FBI had committed god knows how many bag jobs against the SWP, an ostensibly socialist organization known for its penchant for chanting "peaceful, legal" at more left-wing protesters at antiwar demonstrations. Something like 90 "surreptitious entries" were shown to have occurred in the SWP's national headquarters alone. To top it all off, the government lied like crazy in the pre-trial process, affronting Judge Griesa's patrician ideas of fair play. A quicker settlement would have helped the SWP's chances, though they can hardly complain since their line is to deny any shift to the right in this country; according to the SWP every year brings a new "radicalization" and new SWP resolutions titled "The New Rise of the [Whatever] Struggle." The SWP's fuzzy vision of social reality outside the courtroom expresses itself in their view of the "Watersuit":

> "Back in the 1950s, the big old courthouse was the site of some of the most notorious anticommunist frame-ups. Here the Rosenbergs were sentenced to death. Communist Party leaders were sentenced to years in prison.
>
> "But now it's the 1980s, and the government is the defendant."
>
> —*Militant*, 17 April

The SWP barely noticed the election of Reagan. It ducked the ominous Cold War intent of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade and the implications of Reagan/Haig's campaign against "international terrorism." It draws no conclusions from the capitalists' assault on hard-won union gains and the defeatist passivity of the union tops, from the reversal of the token gains of the liberal civil rights movement and the bankruptcy of black leadership.

The SWP does not see the burning crosses of escalating Klan/Nazi terror from California to Connecticut. But the shooting down of leftists in broad daylight in Greensboro in 1979 by the emboldened race-terrorist "fringe"—and the subsequent acquittal of the fascist murderers—were a reflection of the rightward motion of the whole bourgeois political spectrum. The SWP is secure in the illusion that American imperialism's war moves against Russia will have no domestic repercussions against the U.S. left (at least the non-Stalinist left). But the bourgeoisie's war on labor at home, its war drive for global anti-Communism abroad, spell witchhunting sooner rather than later.

In this context, both the government's efforts to justify its surveillance of the SWP with charges of "terrorism" and the SWP's attempts to show itself the very model of a tame electoralist party spell danger for the left. This is an important case which has been hailed by virtually the entire left—the *Guardian*, the National Lawyers Guild, a slew of long-time Communist Party fellow-travelers. But the SWP is suing to show itself the right wing of self-styled "socialism." Peter Camejo's June 25 testimony, that following a 1968 Bay Area demonstration where "violence" occurred the SWP stopped participating in demonstrations there to show that it does not promote violence, is a good example of the whole thrust of the SWP's "Watersuit" strategy.

In face of Reagan offensive SWP pretends its "Watersuit" has U.S. secret police on the run.

The charges of SWP "terrorism" are at the heart of the FBI's court strategy. Its main "evidence" is the SWP's diplomatic bloc with the centrist United Secretariat (USec—one of several competing "Fourth Internationals"), which the government attorneys sought to paint as a sinister pro-terrorist conspiracy. While the SWP kept insisting (with perfect truth) that its "fraternal association" with the USec has no real effect on the SWP's political line or organizational practices, the FBI attorneys countered with "expert" witnesses on communist "doctrine" who noted that if the SWP considered itself Trotskyist it would abide by decisions of the "Fourth International" whether or not it were a section. The government lawyers sought to smear the USec, which underwent a period of vicarious enthusiasm for guerrillaism in Latin America in the 1970s, with everything from kidnappings in Argentina to the "Baader-Meinhof gang." The government's line is that all leftists are at least dupes of an international Communist/"terrorist" conspiracy and they hope to bring that message home through the SWP trial.

The SWP's defense is its reformist opposition to USec centrism. The SWP wouldn't alter one word of its reformist program for all the centrists in the world; nor would Barnes & Co. allow themselves to be tainted with the "terrorist" label just to maintain their ceremonial "internationalism." When right-wing columnists mounted a witch-hunt scare against the USec in 1974, the SWP took swift bureaucratic action, expelling more than a hundred pro-USec SWP members (the Internationalist Tendency) on the Fourth of July. The internal bulletins of that expulsion soon turned up in court as the showpiece of the SWP's attempt to demonstrate its respectability before Judge Griesa. And the judge was reassured:

> "There was never anything in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States.... In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

The SWP recently underscored its irreconcilable hostility to those ex-SWPers targeted jointly by the SWP and the government by the job it did on Hedda Garza (see "SWP's Lying Frame-Up of Hedda Garza," *WV* No. 285, 17 July).

For the SWP, the trial is the finale of a long period of rightward-moving reformism. The "Watersuit" has been their central focus for years, and their aim is ambitious to say the least: not merely to be tolerated by the bourgeoisie but to be officially certified as not harmful to the health of American capitalist class rule. The SWP wants to show once and for all that it is a pacifistic, legalistic party entitled to all the benefits of American democracy. It makes no attempt to suggest that the U.S. government is itself violent, racist, imperialist and lawless, thereby legitimatizing the government's "right" to spy on, harass and frame up its perceived enemies—so long as it leaves the SWP alone.

Who's on Trial?

It is really impossible for us, revolutionists, to discuss how this trial could have been conducted. The SWP's aim has nothing in common with our Marxist purpose. It is at least conceivable that the SWP could win its case on such a basis, for exactly the reasons that we could not: the SWP has renounced in advance the basic ideas of revolutionary Marxism and has taken the greatest possible distance from the Trotskyist defense of the Soviet Union (stopping short only of explicitly repudiating Trotskyism—the political line upheld by the revolutionary SWP through the 1950s). We differ with the SWP's most basic reformist assumptions about the nature of the capitalist state and could therefore hardly advise them on how to conduct their trial.

But we can say this: the SWP has put

itself on trial by its passionate eagerness to display its own good faith. That the U.S. government, the number one enemy of the world's working people, has no right to demand proofs of good faith from the SWP—least of all after being caught in the act of stomping on the SWP's civil rights—is a case the SWP would not dream of making.

In the context of its general demeanor of sweet reasonableness, the SWP has managed a couple of offensive thrusts during the trial. One such occurred on June 3 during cross-examination of Robert Keuch, a high-ranking official of the Justice Department. SWP chief counsel Margaret Winter was asking Keuch about a June 1980 report concerning the cover-up of FBI burglaries of SWP headquarters. Judge Griesa was initially resistant to the line of questioning but the SWP—for a change—hung hard. Winter read from an unnamed FBI agent's report on a conversation with an unnamed Justice Department official about getting "confidential investigative information" on the SWP; the conversation was considered by the agent to be authorization for "black bag jobs." The embarrassed Keuch admitted to being the unnamed Justice Department official. It was an enjoyable moment reminiscent of Attorney General Griffin Bell's contempt citation in the case back in 1978.

The SWP is also very proud of wresting from the government a 1956 National Security Council briefing by J. Edgar Hoover setting up COINTELPRO disruption of the Communist Party. It is an interesting document which casts an unexpected light on the SWP case, for under "Methods" the document says: "Informants have been the key to penetration of the party.... While key informants have been exposed to date, through testimony required in court proceedings, we currently have 921 active informants..." (*Militant*, 19 June). By way of contrast, the FBI did not find it necessary to expose a single unblown informer in the "Watersuit," and the SWP had earlier agreed to a deal barring its attorneys from sharing with anyone information on informers released to them in unexpurgated FBI files on 18 "representative" finks (see "Bell Shields FBI Finks," *WV* No. 213, 11 August 1979).

Who's really on trial? The answer is expressed most clearly in the matter of disclosure. What secrets has the SWP wrested from the government? Aside from Ed Heisler, the former SWP National Committee member who last year told the SWP he had been a paid FBI fink, how many informers have been uncovered? Meanwhile, the SWP has turned itself inside out.

The government has spent what must be millions of dollars spying on the SWP. They ended up with god knows how many pages of agents' reports, which the SWP has had fun showing consist of generally inaccurate paraphrases of public SWP positions available to any *Militant* reader and some absurdities that only a J. Edgar Hoover could really believe. But in the course of pre-trial "discovery" and during the trial itself, the SWP has furnished the government with an incredible amount of high-quality information on its structure, leadership and pseudonyms, finances.

SL organized Anti-Imperialist Contingent on May 3. "Peaceful, legal" SWP stayed home and violence-baited El Salvador demo of 80,000.

As we have written earlier, the SWP agreed to bar its lawyers from making public—even to their own party!—information obtained on government informers. This puts the SWP attorneys in the position of keeping the government's dirty secrets so that the informers can continue to function as spies and provocateurs inside the SWP and other left groups. Now, by obligingly furnishing the government with such items as party pseudonyms and international meeting dates (and on pain of perjury moreover), the SWP gratuitously validates information obtained from informers and gives the government a way to use the information in court without having to expose its sources. This amounts to a de facto bloc with the FBI's cherished "informer privilege."

"But we have no secrets!"—we can practically hear the SWP objecting. The SWP's acquiescence to virtually unlimited disclosure illuminates its basic reformist premises. To believe that peaceful, legal socialists have nothing to fear from disclosure is to believe that the good guys will never be harmed by the American rulers; the government will play fair, observe its laws, keep its promises. The SWP cross-examination of FBI fink Heisler on June 17 bore witness again to Barnes & Co.'s belief that the worst thing an FBI agent can do to you is... encourage pot-smoking (see "FBI Informer in the SWP," *WV* No. 268, 14 November 1980). The SWP's professed faith in American democracy may win bourgeois friends and influence judges, but it is wrong and deadly dangerous. We know there are categories of people—leftists, non-citizens, ethnic minorities—whose democratic rights have been known to disappear in an instant: just ask the Japanese Americans in World War II. The SWP's congenital inability to believe this—even in the face of the evidence of their own court suit—places them somewhere to the right of your average socially concerned black minister on the question of the state.

This is not to say that an authentic revolutionary organization on trial would not make some efforts to show good faith. But the SWP posture is, quite simply: we have nothing to hide. Such a claim rests on two fundamental premises: that the SWP can prove to everyone's satisfaction that it is a "peaceful, legal" party and that law-abiding social activists have nothing to fear from the American government.

For the SWP, the only people who could possibly want to "hide" anything from the government are people who are guilty of something. The SWP's touching faith that it is safe because it is "peaceful, legal" means it believes that the U.S. capitalist government is "peaceful, legal" too. This is actually an important aspect of reformist ideology, though it sometimes comes looking like such fatuous naiveté that you have to wonder about cynicism (as for example when Larry Seigle told the 1980 SWP educational conference that the SWP leaders had never heard of a "mail cover" until they got involved in preparing the present suit). Reformists have to believe that the ruling class will play by the same rules it enforces upon everyone else; otherwise, there is clearly no percentage in trying to do business with the status quo.

Barnes' party, turning itself inside out, implicitly acknowledges the government's "right" to information on leftist organizations—and places itself squarely on the defensive. Such a case could have been a valuable means to publicize the government's filthy secret wars against the left and seek to wrest more disclosures from the government. Instead the SWP has made the axis of the case the legality of the SWP, thereby putting itself on trial from day one. Indeed, in the first days of the suit, many of the participants were visibly having some trouble refraining from referring to the SWP as "the defense" (rather than "the plaintiffs").

Minneapolis SWP defendants, 1941—when socialism really was on trial. Barnes states that SWP hasn't "engaged in, planned or advocated illegal activity since 1941," implying the Minneapolis Trotskyists were guilty.

Indecent Exposures

The SWP from the outset behaved as committed reformists anxious to show their limitless trust in the court. An important indecent exposure occurred during Jack Barnes' April 9 testimony concerning relations with the USec. Asked about the use of party pseudonyms during the morning session, Barnes took the line that party names are a precaution desirable in "dictatorial countries." To show his confidence in America as a free country, he identified the real names of all the SWPers listed by party pseudonym in minutes of the International Executive Committee (IEC) of the USec.

The government opened the afternoon session by handing Barnes a piece of paper. "Are these the dates and locations of the IEC meetings" held in the last 12 years? Barnes was visibly upset. He replied that this was "protected" information; yes, says an SWP lawyer, this information was furnished in camera (privately). The real dates and locations of these international meetings—presumably differing from the accounts published, to provide participants some protection against repression—had been turned over to the government by the SWP in the secret "Barnes affidavit." Does Barnes really believe his fraternal comrades of the USec are not endangered by turning over information to the U.S. government so long as it is kept out of open court? Or had Barnes hoped to suppress in open court the existence of the "Barnes affidavit"? In any case the pretext of a distinction disappeared on May 12, when Barry Sheppard testified as to the real names and corresponding party pseudonyms of seven non-American USec leaders.

In the matter of financial disclosure, the SWP's cringing failure to confront the disclosure question directly significantly hurt the SWP's case in Judge Griesa's eyes. On April 9 Barnes testified that the SWP's policy is to destroy all financial books and records not necessary to the filing of tax returns. Griesa hit the roof. He wanted to know why and who was responsible. Barnes tried the "Rosemary Woods defense": I don't know, it's been our practice for 40 years.

Over and over in the course of the trial, Griesa would return to this question. He evidently found the SWP's unconventional business practices—wages paid in cash, no audits, etc.—at variance with the SWP's efforts to present itself as the very model of bourgeois rectitude in all things, a "socialist" party just like any other party. In an attempt to recover, the SWP put its treasurer on the stand. On April 21 he testified "that in view of documented proof of FBI burglaries, the party must take this step to keep records from being routinely turned over to local, state, and federal police agencies" (*Militant*, 1 May). Alas, too late. The SWP court case has been in litigation for nearly eight years. In the course of pre-trial "discovery" and in court, the SWP has turned over countless pages of minutes, internal bulletins, Young Socialist Alliance financial records, you name it. The SWP eagerly assumed the burden of showing it had "nothing to hide"; Barnes & Co. cannot have it both ways. When the FBI attorneys in 1980 made a specific demand for the current financial records, the SWP put a hold on the destruction policy and turned over the information—and not just the ledgers but the raw data (bills, receipts, etc.). On June 17 Griesa again brought up the destruction of the records, this time observing that the SWP could have litigated the government's request for financial disclosure in the first place. But the SWP posture was nudism in principle.

The SWP actually had in its legal arsenal a useful weapon with which to contest the demand for financial disclosure. Some years back the SWP obtained a federal court ruling exempting it from the law requiring disclosure of contributors to election campaigns, explicitly on the grounds that such disclosure in the case of the SWP would subject its campaign supporters to harassment. The SWP legal team made one timid effort to introduce this decision into the present trial during the testimony of Andrew Pulley on April 24; when the judge failed to recognize the relevance of the precedent, the SWP meekly dropped the subject.

To be sure, by the end the SWP was putting up inconsistent resistance to the

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SWP Trial...

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government's demands for more disclosure and still more disclosure. On the morning of June 23 the judge ordered the SWP to turn over unexpurgated some documents the SWP had submitted with deletions. The SWP lawyer objected that the SWP draws the line at turning over names. Griesa replied that a few more names wouldn't make any difference. Accordingly, at the beginning of the afternoon session, the SWP turned over the documents, said to contain names of SWP rank-and-filers and of members of other organizations.

The issue of "naming names" showed the SWP at its most panicky. On June 9 the SWP made what looked like an attempt to make the suit a class action (this was two months after the beginning of testimony). They submitted to the court affidavits from individual SWP members authorizing the SWP to receive on their behalf any award of damages—in other words, signed acknowledgements of individual membership constituting at least a partial membership list. It is not clear, given Judge Griesa's rejection of this apparent attempt to shift legal strategy in midstream, whether these waivers are now in the government's possession.

Equally scandalous is the story of the secret "Mandigo affidavit." Early on, Judge Griesa asked the government to supply a list of criminal acts it claims have been committed by SWP members. The government offered a list drawn up by FBI agent Mandigo but specified that the document would have to be kept secret from the SWP in order not to compromise sources. This was an invitation to the judge to openly collude with the FBI in putting the SWP on trial for alleged crimes while denying them the possibility of confronting their accusers. Judge Griesa quite properly declined the invitation. The *Militant* (12 June) describes the scene:

> "Initially Judge Griesa was not going to look at the secret affidavit.... 'I'm not going to receive it'.... The first thing they [the SWP] did was to urge the judge to change his mind and read the affidavit...."

The secret Mandigo affidavit must by its very nature consist of lies. But the SWP again acquiesced to "informer privilege"—the idea that all men of good will must in the interest of national security agree to confidentiality for the FBI frame-up artists. Judge Griesa was ready to dismiss the affidavit as unworthy of consideration. But not the SWP, which apparently longs to have itself accused of crimes, the better to display its innocence.

If the SWP really expected that getting Griesa to read the affidavit would help the SWP find out the contents, it was to be disappointed. Throughout the trial the judge ruled out of order SWP efforts to elicit the information from government witnesses. "During the course of the trial," says the same 12 June *Militant* article, "possible hints as to the contents of the affidavit came out," and it cites one such "possible hint." On May 26 Griesa announced he would give no consideration to the affidavit in reaching his decision on the suit. The *Militant* trumpets this great victory and returns to its favorite theme:

> "On top of this—and probably most importantly—the socialists have established their honesty and integrity by forthrightly answering any questions asked. They've made it clear they have nothing to hide. They have spoken frankly and in great detail...."

Yes indeed.

Pleading Not Guilty

The SWP argues over and over that it should not be investigated because it does not commit crimes. The "Findings of Fact" document (*Militant*, 10 April) submitted by the SWP states: "The record in this case discloses no basis for a reasonable belief that plaintiffs have engaged in, planned or advocated any illegal activity, at least since 1941." In 1941, of course, when the SWP was a revolutionary party, 18 of its leaders were prosecuted in the first trials under the Smith Act. The present-day SWP carefully refuses to challenge, even in passing, their conviction. Does the SWP think that socialist opposition to imperialist war and class-struggle unionism, the activities that led to the prosecution of the "Minneapolis 18," are crimes? On June 11 the SWP objected to the government's submission of FBI materials from 1941 on the grounds that "the conviction speaks for itself"! And it keeps repeating it has never been "successfully prosecuted" for anything since, affectmg not to notice that this manner of pleading not guilty implicitly indicts the "Minneapolis 18," to say nothing of the Communist Party, which had its back broken in the 1950s by every kind of witchhunting weapon, including not a few successful prosecutions of its members for alleged crimes ranging from "advocacy" to income tax evasion.

The SWP is busily pleading not guilty to all the various laws it is fond of characterizing in the *Militant* as "thought-control" legislation: the Smith Act, the Voorhis Act, the Alien Registration Act, and so forth. They have not challenged these reactionary, anti-communist laws. Certainly the SWP is under no obligation to turn its civil suit for damages into a constitutional challenge to witchhunt legislation. But the government's invoking of these laws as the justification for spying on the SWP demands a response other than just "not guilty." On May 15 Judge Griesa took over the questioning of FBI agent Greene, who was in charge of spying on the Young Socialist Alliance during the 1960s, to register annoyance that "all I ever hear about is the Voorhis Act." He wanted to know if Greene claimed the SWP had ever done anything really illegal, like bombings or assassinations.

To the legalistic SWP, though, a law is a law is a law. The SWP's complete prostration before the Voorhis Act is not just unseemly; it may be, from the standpoint of the government, the best thing to happen to this piece of legislation since it was enacted. The Voorhis Act was passed in 1940 in an effort to flatly illegalize international political organizations. Under its sweeping provisions, you don't have to be a Zionist or a Moonie to be deemed "subject to foreign control." Any political organization whose policies ("or any of them") are "determined by or at the suggestion of, or in collaboration with" a foreign government or "a political party in a foreign country, or an international political organization" is asserted to be in violation of the Voorhis Act unless it complies with regulations to register it to death. Therefore any trade union with international ties (like the American auto union, affiliated to the international metal workers' federation), to say nothing of Vatican-influenced political groupings like the anti-abortion lobby, hypothetically could be prosecuted as "illegal." The Voorhis Act was patently unconstitutional when it was passed and any credibility it might have claimed then has certainly been vitiated by its having been on the books for four decades without ever having been used in the prosecution of anyone. But the SWP has for years found the Voorhis Act useful as an excuse for its anti-internationalism, and anti-internationalism is an important credential in a country where "un-American" is a potent accusation.

This is not to say the Act never will be used. What determines who will be prosecuted and for what is not so much the state of the legal code as the class struggle. It was not "the law," that abstract Platonic ideal beloved of reformists, which executed the Rosenbergs in 1953, but the American ruling class riding the Cold War tide. Black Panther militants were hunted down and massacred by the cops and FBI without benefit of special legal sanction.

The SWP doesn't much care about the Rosenbergs or the Panthers. What it wants is to get itself an exemption from repression by showing itself non-threatening to the system. Its protestations about "peaceful, legal" are not so much a legal argument as a political one. The SWP line has the virtue of simplicity: the SWP has never broken any laws (at least since 1941) and it never will. Almost nobody else in the world except Jack Barnes' SWP could make that statement. The 1978 miners' strike in violation of Taft-Hartley broke the law. The 1980 New York subway strike broke the Taylor Law. Undocumented non-citizens working in this country are "illegal aliens." Homosexuals (and most heterosexuals) break "morality" laws. And then there's the Voorhis Act.... To be sure, serious revolutionists don't sit around contemplating breaking laws; we accept that the bourgeoisie has state power and we are guided accordingly. But we defend striking unionists, immigrant workers, homosexuals, internationalists, etc. and we resent the SWP's attempt to purchase a special licence to practice reformism at the expense of all those who cannot or do not wish to make the same fulsome "peaceful, legal" guarantees.

A BLP in Embryo

The SWP legal strategy is the direct expression of its politics. Barnes & Co. hope to convince the judge they are basically idiosyncratic democrats loyal to the political institutions of American capitalism and committed above all to the defense of "democracy" against "dictatorship." They parade their faith in the system, which they present as susceptible to peaceful "transformation" through the electoral process, and hope the court will reciprocate by turning the brutal apparatus of bourgeois state repression against other targets.

Their main problem is that they want to make sure nobody could confuse the SWP with a revolutionary Trotskyist party, but they do not want to explicitly attack "revolution," "Trotskyism" or the old SWP of Trotsky and Cannon (much as the Communist Party does not relinquish its claim to "Leninism" and "Communism"). They try to accomplish this by redefining words until they do not mean anything at all. On April 7 Jack Barnes responded to a question about the phrase "combat party" by dismissing it as just the "jargon of our movement, which is a pain sometimes." On June 18 Linda Jenness defined revolutionary socialism as meaning restructuring society more fairly. On a more sophisticated level, the testimony of Barry Sheppard was most instructive in the art of trivializing revolution.

On May 5 Judge Griesa interrupted the SWP lawyers' examination of Sheppard to ask him the difference between the SWP and the British Labour Party. What follows is a telescoped account of the questioning reconstructed from the notes of the *WV* reporter attending that session (and subsequently verified from the trial record itself):

> Griesa: What differences are there between Trotskyists and the British Labour Party?
> Sheppard: There are many differences within the BLP; some of its members are Trotskyists.
> Griesa: Between Trotskyists and Labour governments, then?
> Sheppard: They want to maintain capitalism and reform it some. We agree on many concretes, like socialized medicine. They want to limit it to that. We think fundamental change in the structure of ownership is necessary.
> Griesa: If you were in Parliament, you'd propose bills that went further? You'd do it through the political process?
> Sheppard: Of course, it can't happen all at once. We'd go much further through that process.
> Griesa: Try to legislate, only much farther?
> Sheppard: Yes.
> Griesa: The word "revolution"—Harold Wilson doesn't use it much.
> Sheppard: Tony Benn would use it.
> Griesa: What place does the word "revolution" have?
> Sheppard: The BLP doesn't think there has to be a social revolution, a change in the structure of ownership ...
> Griesa: The BLP has, I believe, a doctrine of nationalizing industry, banking. That would be a fundamental change in property forms. When you say fundamental change, what's the difference?
> Sheppard: It's the same thing. Our quarrel is they never do it....

The SWP sees politics as a classless continuum of political parties: the Republicans, the Democrats, the BLP, the SWP. It sees capitalism as a collection of political forms of genuinely peaceful nature rather than as the brutally violent rule of a rapacious ruling class. The 15 May *Militant* summarized Sheppard's May 6 testimony as "SWP advocates peaceful election of workers and farmers government, which will need changes in Constitution to implement program." If Barnes' party used to be known for its belief that consistent pro-capitalist ideology leads to socialism ("consistent feminism," "consistent nationalism"), their perspective now might be summed up as: consistent Constitutional reform leads to socialism. What's wrong with this is expressed neatly in the 1938 founding Declaration of the revolutionary SWP:

> "The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods is an illusion."

During the cross-examination of Sheppard on May 11, Judge Griesa

SWP: U.S. Constitution, Yes—Russian Revolution, No

THE MILITANT

24 July 1981

POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

How Marxists view U.S. Constitution

Jack Barnes on fight for socialism and democracy

...declaration of Independence.

Does the Socialist Workers Party believe that their ideas are consistent with the philosophy underlying the United States Constitution?

Jack Barnes: Yes, in the sense that a republican form of government—in the sense of a rule of law, which has elected officials that govern—is the only possible basis for socialist democracy, for the ...democracy, as counter...

Russian revolution

Winter: Mr. Barnes, does the Socialist Workers Party consider the Russian revolution to be a model to be followed in the United States?

Barnes: No, not in a concrete sense of an overthrow of czarism and the mass of peasantry and all the things that were discussed in the last several hours. That would be false.

...are two aspects that

again took over the questioning. If a party believes there is a ruling class exercising a "social dictatorship" and the state defends it, he wanted to know, how can the SWP believe in peaceful change? Sheppard replied that "the lower classes can make gains" and democratic reforms can become part of the governmental structure. The judge persisted: if you believe in the inevitability of violent opposition by the rulers, then you don't think you're going to get anywhere through the electoral process. It's our prediction, said Sheppard, that the rich will organize fascist bands, but if we're wrong.... "But you think so, you would have to prepare." Not us, said Sheppard, mumbling something about the unions. The whole idea of gradualist, electoralist "revolution" in this violent, racist country with its irrational economic system and power-mad ruling class is so absurd that an intelligent bourgeois judge like Griesa has to wonder if the SWP is being disingenuous. No, if they sound like what Cannon once called "somewhat foolish people belonging to a party which is not to be taken seriously," it is because they genuinely are reformists.

The judge was concerned that the document under discussion, "Socialism and Democracy" (1979), did not explicitly state a preference for the "constitutional process." Sheppard could hardly have explained that the resolution was written for European consumption and social-patriotic obeisance to the American Constitution would not have gone over well.

The SWP has tried every way it knows to reassure the judge, from Fred Halstead's exposition of the SWP's role as part of the right wing of the Vietnam antiwar movement to condemnations of black self-defense as suicidal. Some of them have been perhaps too subtle. Take Fred Halstead's April 23 testimony on A.J. Muste, the ex-preacher who became a Trotskyist briefly during the 1930s:

> "He was one of the people who was instrumental in introducing into the American strike movement in the 1930s the sit-down strike.
> "You see, before that you would have situations where the majority of the workers in a plant would want the union, would even vote for it, would go out on strike.
> "But there were many unemployed [who would scab].
> "So fights would start on the picket line. To avoid that, Muste, among others, introduced the idea of occupying the plant, sitting down in the plant so you could win a strike without violence."
> —*Militant*, 15 May

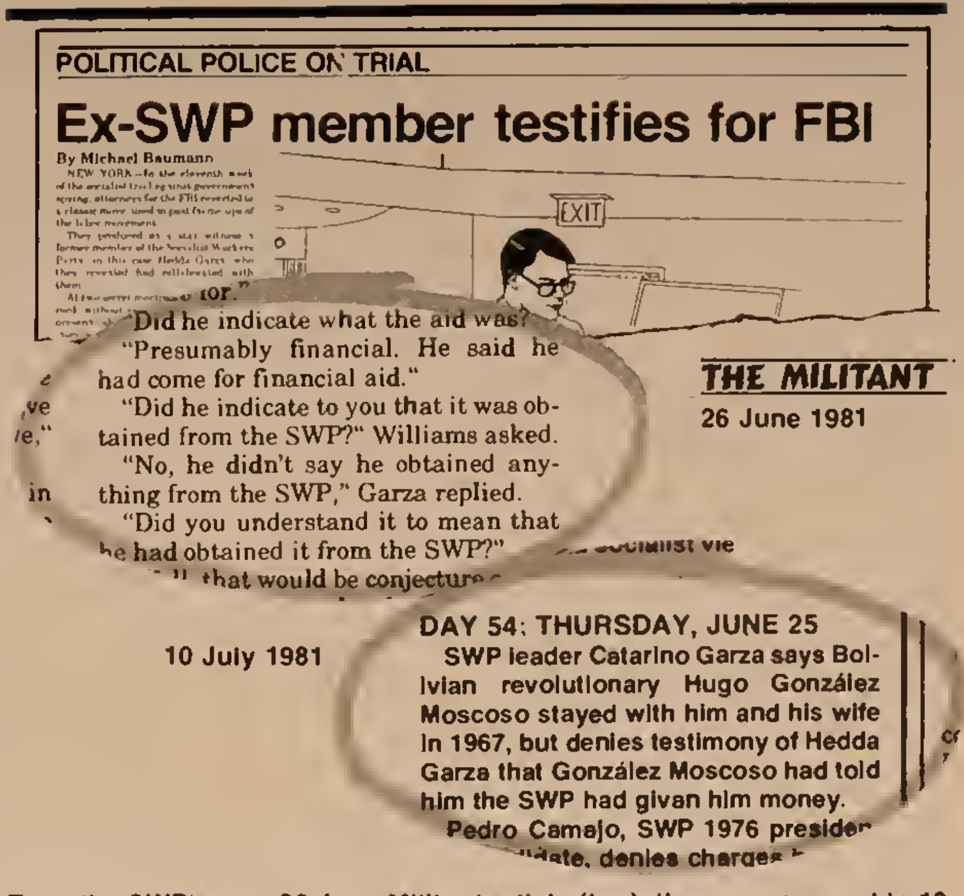
It probably takes a Marxist or a fake-Marxist to appreciate the true perniciousness of presenting a plant occupation—a frontal challenge to bourgeois property rights—as merely a less militant alternative to picket lines. Of course, the idea of the SWP leading sit-down strikes is ludicrous anyway; we can't remember the last time the *Militant* urged any union in this country to go out on strike! Griesa might have been impressed if the SWP had cited its restraint in calling for strikes, but to come out openly as anti-strike would undercut the SWP's vision of itself as a party of future labor statesmen.

The Bourgeoisie's Bottom Line

On April 2 SWP attorney Winter asked Farrell Dobbs if the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky were binding on the SWP. "Not at all," was the reply. But the disclaimers do not really dispose of the SWP's problem of nominal Trotskyism. On April 28 Griesa treated Andrew Pulley to a lecture on "dictatorship of the proletariat," "revolution," "democratic centralism": when the government reads these words, he said, they think you are serious about these things. "Why should the FBI translate these words into what Farrell Dobbs says they mean?" He asked Pulley if it weren't the case that the word "revolution" is used by people who don't have faith in the electoral process. "Partially," said Pulley. Later Griesa brought it up again: the SWP has all this rhetoric; they say it means something else. "But revolutions are bloody battles...."

The SWP hopes that nearly three months of expounding its reformist program will have shown the judge how hollow is its "Trotskyism" and how sincere the SWP was when it insisted its real politics are "not contravened" by anything Trotsky or others "might" have said. The SWP has not had anything in common with Trotskyism for a long time, except the copyrights to some books. In the long run, the Barnes clique will break from the label to facilitate blocs with "progressive" bourgeois elements. But right now, the SWP has nothing to offer any potential bourgeois partners—no base to sell out—and nobody's bidding; the biggest name the SWP ever pulled into active support for any of its "coalitions" was U.S. Senator Vance Hartke in the SWP's antiwar front group, and who ever heard of him?

The SWP wants the government to recognize it as a kindred spirit to the


POLITICAL POLICE ON TRIAL

Ex-SWP member testifies for FBI

By Michael Baumann

"Did he indicate what the aid was?"

"Presumably financial. He said he had come for financial aid."

"Did he indicate to you that it was obtained from the SWP?" Williams asked.

"No, he didn't say he obtained anything from the SWP," Garza replied.

"Did you understand it to mean that he had obtained it from the SWP?"

"... that would be conjecture..."

THE MILITANT

26 June 1981

10 July 1981

DAY 54: THURSDAY, JUNE 25

SWP leader Catarino Garza says Bolivian revolutionary Hugo González Moscoso stayed with him and his wife in 1967, but denies testimony of Hedda Garza that González Moscoso had told him the SWP had given him money.

Pedro Camejo, SWP 1976 presiden... ...date, denies charges...

Even the SWP's own 26 June Militant article (top) disproves account in 10 July issue (bottom). Workers Vanguard's 17 July expose was followed by weasely "correction" in 24 July Militant.

British Labour Party, whose "socialist" veneer makes it often a more effective capitalist custodian than the Tories. But this isn't England; the arrogant American bourgeoisie in no way accepts that it needs the help of any working-class formation to rule over its wage-slaves. This is America, land of "my country right or wrong." Even Judge Griesa thought the SWP must be kidding when it said Andrew Pulley should have gotten his civil rights when he tried to persuade American soldiers to demonstrate against the Vietnam War.

The Russian question—a central question for authentic Trotskyists—is no less central to the bourgeoisie's minimum program for responsible critics. These are the guarantees the SWP must give. And when push comes to shove the SWP gives them. When the notorious Mandigo in his first affidavit (not the secret one) wrote that Cannon had said the SWP would support Russia against imperialist America in a world war, the *Militant* (13 March) denied it (see "SWP Slanders James P. Cannon," *WV* No. 278, 10 April). On April 6 and again on April 9 Barnes linked international democratic centralism to Stalinist degeneration, thereby equating Leninism with Stalinism and distancing the SWP from both. On May 11 the government asked Barry Sheppard, "Can you think of any case where you would support the U.S. against the Soviet Union?" Sheppard hedged around and the judge intervened to ask Sheppard if he would be "loyal." Sheppard's response concluded, "If the Soviet Union invades Poland tomorrow, we would oppose that.... We are politically opposed to the Soviet role in Afghanistan."

On June 25, the last day of testimony, the SWP in its rebuttal put Barnes back on the stand to espouse more loyalty to the Constitution and to try again on the Russian question. We quote from the excerpts published in the 24 July *Militant*:

> "[SWP attorney] Winter: Does the Socialist Workers Party believe that their ideas are consistent with the philosophy underlying the United States Constitution?
> "Barnes: Yes, in the sense that a republican form of government—in the sense of a rule of law, which has elected officials that govern—is the only possible basis for socialist democracy, for the extension of democracy, as counterposed to any authoritarian and totalitarian mode of functioning....
> "...one would be a fool to trade in whatever democratic rights one has for promises to get rid of them for some other end."

He continued:

> "But the answer also has to be no in this sense. The Constitution was written with the philosophy which did not see a contradiction between the republican forms and checks and balances of the Constitution and chattel slavery...[and restrictions on the right to vote]."

Barnes defined "a workers and farmers republic" as:

> "A constitution which would be in contradiction to chattel slavery, property requirements [for voting], restriction of franchise for any reason of sex or age or anything like that. It would also include the fact that the prerogatives of the largest property owners, the largest productive property owners, the owners of the big mines, mills and factories would be subordinate to the development and extension of the democratic rights of the great majority of the citizenry.
> "In some ways maybe the Civil War is not the best example of this—the blood that was necessary to eliminate chattel slavery...."

Sounding for all the world like a high school civics teacher, Barnes has come out for "checks and balances"! Apparently the SWP's maximum program is now universal suffrage and the "subordination" of the capitalists to democracy.

Barnes said the SWP does not consider the Russian Revolution a "model" to be followed in the U.S. and posed instead Nicaragua: political "pluralism" and a so-called "mixed economy":

> "The attempt not to be forced like the Russian government was to nationalize everything—but to try to evolve with a majority of the population, taking over more and more of the economy, by maintaining the small and middle farmers in the countryside, by aiding the small and medium businesses as part of the development of a workers and farmers regime...."

Nowhere does Barnes suggest that there is any contradiction between the democratic pretensions of bourgeois rule and the realities of capitalist exploitation, hideous racial oppression and imperialist rape of the underdeveloped countries. The deal is: Barnes will acknowledge the government's democratic credentials if they will acknowledge his.

Catch 22

The SWP has staked a lot on winning the "Watersuit"; the big play given to it week after week in the *Militant* suggests that in the wake of the dismal results of the SWP's "turn" to the unions, the "turn" to the Watersuit has just about supplanted everything else. It is a foregone conclusion that almost any decision will be hailed as a victory by the SWP.

If the SWP loses, we all lose. Anything other than a judicial reproof to the FBI for its spying and harassment, its black bag jobs, its unleashing

continued on page 10

The Great Flint strike of 1937. According to SWP's Fred Halstead sit-down strike was a pacifistic tactic to "win a strike without violence."

SWP Trial...

(continued from page 9)

of ultrarightists like the Legion of Justice against the SWP, its lies and criminal cover-ups would constitute a declaration that leftists have no civil rights at all.

But if the SWP wins, we still lose. The SWP is trying to show the government that the eight million documents the FBI admits to having collected on the SWP are a misdirection of effort. The SWP does not even pretend to call for the abolition of the spy agencies; they couldn't care less what the FBI/CIA do to other organizations, especially to revolutionary socialists who do not believe along with the SWP that anything is possible including socialism by Constitutional amendment. They are offering the ruling class a chance to show by tolerating reformist dissent how permissive it is—while it targets unionists, black militants, revolutionaries.

The SWP issued an open invitation for repression when it violence-baited the organizers of the May 3 Pentagon march against U.S. El Salvador policy. At the same time as right-wing ideologues were calling for witchhunting investigations of the demo's organizers, the *Militant* (27 March) branded the march as "disruptive," "confrontational" and "almost guaranteed to result in a violent confrontation with the police or army." Who in his right mind would want to go to a demo like that? If anyone really had been listening to the *Militant*, look what happens: a small "hard-core" demo turns up in Washington; the SWP has egged on the cops and has already indicted the victims. This stuff can play as big a role in witchhunts as what's in the lawbooks.

Evidently the May 3 action—popular-frontist though its official leaders were—was too radical for the SWP. Of course the SWP is not in principle opposed to demonstrating, given the proper conditions. For El Salvador, the condition was to secure the cover of "responsible" labor bureaucrats; failing that, the SWP stayed home. But Barnes' party was wild for the March 28 "anti-nukes" rally at Harrisburg and came out in force for the "Atlanta mothers" march in Washington May 25. The latter triggered a *Militant* article (5 June) which proposed a "fightback" strategy for oppressed blacks consisting of support to the SWP court case and other court actions and:

> "The national effort to force the Atlanta police and FBI to apprehend the killers of twenty-eight black youth in Atlanta is one of the most important ways of fighting back against government crimes against Black people...."

This is what the SWP has to offer black people, whose fight for freedom is a main motor force for proletarian revolution in this country. Court cases and pressuring the cops—a clearer expression of reformist fetishizing of the bourgeois state would be hard to find.

The SWP loved Harrisburg for precisely the sellout reason the United Mine Workers bureaucracy pushed it: as a safety valve for miners' militancy right before the coal strike. The SWP of course expresses it differently: Harrisburg, showing the union tops' supposed broader social consciousness, is obviously more politically advanced than "economist" things like strikes. Regarding the "Atlanta mothers" march the SWP chose to articulate and solidarize with precisely the demands of the most reactionary forces there (the black cops) though most of the other participants were undoubtedly more concerned with racist cutbacks, black joblessness, the Klan, etc. than with pressuring the FBI.

To all those who want to stop the race-terrorists, defend the right to strike, fight imperialist militarism, the SWP offers only reformist recipes for defeat. Like the "Watersuit," which even in the narrowest sense is a strategy for retreat in the struggle against repression. ■

CP Waffles on Deukmejian/Watson "Terrorism" Legislation

California Witchhunt Bill Threatens Left

On July 8 the California State Senate, by a narrow margin passed an ominous new witchhunting act—the Deukmejian Terrorism Bill. Introduced by Los Angeles black state senator Diane Watson, backed by black lawyers' associations and originally by the Communist Party as well, this bill has been touted as a legal weapon against the Klan and Nazis. In fact, even in its amended form the target of this law would not be the race-terrorists and murderers in white sheets and brown shirts. Like all such legislation its real purpose is to strengthen the hand of the bosses' government against the opponents of the fascists, first and foremost the left.

The law would give the attorney general and the rest of the cop force a green light to go after the left, labor and minority defense organizations for "advocating" anything that the state considers could lead to "violence." Under its provisions it is "unlawful" for any "group, association, organization, society or other assemblage of two or more persons to meet and to advocate ...violent acts." In its original form the bill also made "knowing" membership in such a group a felony. The language was so broad and so obviously based on the notorious anti-communist Smith Act and California criminal syndicalism statutes that nearly everybody saw that it was a dangerous legal weapon that could be used against the left. Everybody, that is, except the Communist Party.

The CP's legislative strategy to pressure the capitalist state into outlawing the KKK led it to hail the bill as "historic." It was, they said, a step on the way to a "national ban" and they urged a "full-fledged campaign to secure their [such bills'] passage" (*Daily World*, 31 January). But since then there has been a storm of liberal criticism, pointing out that the left will be prosecuted, just as the 1977 California Terrorism Act was used against farm workers. Ramona Ripston, ACLU director for Southern California, asked the obvious question: "What about a group planning to strike? Everyone knows that a strike can be violent. Are you going to prevent the meeting?" (*Los Angeles Times*, 31 April). The Communist Party squirmed. The Deukmejian-Watson bill showed too clearly what their "Ban the Klan" campaign really produced when successful. So they abruptly shifted gears. The CP legal-defense outfit, the NAARPR, wrote an open letter to Diane Watson complaining that the bill embarrassingly "omitted" the "expressed intent to prevent racist terrorism" and urged Watson to "tighten" the language (*Peoples World*, 18 April). The sponsors did tighten the language, in order to make the law stronger in facing constitutional court tests, but the outlawing of "advocacy" remains. Now the CP can only praise other "Ban the Klan" bills, offering a "legislative alternative" to the McCarthyite legislation they originally hailed.

The "Deukmejian Terror Bill" is an important part of the tidal wave of "law-and-order" legislation in California that has the Democrats and Republicans falling over each other to prove who can make the police and courts more repressive. Deukmejian hopes to ride the wave to the governorship in 1982 while Jerry Brown wants to go to Washington as U.S. senator on the basis that he can whip up racist, anti-crime hysteria as well as the next guy. Out of

New West

Deukmejian wants to be California's Joe McCarthy.

the Brown/Deukmejian "anti-crime" meetings in the spring to find "a common agenda" came a state sales tax increase to raise $5 billion for more cops and special squads of prosecutors and to build new prisons for 19,000 future inmates. But Deukmejian's office has called Brown a "born-again crime fighter." Deukmejian has submitted more than 30 pieces of legislation this year including proposals to throw out insanity defenses, speed death penalty appeals, eliminate "inconvenient" rules of evidence such as the Miranda rule and illegal search and seizure.

But on his way to the governor's mansion the Reaganite Republican, Deukmejian, wants more than a reputation as a law-and-order crime-fighter and that is where his "Terrorism" law fits in. For, to paraphrase his slick TV advertising campaign featuring McGruff the crime-fighting hound dog, Deukmejian wants to take a bite out of the left. In the present national Cold War political climate, he wants to be California's McCarthy. So his "Terrorism" bill would allow Deukmejian to "stop any group from meeting if it could be demonstrated that the group has a violent history" (*The Recorder*, 9 July). And how would he prove it in court? Deukmejian said it "would be necessary to either infiltrate such groups or have the cooperation of a group member to prove in court the group was teaching and encouraging violence" (*Oakland Tribune*, 30 January). ACLU's executive director Dorothy Ehrlich pointed to the first dangerous step in this McCarthyite method of proving the advocacy of violence: "Well, what you do is get a list of groups you think are capable of doing that" (*Oakland Tribune*, 26 April).

Deukmejian has already cooked up that list. It's called the "Report on Terrorism." The connection between his bill and the report is clear and ominous. The "Terrorism Report" precisely supplies the "evidence" that a group has a "violent history." And this same report makes it clear who are the real targets of the attorney general. It whitewashes the fascists and the KKK, saying that the violence of the right is produced by the violence of the left. It is the Marxists of the Spartacist League who are among those branded in this report as terrorists (see article in this issue on the SL suit against Deukmejian). But the CP should take no comfort in having been "missed" in the "Terrorism Report" this time. For Moscow-loyal Stalinists in Cold War II, it's just a matter of time before the bill they once supported may be used against them.

If so, it won't be the first time. For during the McCarthyite witchhunts the Communist Party was the primary victim of the Smith Act, which they had earlier supported when it was used to jail the Trotskyists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1941. Today the CP, caught out by the Deukmejian law, is busy pushing "good" "Ban the Klan" legislation as opposed to "bad" bills. But fundamentally, as a strategy to fight the KKK/Nazis, they are all the same. And they all will ultimately target the left. At a time when U.S. imperialism is steeply escalating its anti-Soviet war drive, when the initial steps of domestic Cold War witchhunting have already been taken, and while the Reaganite think tanks issue calls for a new McCarthyism, the CP can't seem to learn the lessons of history.

There is a reason why these Stalinists never learn. The CP can't help it. But as we have pointed out before the reason is neither stupidity nor innocence but politics:

> "The CP campaign to 'Ban the Klan' is the programmatic extension of their desire for a class-collaborationist alliance with the 'progressive bourgeoisie.' The idea of an 'anti-fascist' capitalist state is fundamental to Stalinism, ever since the popular-front congress of 1935.... The popular front 'against fascism' has been the CP's historical model since the mid-'30s. Behind the campaign to 'Ban the Klan' and the support for the Deukmejian 'anti-extremist' bill is an appetite to reform the capitalist state into an 'anti-fascist, anti-racist, anti-monopoly' state."
>
> —"California Anti-'Extremists' Bill Threatens Left." *WV* No. 274, 13 February

Revolutionaries call neither for the capitalist state to "ban the Klan" as does the CP, nor for "free speech for fascists" as do the ACLU and the constitutional cretinist SWP. On the contrary, we build labor-centered mobilizations to stop KKK/Nazi terrorism and call for the mass mobilization of labor and blacks to sweep the fascists off the streets. When the SL-initiated ANCAN called for a demonstration to stop the Nazis from celebrating Hitler's birthday in San Francisco, the CP did everything it could to sabotage labor support while appealing to union-busting S.F. mayor Feinstein to ban the fascists. But the 1,200 from 22 unions who turned out for ANCAN on 19 April 1980 stopped the Nazis cold. And they haven't shown their faces in S.F. since. This is what the race terrorists and the Deukmejians fear above all else—the power of the working class. ■

SL Suit Needs $$$

The Partisan Defense Committee is raising funds for the SL/SYL suit against Deukmejian. Such suits can be costly. Already the PDC is in debt thousands of dollars to cover lawyers' fees and other costs necessary to file the suit. And many thousands more will be needed before it's over. The PDC urges *WV* readers to send generous contributions to help support this important case. Make checks payable to the PDC and send them to:

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 99
Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013

SL/SYL Suit...

(continued from page 12)

We do not intend to meet the fate of the Black Panther Party. We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can with impunity be blown away in the night.

The efforts of the Spartacist League in California and elsewhere are to organize a workers party to struggle for the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class. *The working class and its party have the right to organize.* But Deukmejian willfully confuses Marxist education with terrorism. Socialists who believe that the Soviet Union is right in Afghanistan, who are for the victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador, have the right to say so in the labor movement without being labeled as terrorists. The intent of this report is to restrict us from carrying out our activities by the not so implicit threat of murder.

Deukmejian wants to muzzle free speech. He expects a new lease on legal witchhunting. Diane Watson's Senate Bill 267, written with the guiding hand of Deukmejian, is a new version of the notorious Smith Act of 1940. The Attorney General speaks openly of the need to "infiltrate" the "violence prone" groups and do "police undercover work." This bill, which purports to be aimed at the Klan and Nazis, will not be used against these fascists. Instead, it will be used to persecute and harass the left and labor movement.

We are not terrorists, but Marxist revolutionists, Trotskyists, who oppose terrorism as a futile, despairing strategy that has turned away from the working class struggle to abolish capitalism. We will not be branded as terrorists and criminals. We demand that our names be removed from this report. With all our political, legal and moral resources, we will fight this sinister effort to set us up for government persecution and violence. ■

EASTBAY TODAY

Marxists claim official has defamed group

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Oakland Tribune

Marxists sue Deukmejian

SAN FRANCISCO — Members of the
Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth

The Los Angeles Daily Journal

Group Sues AG Over 'Terrorist' Label in Report

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Los Angeles Times

Friday, July 24, 1981

Marxists Sue Deukmejian Over Report

By PATT MORRISON, *Times Staff Writer*

A California Marxist group filed suit in Sacramento Thursday against Atty. Gen. George Deukmejian, claiming they were wrongfully labeled "terrorists" in Deukmejian's 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California."

"We're saying we don't belong in that report because we're not criminals and not terrorists," said Rachel Wolkenstein, attorney for the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League.

At a Los Angeles demonstration Thursday in front of Deukmejian's Wilshire Boulevard office—one of four protests statewide—Wolkenstein said, "We believe it (the report) targets us for harassment and persecution and intimidation by law enforcement and right-wing organizations."

The suit demands a retraction and efforts to ensure that the amended version be sent to those on the report's distribution list, among them legislators and law enforcement agencies.

Gina McGuiness, spokeswoman for Deukmejian, said, "We stand by what we said in the report," the first ever made public and the first to include "terrorism" as a separate category, listing both left-wing and right-wing groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazi Party.

The Spartacist group is named with other left-wing organizations that, in the words of the report, "exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible."

That the Spartacist League is not included in the 1980 terrorist report indicates a "lack of activity" by it, McGuiness added.

Wolkenstein said the listing was an attempt by Deukmejian "to use the climate of law and order . . . as a means of whipping up sentiment," perhaps for a 1982 gubernatorial candidacy.

But McGuiness pointed out, "This report came out last year, I think before he (Deukmejian) ever had any serious inkling" of running.

TheValleyTimes

Marxists protest 'terrorist' label

(AP) — A small Marxist group
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group has

—from the California attorney general's annual report, "Organized Crime in California—1979," Part 2 "Terrorism," Section "Political Terrorism":

"*Left-Wing:* Extreme left-wing groups, primarily the Progressive Labor Party (PLP), the International Committee Against Racism (INCAR), the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP) and the Communist Workers' Party, along with the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), the Spartacist League and various self-proclaimed militant caucuses of labor unions emerged in 1979 as yet another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal. So close are their radical ideology and advocacy of violence that members of one group often are also members of several others. They exploit issues of public concern in attempts to incite the populace and create violence wherever possible. Their propaganda literature is highly inflammatory, and their activities range from counter-demonstrations against right-wing extremists to urging violent and criminal activities in labor disputes and occupation by force of federal office buildings. Members often travel widely in California and out-of-state in order to attend rallies sponsored by their groups, and many of them have been convicted several times for assaults on peace officers, inciting to riot, battery and carrying concealed weapons. Thirty-eight subjects claiming to be members of the Communist Workers' Party, when arrested on November 11, 1979, in Greensboro, North Carolina, for carrying concealed weapons, were found to be in possession of rifles, shotguns and pistols, mostly high caliber. Several of those arrested were in possession of three handguns each."

Excerpts from the SL/SYL Complaint

We Accuse Deukmejian!

We publish below key sections of the legal complaint of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) filed by their attorneys Anne Flower Cumings and Valerie C. West against California state attorney general George Deukmejian. The 1979 attorney general's annual report on "Organized Crime in California" wrongfully branded the Trotskyist SL/SYL as "terrorists." In this complaint, the plaintiffs SL/SYL demand that defendants Deukmejian et al. publicly retract this dangerous smear. The suit is part of a campaign to defend the SL/SYL against this set-up by the top cops of the state of California.

SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA
CITY AND COUNTY OF SAN FRANCISCO

SPARTACIST LEAGUE and SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE,

Plaintiffs,

v.

GEORGE DEUKMEJIAN, ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA, DOES I through X, inclusive,

Defendants.

Plaintiffs allege:

I

Plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE is a Marxist political organization which has been politically active in the State of California (and other states) for more than 15 years and which regularly engages in constitutionally protected activity. Plaintiff SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE is also a Marxist political organization and is the youth section of the plaintiff SPARTACIST LEAGUE.

VII

Defendants' report, as more fully described hereinabove, wrongfully and erroneously describes plaintiffs as a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal," as a species of outlaws, and/or terrorists and/or criminal organizations likely and expected to commit criminal acts such as "advocacy of violence"... "attempt to incite the populace and create violence"..."force occupation of federal buildings"..."assault on police officers"..."inciting to riot, battery and carrying concealed weapons."

VIII

The inaccurate inclusion of plaintiffs in said report, more fully described hereinabove, and the circulation and distribution of said report to members of law enforcement places in jeopardy plaintiffs', plaintiffs' supporters' and plaintiffs' potential supporters' legitimate exercise of constitutionally protected rights in that it purports to justify the infringement or denial of said rights by law enforcement officials. The "Report on Terrorism" is a directive marking plaintiffs and plaintiffs' supporters as targets for police harassment and violence. Further, said report provides official justification for the prosecution of plaintiffs and plaintiffs' supporters under existing statutes and proposed legislation, as well as providing the rationale for government surveillance, infiltration and disruption of plaintiffs.

IX

The inaccurate inclusion of plaintiffs in said report, more fully described hereinabove, and the circulation and distribution of said report to the public further constitutes an incitement to right-wing and/or fascistic groups and/or individuals to commit acts of harassment and/or violence against plaintiffs, plaintiffs' supporters and plaintiffs' potential supporters.

X

The inaccurate inclusion of plaintiffs in said report, more fully described hereinabove, and the distribution and circulation of said report to the public at large has the effect of discrediting the plaintiffs as political organizations by isolating, stigmatizing and doing irreparable harm to the SPARTACIST LEAGUE and the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE's public reputation upon which plaintiffs depend in their daily political activities.

XI

This Report was widely quoted and/or cited in newspapers throughout the state and nation. The section of this report on "Left-Wing Terrorism" has been cited and quoted as authority for the proposition that the SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE is a "dangerous and violent" organization.

XII

The inaccurate inclusion of plaintiffs in said report, more fully described hereinabove, and the distribution and circulation of said report, has had and continues to have a chilling effect on the exercise of plaintiffs' constitutionally protected rights, a chilling effect on the exercise of constitutionally protected rights of plaintiffs' supporters, and a chilling effect on the exercise of constitutionally protected rights of plaintiffs' potential supporters.

XIII

Plaintiffs are entitled to the protections afforded by the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, made applicable to this state by the Fourteenth Amendment, the California State Constitution and other laws, to exercise their rights to free speech and association. The actions of defendants, and each of them, have, in essence, categorized plaintiffs as a species of terrorist organizations and/or organized criminal organizations and/or outlaws in violation of these rights and upon no authority. Moreover, the actions of defendants, and each of them, have branded and continue to brand plaintiffs with a "badge of infamy."

XVI

The plaintiffs desire a judicial determination that their names were wrongfully included in the Report entitled "Organized Crime in California, 1979." Plaintiffs further desire defendants, and each of them, to remove plaintiffs' names from said Report and for defendants to make a good faith effort to publicize the fact of the removal of plaintiffs' names to an extent comparable to the circulation of said report and the publicity about it.

WORKERS VANGUARD

SL/SYL Sue California Attorney General Deukmejian

Spartacist League: Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!

We print below the statement by Al Nelson of the Spartacist League Central Committee at an SL/SYL protest demonstration and press conference on July 23 outside offices of California state attorney general George Deukmejian in San Francisco.

Today, legal papers were served on California Attorney General George Deukmejian at his San Francisco office. Press conferences and demonstrations are being held outside Deukmejian's offices in San Francisco, Sacramento, Los Angeles and San Diego.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, Marxist political organizations, are suing Deukmejian for wrongfully including and characterizing us as "terrorists" in his 1979 "Report on Organized Crime in California."

In Part II on "Terrorism," Deukmejian makes clear who is targeted. The report whitewashes the KKK and Nazis. It downplays their threat to blacks, Chicanos, Jews and the labor movement, instead focusing on so-called "extremists of the left." According to this report the real danger of the KKK/Nazis lies not in their racist terroristic actions, but "in their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left."

This report is a classic attempt to use the terrorist right as an excuse to go after the left and the labor movement. In it we are described as "a dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal." We are described as a species of outlaws, terrorists and criminals and are lumped in with the Manson Family, the SLA, Hell's Angels, Mexican Mafia, Aryan Brotherhood and Black Guerrilla Family.

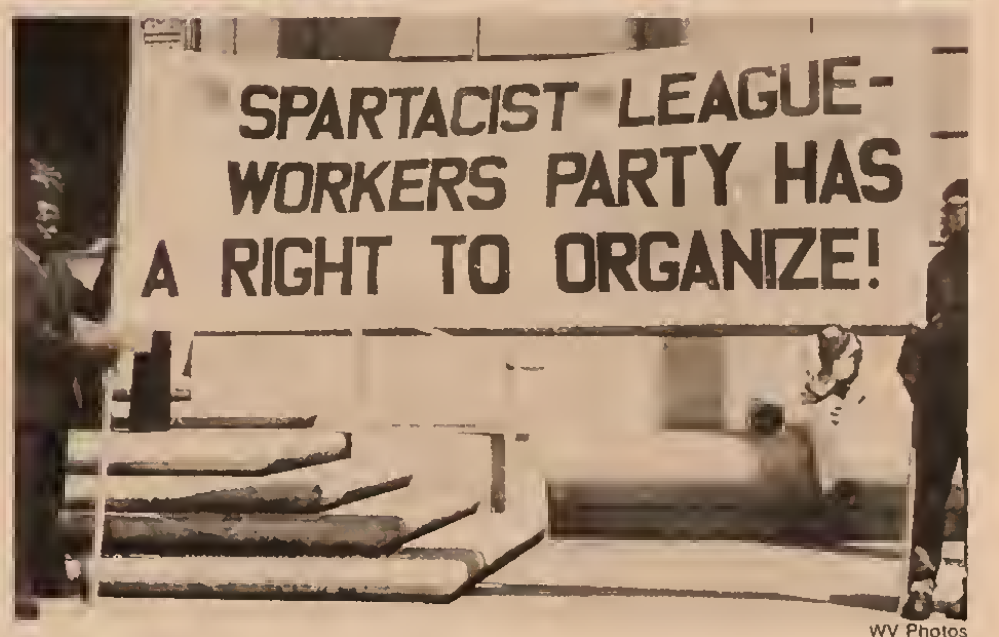
Deukmejian's aim is clear. The Spartacist League is proclaimed to be outside the law. We are labeled as dangerous people to be dealt with militarily, "mad dogs" to be shot down.

Al Nelson speaks at July 23 SL/SYL protest in San Francisco: "We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims." Demonstrations were also held in Los Angeles, Sacramento and San Diego.

Ten years ago this report would have included the Black Panther Party. In its best days the Black Panthers attracted a serious layer of young militants who tried to form a movement for black social liberation. They were destroyed by a coordinated governmental campaign of slander, provocation and murder. This has been well documented.

Deukmejian's report is a murderous effort to set the Spartacist League up for this same kind of government violence.

continued on page 11



WV Photos

Fight Deukmejian's Red Scare!

On July 23 the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) filed civil suit against California Attorney General George Deukmejian, holding simultaneous protest demonstrations and press conferences at his offices in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento and San Diego. Smeared by Deukmejian as "terrorists" the SL/SYL demands a public retraction of this injurious characterization (see excerpts from the legal complaint on page 11.) Press coverage of round one of this campaign was extensive including the major news services, TV and radio; among the many newspapers covering the suit were the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Oakland Tribune* (see press display page 11).

To be branded as terrorists in Deukmejian's report is a set-up for government repression and right-wing vigilante attack. And the State of California has known its share of such attacks against the left, labor movement and minorities. There was the 1916 bombing frame-up of San Franciscans Tom Mooney and Warren Billings, whose death sentences were commuted through international protest by labor and its supporters. But even after this railroading was exposed, the victims were kept in jail until 1938-39 because the California attorney general would not concede he was wrong. The IWW was the victim of widespread raids, arrests and grisly murders. The 1934 San Francisco general strike was met with a storm of red-baiting. There was the Dies Un-American Committee's red scare against the CIO and the black-listing of union men and the jailing of hundreds of subpoenaed "suspected subversives" in Stockton for refusing to cooperate with Sam Yorty's California "Little Dies Committee." The list goes on through the cop-court vendetta against the Black Panthers to the recent frame-up and conviction of the NASSCO defendants.

We will fight the defamation by Deukmejian, this set-up, and point to the treatment received by the McCarthyite HUAC (then headed by Republican Harold Velde) when it opened a "subversive hearing" in San Francisco's City Hall: "Some 6,000 members of Local 10, ILWU (independent), 'hit the bricks' on December 3, 1953 to protest Velde's investigation. The waterfront was paralyzed. The CIO council in the East Bay area denounced the Velde committee as an enemy of democratic rights. The hearings were flooded with 'unfriendly witnesses' and 'unfriendly' spectators. Scheduled to last eleven days, the hearings were hastily terminated after five days. Velde retreated ignominiously. At the first real resistance by organized labor, the government witchhunters had to cut and run" (Art Preis, *Labor's Giant Step*).

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 287

14 August 1981

It's Us or Them!

Labor: Shut Down the Airports!

AUGUST 11—In firing the striking air traffic controllers, Ronald Reagan has declared war against the U.S. workers movement. He has also dropped a political bomb that could explode in his face. He is out to utterly destroy the controllers union and cripple the U.S. labor movement, particularly government workers, and incidentally maybe kill the public in plane crashes. The right-wing fanatic in the White House who has been victimizing black welfare mothers and the elderly poor has decided to go after labor, which has the muscle to fight back *if only it will use it!*

What Reagan has done hasn't happened since the rise of the CIO. He has fired 12,000 workers for striking—the entire union. He has declared that the union does not exist, that supervisors, civilian and military scabs will do the jobs while replacements are recruited and trained to replace the striking controllers. Nothing like this has happened in the American labor movement within living memory. Strikes have been broken, unions decertified, militant leaders fired and jailed. But never has the entire membership of a national union been fired. Reagan says this is an illegal strike. Air controllers union chief Robert Poli answered this well: "The only illegal strike is a strike that fails."

Labor solidarity can end this strike quickly with a stunning and important victory—and not just a victory for the small PATCO union on the margins of the union movement, but an act of self-defense for the whole working class. The pilots could do it. The Machinists could do it. The Teamsters could do it. And right now the air controllers internationally are doing pretty good, as the Canadian sympathy boycott of U.S. air traffic stacks up intercontinental travelers at JFK and European airports, forcing the FAA to cancel virtually all flights from the East Coast to Europe.

In an attempt to deflect from the necessary task of labor solidarity, the bureaucrats have turned to the empty moral gesture asking consumers not to fly. The controllers know better as they warn of the hair-raising danger of air travel during the strike but do not call for a boycott. It will not be through consumer boycotts but through direct labor action—mass pickets and solidarity strikes—that the government can be backed down. For the labor tops, calling on the public to express its support for the strikers by staying off airplanes is simply an *alibi* for their failure to mobilize the sections of the workforce that supply the airports and fly and service the planes.

Reagan has picked this fight and thrown his personal authority behind it. The media-conscious president went on TV from the Rose Garden, casting himself in the role of High Noon gunfighter, rather than throwing Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis into the fray and reserving the role of wise mediator for himself. He wants this showdown with the controllers and he wants it now. He intends to crush PATCO with such force that the impact will be felt by all government workers, particularly the postal workers who appear to be voting down the government/bureaucrat sellout contract. Thus the strike quickly transcended the immedate interests of the air controllers, posing the issues of the right to strike and simply the right to organize for the entire working class.

The *Wall Street Journal* (5 August) saw even larger reasons to editorialize for "No Compromise" with the controllers. Behind Reagan's jaw-jutting was the authority of the imperial presidency itself, including "a whole range of issues with global implications. They include, for example, commitments to rebuild military strength...to resist Soviet imperialism." Indeed, part of the Reagan administration's shoot-em-up-tough-guy stance is doubtless meant for consumption by foreigners: Kremlin bureaucrats, European leaderships and Third World *caudillos* are supposed to understand that a man who is cheerfully prepared to make war on 12,000 American workers is hardly going to be soft on foreigners. The same week that the administration fired the controllers it leaked the news that it was building neutron bombs despite European objections. And Polish Solidarity should take note: this is what happens to "free" trade unions which strike against the state in the capitalist West.

Time

Downing/Newsweek

Labor enemy number one: Bust the union-buster Reagan!

So intent is Reagan on crushing the controllers strike that he is risking becoming the air disaster president. Even under normal circumstances air traffic control is an incredibly stressful job, and PATCO is entirely right to demand a reduced workweek from 40 to 32 hours for safety reasons. But now the 8,000 supervisors and scabs, including *previously disqualified* personnel and *inexperienced* military controllers, are working 10 hours a day six days a week! In the New York area two planes came within seconds of colliding before a crash alarm went off. PATCO reports 34 such near-collisions. In a 1973 French controllers strike, the Gaullist regime also brought in military controllers. Within a few days two planes collided in mid-air; one exploded killing all 68 aboard, and the International Federation of Airline Pilots Associations banned French air space.

Thanks to Reagan, American air space is now about as safe as a grenade range. And everyone is waiting for the crash. When it comes, Reagan will try to blame it on the strikers. But as they remove the charred bodies from that wreckage, everyone had better know the dead are on Reagan's hands and his alone.

PATCO and the Labor Movement

It is ironic that PATCO has been thrust into the front lines in this confrontation between the Reagan administration and labor. The air controllers are a highly paid group who view themselves as middle-class professionals akin to engineers rather than to auto workers or airplane mechanics. PATCO's first spokesman was flamboyant trial lawyer F. Lee Bailey. The controllers have almost no sense of the traditions of trade unionism and this is most graphically seen in their view of scabs. One striker actually handed out an open letter in which he praised the "courage" of union members who

continued on page 10

Economic Chaos Engulfs Poland...6

Midwest Trade Unionist Quits CP

Real Communists Don't Call Cops on Leftists!

We publish below an exchange of correspondence between Iowa Communist Party dissident Mike Messina and CP District Organizer Tim Yeager. The letters document Messina's separation from the CP for the "crime" of protesting a real crime by the CP: the calling of the cops against the Spartacist League-led contingent at the May 30 El Salvador march in Chicago. After reading of that incident in *WV*, comrade Messina, then a member of the CP, wrote in a letter to the CP dated 8 June that "Even if I did not support the SL's slogans, I would still support their right to express themselves without police oppression, and when that oppression is instigated by the Communist Party, then I believe we have a major scandal on our hands" (see *WV* No. 283, 19 June, for the full text of the letter).

In a Leninist organization, oppositionists have the right to struggle inside the party to change its line (or to take their differences outside if the issues are severe and urgent enough to warrant a public split). But in the Stalinist CP, there is no internal factional democracy, no way to organize inside the party to change its policies; you either raise your complaints in public or you just shut up. Confronted by an urgent question of basic class principle, Messina sought to bring his criticism before his comrades by distributing his protest to a CP public meeting in Chicago. The CP's response was to demand Messina's resignation.

In the hope of stifling membership disgruntlement with its May 30 bloc with the cops, the CP leadership had to drive this respected union activist out of its ranks. But the questions raised by comrade Messina will not go away. The CP's use of the armed thugs of the capitalist state against the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League on May 30 expressed the CP's implacable hostility to those who fight for the program of international revolution against reformist class collaboration. It was a provocation which endangered every participant in the demonstration. Communist Party supporters who out of mistaken organizational loyalty acquiesce to its May 30 betrayal place themselves on the wrong side of the barricades.

WV Photo

Chicago, May 30: CP calls cops to exclude Anti-Imperialist Contingent from El Salvador protest.

Iowa Communist Party to Messina

June 24, 1981

Michael Messina

Dear Mike:

It has become apparent that your primary loyalties no longer lie with those of us in the Communist Party, and that you do not wish to abide by the rules of the Party as contained in our Constitution.

Based upon the events of last weekend I feel that you have already made some choices about your affiliations. So this letter should probably come as no great surprise to you.

Questions about your style of work were discussed at the regular meeting of the Joe North Club on Monday night. While noting that members of the Club bear no personal animosity toward you, it was the unanimous decision of the club that I write to you to formally request your resignation from the Party.

The comrades in the club felt that it would be best for everyone to handle this in a manner which would simply recognize the reality of what has taken place, and to give you an opportunity to withdraw on your own. I would appreciate it if you would indicate your resignation by the return of your membership card in the mail by Monday, June 29.

If you want to talk about this, please contact me at my home, and we can arrange to meet somewhere securely.

Sincerely,

Tim Yeager
District Organizer

* * * * *

July 17, 1981

Michael Messina

Dear Mike:

As I am not in receipt of your membership card, the club will proceed to consider your case pursuant to the provisions of Article VII of the Party Constitution. A trial committee has been appointed by the club membership to hear the charges I am making against you. You have the right to appear and to bring witnesses, including non-members if the trial committee so agrees, and to testify. (Article VII, Section 4)

If you wish to bring non-members to the hearing, please communicate that wish to me at my home.... I will forward your request to the trial committee and get back to you on it.

The time and place of the hearing is as follows:...

The substance of the charges I am making are as follows: 1. You have engaged in actions detrimental to the interests of the Party and of the working class. 2. You have violated the security of certain comrades in mass movements. 3. You have placed yourself at the disposal of a group which is acting as an agent of the class enemy, and which regularly disrupts the activities of movement organizations. 4. You have violated the Party rule against factionalism by failing to raise your criticisms to collective discussion within the Party organizations, and have sought to mobilize members and non-members to affect the decision-making procedures of the Party. 5. You have failed to respond positively to constructive criticisms of Iowa comrades concerning your style of work.

If the trial committee votes by two-thirds majority to expel you from the Party, your case will be automatically reviewed by the District Committee at its next meeting.

On behalf of the Joe North Club,

Tim Yeager, D.O.

xcc: CPUSA Control Comm.
Ill. District

Messina to Communist Party

Tim Yeager
Communist Party of Iowa

23 July 1981

Dear Tim

This letter will serve to break all ties that have existed between me and the Communist Party USA. I take this step at your request, as indicated in your letters of the 24 of June and the 17th of July.

On the 8th of June, 1981, I wrote a letter of protest to you because the police had been called by a leader of the Communist Party to keep 150 marchers of the Anti-Imperialist Contingent from joining a May 30th El Salvador protest rally in Chicago Ill. I was, as I wrote, particularly upset because less than a year before the police had been called by party leaders in Gary Ind. to keep members of the Spartacist League from taking part in a TUAD conference. In my letter of the 8th, I asked that the issue be raised at a meeting of the Central Committee of the CPUSA. After a reasonable length of time had passed and I did not hear from you, I went into Chicago to express my solidarity with the Spartacist League in this matter. By coincidence, the national chairman of the CPUSA was speaking in Chicago that same weekend. The leadership of the SL asked me if I would distribute my letter, to you, at the door of the meeting hall. I agreed, and did just that. While I was passing out copies of my letter, you came out and informed me that "we don't wash our dirty linen in public." And, you asked me to stop passing the letter out, which I refused to do. To the best of my knowledge, that is the basis of your letters of the 24th and the 17th.

In neither of your letters do you address the issue of leaders of the party calling the police. The Communist Party may wish to pretend that the incident never took place but there now exists documented evidence that the police were taking their instructions from Chicago CPer Sylvia Kushner. She ordered the police to exclude the Anti-Imperialist Contingent in direct violation of a vote taken at the final marshalls meeting only five days before the March. I was not the only one who was outraged by the May 30th injustice; the CP/cop exclusion of the SL has been condemned by the Communist Workers Party, the Red Rose Collective, the Madison Wisconsin Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and the Revolutionary Socialist League, and others. I can't understand why the Joe North Club CPUSA, rather than condemning this injustice, has moved to expel me for raising a protest. I am comfortable with what I have done, you will have to live with your decisions too.

In your letter of July 17, you charge me with having "engaged in actions detrimental to the interest of the party ..." Neither the Communist Party, nor any other organization, is sacrosanct or above public criticism. The rights of free expression and dissent are basic and fundamental to Marxism-Leninism. The suppression of these rights is one of the hallmarks of Stalinism. I think your charge speaks for itself.

I have no idea what you mean by your second charge: "You have violated the security of certain comrades in mass movements."

Your 3rd charge is: "You have placed yourself at the disposal of a group which is acting as an agent of the class enemy, and which regularly disrupts the activities of movement organizations." My reading of Lenin has taught me that the police are the "agents of the class enemy." So if you want to condemn that you should address yourself to CPers Fred Gaboury and Sylvia Kushner. As for the charge that the Spartacists "regularly disrupts the activities of movement organizations," no evidence whatsoever exists to support such a statement. The CP, on the other hand has a habit of disruption. In *Workers Vanguard*, July 17, 1981, is the following statement: "Communist Party: we have nailed you with the truth. *You* are the disrupters who bring the capitalist police into the workers movement and resort to despicable practices of slander and bureaucratic exclusion."

Your 4th charge accuses me of "factionalism by failing to raise your criticisms to collective discussion within the party." Please refer to my letter of the 8th of June 1981. It was only after you failed to communicate with me that I took my protest to the streets and to the press.

Your 5th charge that I have "failed to respond positively to constructive criticisms of Iowa comrades concerning your style of work" is without merit and unworthy of comment.

As I have indicated to you, it will not be necessary for the trial committee of the Joe North Club, of which I am not a member, to vote to expel me; I resign my membership in the Communist Party USA.

Michael L. Messina

CC: Workers Vanguard
General Distribution

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 287 14 August 1981

Only Spartacists Warned Against Support to Butcher Khomeini

Iranian Leftists Join iSt

Dear Comradcs,

This letter is an application for membership in the international Spartacist tendency [iSt].

My very first experience of politics was at the age of 14. I was quite influenced by my grandmother, who had emigrated from the Soviet Union after the Russian Revolution. Some classmates in school—I later found out they were members of the guerrilla movement—made contact with me and gave me some books by a militant writer. After the end of the school term, these two classmates mysteriously disappeared. Later on I read in a paper that they were both exeeuted by the SAVAK. This naturally had an effect on me.

I was married at the age of 18 and moved to Europe shortly afterward. As in traditional marriages, it was not only unsuccessful, but also ridiculous, empty and full of daily contradictions and bitter experiences of a degraded slave life. From the very beginning I wanted to escape from that devilish circle. However, I was afraió the authorities would expel mc from the country, so I capitulated to the situation until I had a daughter in 1977. My "husband" prohibited me from having any kind of social political activity and tried to prevent me from going to university.

The situation lasted until my daughter was almost a year old. At that point getting involved with political activity was an inevitable and unavoidable matter. I began my political life in a Maoist organization which sympathized with the Mujahedeen (Marxists), corresponding to Peykar today. Being a member of this organization, and taking on some responsibilities as one of the few Iranian women in a male-dominated Maoist student organization gave me some self-confidenee and emancipation from domestic life.

I remember it as a terrible period. It was always dark and cold, I felt a sense of sadness, pressure, humiliation and personal and social worthlessness all day long. But my soeial aetivity strongly reinforced the logical and rational analysis and conclusions of the current situation. The more responsibility I took on outside the nuclear family the more interesting I found political life and the more determined I became to put a stop to that type of degraded slave life for ever.

So I made up my mind and changed my life. But I lost my child. Both the highly "progressive" laws of Europe, the supposed defenders of equal rights for women in society, and the backward feudal "Islamic" laws of the "Islamic Republic of Iran" upheld the reactionary act of depriving a divorced (and "adulterous") mother of the right of maintaining close relations with her daughter by refusing to condemn the act of kidnapping a one-year-old child. It was an impossible situation. But I had made my choice and there remained no other possibility—except an aet of madness, namely moving back to the other side of the barricades and offering myself up to Khomeini's bloodsuckers, the mullahs.

At the time of the "Iranian Revolution" in the fall of 1978, I and eomrade Hosein quit the organization that is now Peykar because of its support to Khomeini as the "symbol of democraey." One thing we knew was that wc could not give any kind of support to the mullahs, who took power in the name of god and the aet of sueking the blood of the Iranian proletariat and foreing women to capitulate to the dark veil.

Gamma

Opportunist left joined crowds cheering Khomeini in '79; today the Islamic dictator shoots them down.

At that time I did not have any conception of Stalinism at all. But we began studying the teachings of Mao Tse-tung critically so that we eould dispose of his ridiculous nonsense once and for all. And we did it. Gradually we came to the conclusion that we knew nothing either about Marxism or revolution, so we started to study the French, German and Russian Revolutions.

The traditions of the left in Iran are those of Stalinism and Maoism. There are reasons for this. After the 1905 struggles for the constitution, Iranian revolutionaries were under the influence of what was happening in Russia. But at the same time religious leaders played an important role. During the years after the Russian Revolution of 1917, Iranian revolutionaries were in contact with Bolshevism. And if the left in Iran never accused the Tudeh party of being Stalinist, it is because they believe Stalinism to be the continuation of Bolshevism.

The spectacular thing about the left's response to the Iranian "revolution" was the support they all gave to the reactionary Islamic mass movement and its leadership, i.e., the mullahs. I studied Peykar's and the Fedayeen's position on the "Iranian Revolution" and had discussions with them. But I just couldn't agree with them on their concept of two-stage revolution, their belief that the Iranian proletariat was unable to carry out the tasks of a socialist revolution. As a result of this stagist conception, the left not only trusted the bourgeoisie to carry out democratic tasks, but also capitulated to Islamic reaetion. So I was not surprised when the Fedayeen supported Bazargan's regime on the grounds that defending the Bazargan regime meant defending the democratic gains of the "revolution." It is impossible to just keep quiet and not take a position when hundreds of Fedayeen and Peykar militants and other leftists were massacred by the very regime they supported.

From studying the Russian Revolution I learned that even with a small working elass in Russia, the Bolsheviks with their program carried out a soeialist revolution, and that with such a party and program wc would be able to carry out the tasks of the socialist revolution in Iran as well. I also learned that we had to be internationalists, in the sense that a workers' revolution in Iran cannot survive without a workers' revolution in the Middle East.

With this new revolutionary understanding, the HKS[1] seemed to have a good program. I was reeruited to the local section of the United Secretariat, on the question of Iran. But I was always very critical of the HKS paper, because I had a feeling that although they claimed to have a revolutionary program, things were not expressed clearly in their paper. Unlike all the confusion of the HKS, what I read in the Spartacist press expressed a clear position in just one slogan: "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs."

When I was recruited to the USec, I applied first for a study circle. I got an historic answer: since one of the comrades in the Central Committee knows this comrade, she does not have any need to go through a study circle. Her membership is confirmed by the CC. So they counted me as a member. When I was in the USec, their paper called for the defense of the "Iranian Revolution" and its "gains" week after week—which actually meant a line of betraying the Iranian proletariat and all the national minorities. When in October of 1979 the HKE[2] called for partieipation in the "Mullahs' Constitution," it became clear to me that they were nothing but reformists. So what I said to them was that there is no difference between this organization and other reformists—exeept that you are fake Trotskyists and they are Stalinists.

At that time I met the Spartacist comrades and bought their press. By discussing with the comrades of the Spartacist tendency the Russian question became clear. You don't need to be so wise to be able to understand that an organization that calls for defending the "Iranian Revolution," that is, for defending the reaetionary mullahs, cannot take a side for the Red Army in Afghanistan, but would call for the national rights of the reactionary Islamie rebels against "Soviet expansionism," as the USec does.

This is why I want to join the iSt.

Elahe

Dear Comrades,

I would like to apply for membership in the iSt with this letter.

At school, I got to know some people who later became the martyrs of the Fedayeen. At the age of 19 I moved to Teheran. There I partieipated for the first time in a demonstration—in favor of the bus strike in 1969, which was touched off by a sudden rise in fares. Due to its slogans, the demonstration developed into an anti-shah demonstration. Before the demonstration I had heard from some friends that we should urge the people to express solidarity with the workers by not taking busses. So for some weeks, everything was different from the past.

When I was 21, I graduated from high school and went abroad for further studies. In 1974 I tried to organize Iranian students and some months later I was elected one of the three chairmen of the Confederation of Iranian Students National Union (CISNU) [in the country where I was studying]. The opposition in CISNU in all other European countries had already split or was splitting, but I fought to keep the organization together and the split took longer [there]. After the split I moved to the south, where I organized another Iranian Student Organization supporting CISNU, while at the same time making contact with other organizations and trying to build a new leadership and to fight the opportunism of the traditional leadership. At first I supported the Fedayeen because they said they were Marxists and the Mujahedeen as militant fighters. Later I supported Mujahedeen (Marxists), which later became Peykar, because of their self-criticism on guerrillaism. But when major leading comrades came I fought against their bureaucratic leadership and suceeeded in isolating them politieally.

In the 1978 period, when the entire left was excited about the Iranian revolution, I also started to wonder why none of the Iranian left ever talked about the influenee of religion in Iran and about religious leaders' activities in Iran. They were always mentioned as if they were a part of the Iranian anti-imperialist movement. When people were in the streets and workers on strike in 1978, the left were bowing down to Khomeini and his adherents instead of fighting against Islamic reaction. Instead of saying what was going to replace the shah's reaction, they were glorifying Islamic reaction in line with their anti-Marxist theses of two-stage revolution. Instead of earrying out the task of organizing the workers against the shah and Khomeini and their independence from bourgeois and petty-bourgeois forces, the left was urging workers to support their butcher of tomorrow. They were justifying this new ruling caste as a democratic power in Iran. Their thrust was that Khomeini was leading an anti-imperialist mass movement in Iran and that anyone who was against him was a shah supporter, member of SAVAK and CIA agent.

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[1]Then the Iranian sympathizing group of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec).

[2]Iranian Mandelites, resulting from the split-up of the HKS (dominated by followers of the American SWP).

How Many Pickled Peppers Did Peter Piper Pick?

Centrists in Quicksand

Recently, two local ostensibly Trotskyist groupie s, the Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) of Peter Sollenberger and Steve Bryant's Bay Area Socialist – League Democratic-Centralist (SL-DC) decided to fuse into a new anti-Spartacist league. Or rather, as the July issue of the RWL's paper puts it, they "voted 'firmly and definitively to achieve fusion' in the near future." The fiancées are being chaperoned by Alan Thornett's British Workers Socialist League (WSL), which through another fusion is in the process of dissolving into the Labour Party. This engagement is as much *non*-principled as it is unprincipled. The RWL and SL-DC don't have a positive common program: they even admit it, putting off actual fusion until they agree on a "tasks and perspectives" document. What "unites" them is aversion for Bolshevik hardness and a penchant for violating the most fundamental principles of the workers movement. For here is a "socialist" tendency whose components are best known for their defense of scabbing and calls to organize the cops!

The appearance of a centrist organization on the American terrain for the first time in several years intersects a new wave of left-wing political activity. Sollenberger hopes to break out of his Ann Arbor isolation to occupy a position somewhere in the vast gulf between the rotten reformist CP/SWP and the revolutionary Trotskyism of the Spartacist League (SL). The eulture medium for centrist growth is richer in Europe. There, relatively large centrist organizations of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) have moved sharply to the right toward social democracy (tailing Eurocommunism, now Mitterrand's eleetion, and Tony Benn's bid for power in the Labour Party). Following the 1979 USec split, Thornett set up a "Trotskyist International Liaison Committee" (TILC) as a holding pen for homeless centrists. But like the WSL, TILC has been going nowhere. Will the RWL give Thornett a shot in the arm? It depends largely on the effectiveness of the SL in exposing this new pseudo-Trotskyist fraud.

This union could only take place under the sponsorship of the WSL. The betrothed are not exactly compatible: the RWL tails every form of lifestylism (feminist, gay, student) while the SL-DC feels more at home with the values of the Moral Majority. But Sollenberger wants international connections, and the hapless Bryant can't say no when the WSL turns the serews. Thornett, on the other hand, is desperate to grab anything he can use as a club against the international Spartaeist tendency (iSt). Demolishing Thornett's image as a militant workers' leader (he scabbed on a national engineering strike), the Spartacist League/Britain also won successive splits from the WSL, reducing the number of his followers to rough parity with the SL/B. The WSL's fusion with Sean Matgamna's International-Communist League (I-CL), announced in late July, at least staves off collapse, but its *Socialist Organiser* "entrist" project could well mean that the Thornettites follow in the footsteps of Ted Grant in dissolving into the chummy "left" Labour milieu.

The crisis of American eentrism has been that it doesn't exist. A series of initials briefly appear on the seene—VNL, CSL, TOC, CRSP—but unable to answer the SL's Marxist polemics and revolutionary action, they have disappeared after a few months. Thornett, Sollenberger and Bryant all pose as "anti-revisionist" Trotskyists. Yet they have the same Janus-faced contradictions as centrists everywhere (except for the SL-DC, which hardly pretends). The RWL, in particular, displays a near-total divorce between sometimes very "orthodox" verbiage and the most blatant reformist "coalition-building" in practice. Operating through a maze of front groups and propaganda blocs, the Sollenbergerites' opposition to a Leninist vanguard party leads them to the worst forms of class collaboration. And no outfit that talks of Marxism and working-class independence while joining popular fronts and erossing picket lines is about to succeed where predecessors with at least a minimal sense of shame failed.

Thorup — Brooks/Detroit News

SL-DC wants to organize cops. RWL crosses picket lines. They should have tried it at River Rouge 1941 (right).

Bryant Family Joins Sollenberger Cult

According to the RWL's account it was "forged over eleven years" by "combining experiments in direct revolutionary work" in the unions with "systematic Marxist study" (*Revolutionary Worker*, July 1981). This would place their origins roughly at the point where Peter Sollenberger fled into the Harvard cloisters after briefly flirting with the SL, preferring academic dilettantism to Bolshevik discipline. This must have been the period of "systematic Marxist study," for nothing was heard from the fountainhead of the future RWL until 1976. Rejeeting the Spartacist League as "petty-bourgeois," he eventually headed West with fellow ex-Harvard student Leland Sanderson and set himself up as a eampus guru in the college town of Ann Arbor. Here he gathered a cult circle around him which has gone through several incarnations, from BLT to BLG to RWG to RWL. But for several years the Sollenberger cult/sect seldom saw the light of day. Instead it operated through a string of front groups, known by another set of initials (CDU, OCC, MDU, DMGEO, CLSG), all manipulated behind the seenes by Peter and Leland.

What did the BLT/BLG/RWG/RWL stand for? What was their policy on the Vietnam "antiwar movement," the Allende regime in Chile, the revolutionary ferment in Portugal? We don't know, for the various embodiments of Peter Sollenberger's ego had no press until late 1980 and rarely took stands on fundamental world issues. More recently, they have tried to present themselves as a "soft" version of the Spartacist League, quite literally formulating positions by first copying programmatic positions out of *Workers Vanguard*, then stripping away the cutting edge which alienates the liberals and reformists. In *The Third International After Lenin*, Trotsky wrote:

> "The revolutionary party of the proletariat can base itself only upon an international program corresponding to the character of the present epoch, the epoch of the highest development and collapse of capitalism."

This was a polemic against the narrow nationalism of the Stalinist bureaucracy. What would Trotsky have said of a tendency that for years only took positions on local campus workers strikes? This "learning by doing" is a lot closer to the Montessori method than to Marxism.

Sollenberger's most notorious "experiment" in the unions was a clerical workers group at the University of Michigan. Combining secret manipulation with a minimalist program, he managed to get a UAW local decertified. Then his little union lost two subsequent certification elections (see *Young Spartacus* No. 80, March 1980). If this waśn't bad enough, Sollenberger instructed his followers in the CDU clericals group to cross picket lines in the bitter 1977 AFSCME Local 1583 eampus workers strike. And when the Spartaeus Youth League (SYL), which had built student support during the strike, condemned this betrayal, the BLT fired back a 59-page single-spaced document to justify its treachery. They returned to the subject in the first issue of *Fighting Worker* (known to *WV* readers as the *Flinching Scab*) with a 3,000-word apologia for picket-line erossing (see "RWG: A Cult for Scabbing," *WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980). In fact, the Sollenbergerites have written more in defense of scabbing than on any other subjeet! And they keep on doing it: last April RWL supporters scabbed on a nurses strike at the U of M hospital.

His clerical organizing come to naught, Sollenberger turned to the other flora and fauna of the local milieu. The RWL's idea of revolutionary politics is to be the left wing of whatever's popular. So in Ann Arbor it does as the A²s do. For the last couple of years it has tailed the various forms of petty-bourgeois lifestylism. It wants to be the best builders of feminist "Take Back the Night" marches, in reality calls for vigilantism and more cops on the streets, and builds sectoralist groups like the Lesbian/Gay Male Community Services. A recent RWL paper on black liberation, its first words on this key question for the Ameriean revolution, calls for a "class-struggle caucus" in the National Black Political Party, a motley collection of black Democrats and nationalists. Where Leninists seek to unite struggles against the common class enemy under proletarian leadership, petty-bourgeois sectoralists set one group of the oppressed against others in competition for the crumbs of capitalism.

If the Sollenbergerites try to present a version of SL politics with the edges rounded off, the Bryants are leftovers from the Healyite Workers League (WL) in the days of Tim Wohlforth. Fighting on the program of the WL before it left the workers movement to become messengers for Qaddafi, the SL-DC's idea of a labor party is one led by the likes of California AFL-CIO secretary John Henning. The Bryant bunch supported the 1977 BART cops strike in the Bay Area and a year later hailed a Memphis police walkout. As for special oppression of women, Tim Wohlforth, from whom Bryant never broke politically, said in 1971: "The working class hates faggots, women's libbers and hippies, and so do we." Such expressions of hard-hat bigotry, like the SL-DC's call for bringing the racist armed thugs of the bourgeois state into the labor movement, express a yearning to beeome the left wing of George Meany-ite business unionism.

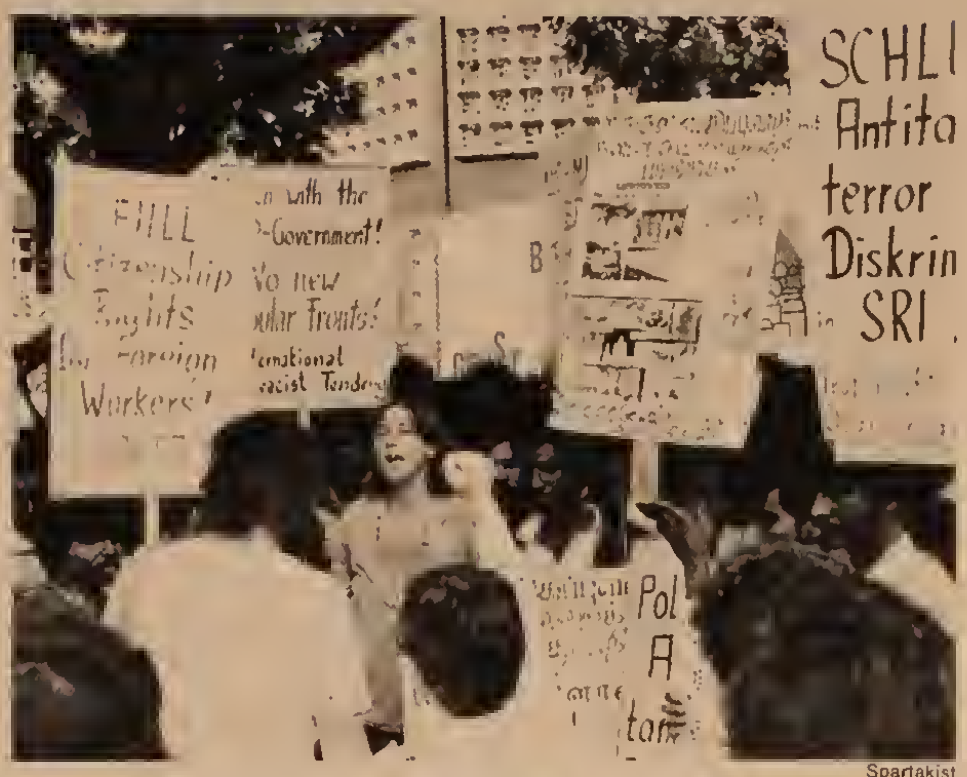
Now these mismatched "comrades" are supposed to sit next to each other in the same organization, and apparently they're none too comfortable about it. To read the RWL's account, Bryant had to eat crow at the fusion conferenee. In the "resolution" of four disputed ques-

Hundreds Join TLD Protest

Asylum for Tamils in West Berlin!

Chanting "Political asylum for the Tamil refugees!" and "Stop the deportation of Tamils!" about 350 people rallied in West Berlin on July 24 to protest the government's deportation of Tamil refugees who had fled from Sri Lanka to West Berlin. The overwhelming majority of those attending the united-front demonstration called by the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency) were themselves Tamils facing the threat of deportation. In the last few months thousands of Tamils from Sri Lanka have arrived in West Berlin seeking political asylum in "democratic" West Germany. They were among the fortunate few who could escape the anti-Tamil state repression in Sri Lanka by getting out on Soviet Aeroflot jetliners bound for East Germany and then crossing over to West Germany. Even well-to-do Tamils have been victimized in the recent wave of repression by Sri Lankan president J.R. Jayewardene's regime aimed at crushing agitation for an independent Tamil state (Tamil Eelam) on the island. A state of emergency was declared in the northern Tamil region of Jaffna, Tamil militants have been abducted and murdered by the police and military, Hindu temples and offices of Tamil organizations have been burned down. (See *WV* No. 285, 17 July).

But the West Berlin Senate, dominated by Jayewardene's brothers under the skin, the Christian Democrats, flatly refused the Tamil refugees' appeals for political asylum. The refugees were forced to camp for nearly a week in West Berlin's main railway station, while friends, civil libertarian organizations and the like tried to find them shelter in transient hotels, camps, school gyms. One refugee was arrested in front of the railway station July 6 and was to be deported on July 24. Another 140 Tamils were arrested by the cops and held pending deportation as illegal immigrants, on the technicality that they failed to have their papers stamped by the West German embassy in Colombo. According to newspaper reports, the police seized many of them as they were standing in line waiting to apply for political asylum!



Spartakist

West Berlin, July 24: German Trotskyists initiate protest against expulsion of Tamils.

Meanwhile, the government and bourgeois press launched a smear campaign trying to deny that the Tamils were political refugees from pogromist terror. (West Germany of course is up to its neck in investments in Sri Lanka's neo-colonialist "Free Trade Zones.") West Berlin's minister of the interior Lummer branded the Tamils as "fake refugees," lured to West Germany in hopes of the good life and high wages. Social affairs minister Fink went so far as to suggest that it all was a Communist plot: "Aeroflot is responsible for the flood of refugees." Some of the more reactionary bourgeois politicians are so worked up over the influx of Tamils that they must be thinking of setting up their own Berlin Wall at Friedrichstrasse to keep out dark-skinned immigrants.

The government gave the Tamil refugees a brutal ultimatum: leave now at our expense, or wait to get deported at your own expense. Faced with this choice, 125 Tamils agreed to "voluntary" deportation on July 21, flying back to Sir Lanka (on a plane chartered from Air Berlin USA) together with some West German journalists. Fifty-six of the Tamils were arrested at the Colombo airport; the first 60 escaped arrest only because the plane landed an hour ahead of schedule. The West German journalists were forbidden to have any contact with spokesmen of the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front, the bourgeois parliamentary voice of the Tamil minority) or other Tamil organizations. The West German ambassador arrived at a scheduled press conference with the journalists only to find that it had been canceled by the government. Reporters trying to file stories had their overseas phone calls simply cut off. Despite this repression and censorship giving the lie to the West Berlin government's claims about "fake refugees," deportation awaits the rest of the Tamils in West Berlin.

Recognizing the urgent need for protest action to stop the deportations, the TLD called for the July 24 West Berlin demonstration as a united-front protest around the slogans "Political Asylum for the Tamil Refugees!" "Stop the Deportations of Tamils!" and "Down with the Anti-Tamil Terror and Discrimination in Sri Lanka!" The demonstration was endorsed and addressed by a spokesman of the local TULF as well as by the civil-libertarian Society for Endangered Peoples. Endorsements for the united-front rally were also received from the Third World Group of the petty-bourgeois Alternative Liste, the League for Human Rights, the Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (German Mandelites), the (ex-)Maoist Kommunistische Bund Westdeutschlands, the Sozialistische Linke and West Berlin member of parliament Rita Kantemir.

A spokesman for the TLD addressed the rally: "We fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers. The Trotzkistische Liga Deutchlands and the international Spartacist tendency stand for the right of the Tamils to achieve national self-determination. The iSt has already held solidarity demonstrations in New York and London. In Colombo, comrades of the Spartacist League/Lanka played a leading role in the battle against the discrimination against Tamil students at the university.

"A determined struggle must be carried out against the attempts of American imperialism to establish military bases on Sri Lanka, to be used in the framework of the Cold War hysteria against the Soviet Union. What is absolutely necessary is a Trotskyist party which unites Sinhalese and Tamil militants on an anti-chauvinist program, and leads the masses of plantation workers, the women and all the oppressed in the struggle for a workers and peasants government in Sri Lanka, as part of a socialist federation of South Asia."■

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tions, the SL-DC backed down on its support to the butcher Khomeini in the reactionary Iran-Iraq war, and now busing is in. But the resolution on cop strikes weasles—formally opposing them but leaving the door open to "tactical" waffling. They report "specific rank-and-file RWL demands" and "impassioned statements by RWL comrades denouncing anti-busing positions" of their fusion partners. The Sollenbergerites really stick it to the SL-DC, emphasizing the "strong political support from the WSL" which forced it to capitulate. And they rubbed in their hegemony claiming a "politically more consolidated and homogeneous character" and "substantially larger size" of the tiny RWL compared to the minuscule SL-DC. No doubt Bryant is now a squeezed lemon, but the militant sectoralists of the RWL have a surprise coming. While they brag that they won on "special oppression issues," the real axis of this fusion is Thornettite labor reformism. A conference resolution argues that a labor party must be built through a "united front" with "sections of the union bureaucracy," and praises the SL-DC's Bay Area campaign for a Meanyite labor party.

We have emphasized that the Sollenberger operation is a cult—which doesn't mean that it doesn't have politics, only that they are subject to abrupt changes depending on the Messiah's revelations. American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon wrote that he had lived 60 years before he discovered the phenomenon of political cults, in the form of the Johnson group in the SWP. Cannon noted: "A megalomaniacal cult leader is liable to jump in any direction at any time, and all the cultists automatically follow as sheep follow the bellwether, even into the slaughter house" ("Factional Struggle and Party Leadership" [November 1953] in *Speeches to the Party*). So now Sollenberger's bevy of counter-cultural lifestylists will be transformed into dyed-in-the-double-knit labor reformists.

Words and Deeds

As long as they were an underground one-campus operation, the Sollenbergerites could try to hide from political combat. But now that they're coming out of the closet they run the danger of falling into the chasm between their often-left talk and their very opportunist action. This is a general characteristic of centrists through history. Trotsky wrote of centrism in the 1930s that:

> "...its main arguments against the rights it borrows from the Marxists, that is first of all from the Bolshevik-Leninists, dulling however, the sharp edge of criticism, avoiding practical conclusions, thereby rendering their criticism meaningless....
> "The struggle with hidden or masked opportunists must therefore be transferred chiefly to the sphere of *practical conclusions from revolutionary requisites*." [emphasis in original]
> —"Centrism and the Fourth International" (March 1934), reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967

The refusal to draw "practical conclusions from revolutionary requisites" is particularly glaring in the case of the RWL, which as an academic dilettante sect sees no need for *any* correspondence between words and deeds.

This dramatic contradiction can be seen in virtually every sphere of its activity. Take the fight to smash fascist terror. In a speech to an anti-Klan teach-in in Ann Arbor, an RWL supporter called for "workers' defense guards as part of our labor/black mobilization," criticized calls on the capitalist government to "ban the Klan" and counterposed "the independent struggle of black and working people against both fascist and so-called 'democratic' capitalists" (*Fighting Worker*, May 1981). As anyone familiar with the American left will recognize, these demands are taken word for word from the Spartacist League, which has fought for years for labor/black defense of minorities while reformists appealed to the racist capitalist state.

This fight is not just on paper but in the streets and the plants. What do the Sollenbergerites do then? We have previously reported how they denounced the only mass anti-KKK demonstration in a northern city following the November 1979 Greensboro massacre—the Detroit Kennedy Square rally which drew 500 participants, mostly black and including many industrial workers—as a "fraud" because it was built by the SL ("Ann Arbor Cult/Sect Slanders Anti-Klan Demo," *Young Spartacus* No. 80, March 1980). But it isn't just sour grapes and organizational sectarianism that motivates the Sollenbergerites. In April 1980 a 1,200-strong labor-centered rally stopped Nazis from marching in San Francisco. The SL-initiated ANCAN demo drew support from several dozen unions and several times as many participants as a CWP-inspired liberal/reformist demo which begged a union-busting mayor to ban the Nazis. Nevertheless, and even though both RWL and SL-DC were given speakers at ANCAN, their joint leaflet denounced the labor rally as "sectarian" while they were in the mini-popular front of Democrats and rag-tag Maoists which sought to avoid a "confrontation" with the Nazis.

On paper the RWL is for labor/black defense; in practice they consistently act as the loyal left wing of class-collaborationist coalitions aimed at pressuring capitalist politicians. Sollenberger & Co. have pushed this contradiction between abstract leftism and concrete opportunism to the limit over El Salvador. As on most subjects, they

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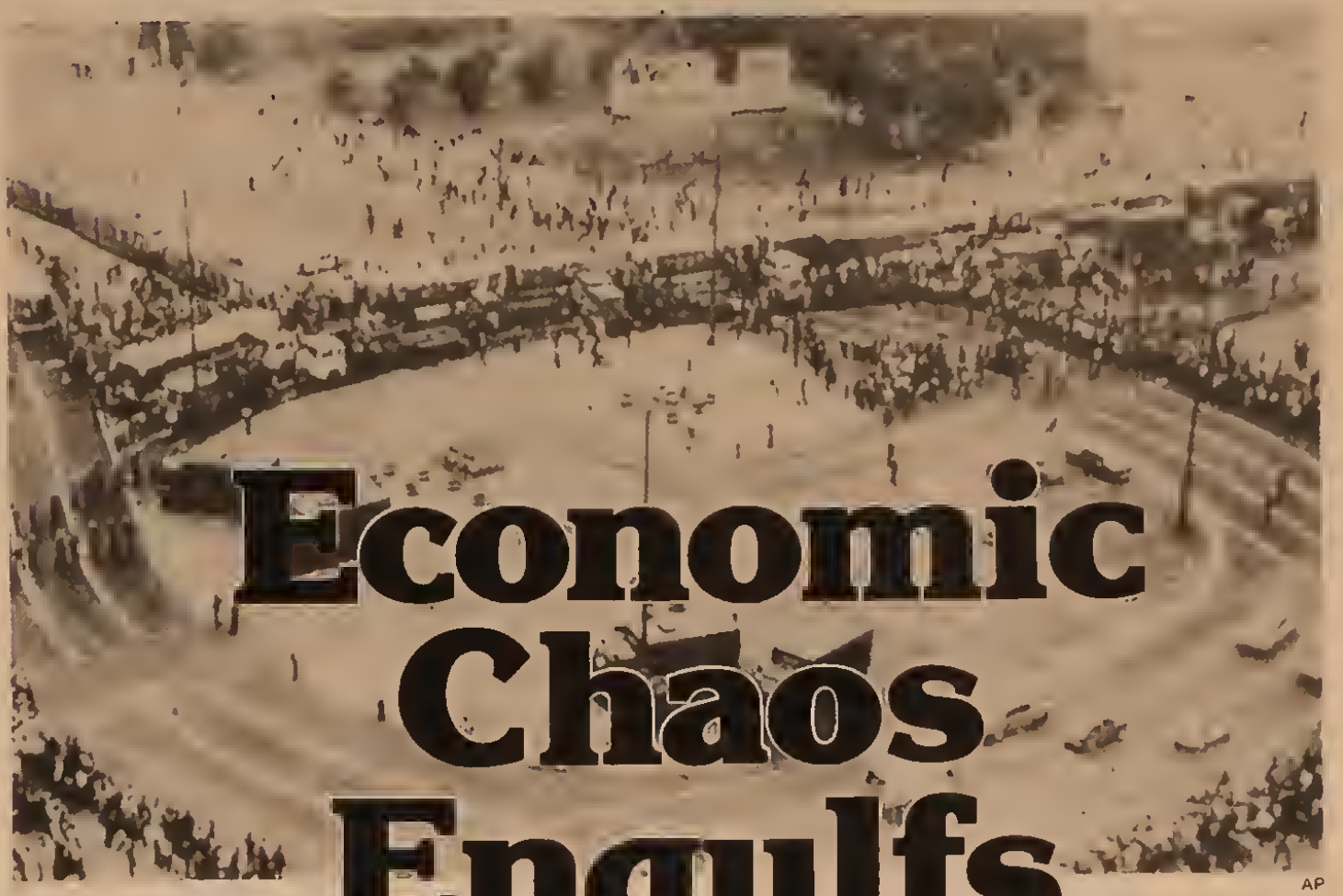
Proletarian Political Revolution Will Put People to Work



AP

Economic Chaos Engulfs Poland

Tens of thousands march through Lodz protesting food shortages. A column of 200 buses and trucks occupies central Warsaw for three days, its organizers demanding that the government reverse a cut of 20 percent in the meat ration. Yet even Solidarity spokesmen admit the ration cut is necessitated by actual shortages. There is no meat, or soap, or cigarettes. And now the government plans price increases of 100-300 percent on basic consumer goods. How long can things go on like this?

Since last summer's general strike gave rise to a powerful new union movement, *Solidarność*, Poland has been in a state of cold dual power. As Solidarity and the weakened regime have gone from confrontation to confrontation, pulling back at the last minute, the country has descended into economic chaos. Partly, people have stopped working since the zlotys they earn no longer buy anything. But at bottom the general collapse of work discipline is political. The official "Communist" system (actually Stalinist bureaucratic rule) is hopelessly discredited. No one believes it is possible to turn the calendar back before August 1980. At the same time, no one knows what will happen tomorrow—there is no longer any positive goal to work for.

No significant force in Poland is fighting for a socialist solution to the crisis. Rather, the prolonged social crisis has generated a deeply anarchic spirit fueled by nationalistic resentment. The "hunger marchers" have lost all sense that to have even chicken in the shops, someone must raise them, butcher them, pluck them and transport them. In order to eat, one must work! Instead they seem to believe that by demonstrating vociferously, cursing the bureaucracy, bemoaning the historic plight of the Polish nation, denouncing Maria Theresa, lamenting the First, Second and Third Partitions and blaming Russia for the Katyn forest massacre, meat will somehow appear in the shops. Perhaps they think that if they make enough trouble, the Russians to pacify them will once more come through with shipments of poultry from their own collective farms, where feed grain is spread by elderly widows of Red Army soldiers killed while liberating Poland from Nazi Germany.

The regime, possibly stiffened by the inclusion of two more generals, has warned that the self-styled "hunger marches" (no one is starving) could lead to "an explosion of national conflict." And they could indeed. In Warsaw on August 3 for the first time police blocked a Solidarity demonstration, preventing it from marching past Communist Party headquarters. And looming over the crisis since the beginning is the possibility of Soviet military intervention, a course evidently viewed by the Kremlin with great reluctance. But regardless of the subjective intentions of the Kremlin, the Warsaw Stalinists and the Solidarity leadership, economic chaos is driving Poland back to the brink. As we wrote in "Whose Poland?" (*WV* No. 279, 24 April):

> "The massive strike wave in the Baltic ports last August brought Polish workers before a historic choice: with the bankruptcy of Stalinist rule dramatically demonstrated, it would be either the path of bloody counterrevolution in league with Western imperialism, or the path of proletarian political revolution."

Roots of Poland's Great Depression

Poland is experiencing an economic collapse in its own way comparable to the capitalist world's Great Depression of the 1930s. The official forecast is that national output will fall 15 percent this year on top of a 4 percent drop in 1980 and a 2.5 percent decline the year before. How can this happen in a planned socialized economy?

The direct origins of the economic crisis lie in the attempt of the bureaucracy under Edward Gierek to buy off the combative working class in the wake of the violent 1970 Baltic Coast uprising. Promising unparalleled prosperity, Gierek went on an unparalleled importing binge. Entire factories and sophisticated capital equipment were purchased from the West on a massive scale, as were finished consumer goods. The Gierek regime expected, or at any rate hoped, to pay for all this by producing a flood of cheap manufactured exports. These hopes were, to put it mildly, unfulfilled. Between 1971 and 1975 the import bill was *double* export earnings and by 1976 Stalinist Poland was into the bankers of Frankfurt and Wall Street for over $10 billion.

The Gierek regime mortgaged the Polish economy not only to Western finance capital but also to its own rural petty capitalists. While freezing food prices for urban consumers, the government raised procurement prices paid to the landowning peasants. As a result the food subsidy increased *twenty times* in the 1970s and now accounts for 70 percent of the price paid to farmers. Private peasants receive 14 zlotys for a liter of milk, which is sold to consumers in the shops for 2.90 zlotys. Despite the additional incentives Poland's aging, inefficient smallholders cannot produce nearly enough to meet the increased consumer demand. And despite the Stalinists' conciliatory policies the rural petty bourgeoisie remains deeply anti-communist and under the sway of clerical reaction. Its basic social attitude was recently summed up by British journalist Tim Garton Ash: "It is the conservative Catholic peasants of South-Eastern Poland who would overthrow communism at the drop of a Cardinal's hat" (*Spectator*, 14 February 1981).

In June 1976 the Gierek regime made an effort to get out of the economic hole it had dug for itself. To free up agricultural produce for export, it announced a food price increase averaging 60 percent. The workers responded with violent strikes and demonstrations and within 24 hours the price increases were rescinded. Instead, to save scarce foreign exchange, the government cut back imports of raw materials and intermediate goods, while maintaining a high level of imports of meat, other foodstuffs and finished consumer goods (including Sony TV sets)! In the late 1970s Poland consumed annually 70 kilos of meat per capita, more than Italy or Spain. At the same time, many factories couldn't fulfill their plan due to shortages of necessary foreign-produced inputs.

Der Spiegel

Former Polish leader Edward Gierek (left) mortgaged economy to Helmut Schmidt's West Germany, attempting to buy off combative working class.

Contributing to the growing crisis was a disintegration of labor discipline, a reaction to Gierek's spectacular loss of credibility over the June '76 events. When the government told workers to tighten their belts, they responded by voting with their productivity and the vote was no confidence. An American diplomat in Poland in the late 1970s recalls: "A plant manager once told me it was difficult for him to tell whether it was simply a normal work-day in the factory or whether the workers were engaged in a slow-down or working to rule" (R.T. Davis, "Political-Economic Dynamics in Eastern Europe: The Polish Case" in U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *East European Economic Assessment* [1981]).

The foreign exchange shortage did not spare agriculture as the government cut back pesticide imports and couldn't supply spare parts for Western-made farm machinery. The peasants too sensed the post-'76 weakness of the Gierek regime and agitated for higher procurement prices, cheaper inputs and other benefits. In 1979, priest-led peasant strikes combined with bad weather to reduce the grain crop below its 1976 level. With a time lag the feed grain shortfall has ravaged the livestock herds. In the past half year the number of cattle has reportedly decreased 7 percent and the number of pigs 13 percent (*Economist*, 1 August).

To maintain social peace in its important military ally, the Soviet Union has continually paid off Poland's Western creditors. Despite this the Polish economy was sinking under the weight of massive foreign debt and increasing internal unrest.

Solidarity and Cold Dual Power

Last summer the Gierek regime made yet another desperate attempt to get Poland to live within its means. For the third time in a decade the bureaucracy tried to raise food prices. The result is a crisis that could alter the postwar world.

A series of localized wage strikes culminated in a well-organized political general strike which shut down the Baltic Coast for two weeks. To prevent the strike from spreading throughout Poland, the regime recognized the right to independent trade unions, the first time this has ever happened in a Stalinist-ruled state. Within months of the August 31 Gdansk agreement the new union movement embraced practically the entire Polish working class, including one million members of the Communist party. The depth of the social transformation is indicated by Polish sociologist Stefan Nowak: "The speed with which 10 million Poles assembled in the Solidarity movement testifies to the strength of the needs the movement serves" ("Values and Attitudes of the Polish People," *Scientific American*, July 1981). Nowak observes that "skilled workers are now the main social force in Poland."

Yet while having a committed mass proletarian base, the new union movement has from its inception been led by pro-clerical/nationalist forces hostile to the Soviet Union and sympathetic to the capitalist "free world." Lech Walesa and his colleagues see themselves leading the entire Polish nation against "Russian-imposed Communism." This is most graphically expressed by their fulsome support to the peasant smallholders organization, Rural Solidarity. Thus, the danger is real that the Polish crisis could enormously strengthen capitalist-restorationist forces. And with the political strength of the Catholic church, now headed by a Polish pope, the danger of counterrevolution is not at all abstract.

Der Spiegel

Shopping in Poland: No meat, no soap, no cigarettes. In order to eat one must work.

Since the Gdansk agreement we have maintained that the central task of a revolutionary (Trotskyist) vanguard in Poland would be to *polarize* the new union movement, winning the majority of workers away from the anti-Soviet nationalistic leadership around Walesa. Trotskyists would fight within Solidarity for a program centering on the strict separation of church and state, unconditional military defense of the Soviet bloc against capitalism-imperialism, a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and establishment of a government based on democratically elected workers councils (soviets), to carry out socialist economic planning (including the collectivization of agriculture). This program offers a socialist *way out* of the desperate and seemingly endless crises wracking Poland.

The Stalinist bureaucracy is not a class but a caste which rules through the monopolization of political organization. Whatever the pious statements of the beleaguered Warsaw regime, it cannot coexist with an independent union movement, much less one with the elemental social force of Solidarity. Kania, Rakowski & Co. have just bought some time for themselves at the price of economic chaos.

Under pressure from Solidarity, the government has raised wages over 20 percent while production has dropped through the floor, in good part due to the introduction of the five-day workweek in January. The output of coal, the main export commodity, has fallen 20 percent in the last year and barely meets domestic requirements. The agricultural situation is, if anything, worse. Meat supplies are down 20 percent. The 1980 potato harvest was cut in half, sugar beet production by one quarter. To adjust demand to supply the regime has announced it is increasing the price of food and other necessities on average by 110 percent (!) while freezing wages. Poland is an extreme case of suppressed inflation about to become an extreme case of unsuppressed inflation.

The drastic cut in production and consumption has not eased the balance-of-payments deficits. On the contrary, since the Gdansk agreement Poland's hard-currency debt has jumped from $21 to $27 billion. The Polish Stalinists have responded to the crisis by becoming yet more dependent on Western finance capital. Meanwhile, they have relied on the Kremlin to bail them out—to the tune of $4.5 billion in bilateral and hard currency credits since last summer's strikes.

They are also moving toward greater dependence on their own petty capitalists. The new five-year plan (in itself a truly pollyannaish act of optimism) calls for increasing the share of agriculture in investment from 15 to 25 percent of which three-fourths will go to private farms (*Economist*, 11 July). In other words, almost 20 percent of all state investment funds are to be placed in the hands of the landowning peasantry, considerably strengthening the social basis for counterrevolution. But one needn't give this particular bureaucratic five-year plan much credence. The showdown in Poland is coming long before then and will be decided by very different forces.

A Workers Poland, Yes!

The deepening anarchy in Poland and the imminence of violent clashes between Solidarity and the regime could bring Russian soldiers into the streets of Lodz and Warsaw to restore bureaucratic order. No doubt the Stalinists' justification would be the need to "combat counterrevolution." Certainly there are sizable forces for the restoration of capitalism, from the landowning peasantry to the Catholic church. Yet it is the main counterrevolutionary force in the world, U.S. imperialism, that is trying to *provoke* the Kremlin over Poland. Reagan/Haig want to see Polish workers throwing Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks in order to fuel their anti-Soviet war drive.

At best, Soviet military intervention would *freeze* the political differentiation

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Solidarity Leaders Against Planned Economy

"Market Socialism" Is Anti-Socialist

While Solidarity leader Lech Walesa's favorite posture is that of a simple trade unionist, bread-and-butter trade unionism is impossible in Poland today. There is no bread and butter. At the time of the Gdansk agreement last summer we wrote: "The present large wage increases now being granted will lead either to wild inflation or even longer waiting lines" ("Polish Workers Move," *WV* No. 263, 5 September 1980). By now practically every member of Solidarity must know that demanding and getting higher money wages and shorter hours only makes the economic condition worse. The *Solidarność* leadership is under pressure from their most responsible members, as well as sympathetic intellectuals and bureaucrats, to come up with some positive program to get out of the economic crisis.

Solidarity's numerous leftist-lawyers in the West, like Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, keep arguing that its leaders have never actually called for the restoration of capitalism, though they almost never say anything good about a socialized economy. In point of fact, Walesa has praised American economic imperialism and called for its greater penetration into Poland. When asked by the liberal West German *Der Spiegel* (15 June) where would the investment funds come from to restructure the Polish economy, the Solidarity chief replied: "... perhaps from the West in the form of joint companies. I have seen for myself on my Japanese trip how strongly American capital has contributed to Japan's enormous economic ascent."

Solidarity's most comprehensive and authoritative statement of economic program to date is a document, "The Course of Union Action in the Country's Present Situation," published in the 17 April *Solidarity Weekly* (translated in *Intercontinental Press*, 22 and 29 June). This document advocates an extreme version of "the Yugoslav model," calling for autonomous enterprises based on workers self-management:

> "...they [the self-management bodies] should have the right to exercise control over the assets of the concern, to decide on the aims of production and sales, the choice of production methods, and investment goals. They should also decide on the distribution of the profits of the enterprise."

The document further specifies that "concerns should be self-financing, that is, they should be able to cover their costs out of their own earnings."

One doesn't know whether the Solidarity leadership is seriously commited to the Yugoslav model or is simply setting on paper the conventional formulae for liberal economic reform in East Europe. What is clear, however, is that if realized, the Solidarity program would be an even greater catastrophe for the Polish working class than that brought about by the Stalinists' incredible mismanagement and ever greater concessions to bourgeois forces.

With the Polish economy on the downhill side of a roller coaster ride, free-market competition and self-financing would immediately bankrupt hundreds of enterprises throwing hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers into the streets. Significantly, the only group of Polish workers which actually seems to be pushing for self-management are the employees of the national airline, LOT, a state *monopoly*. The authors of the Solidarity program are realistic enough to know that theirs is a recipe for instant mass layoffs:

> "The union recognizes that the enterprises will have the right to make changes in their employment levels as they need to. But the government authorities will still be responsible for carrying out a full employment policy.... The self-financing of enterprises may also result in some having to cut back or close down."

So the self-managers are to be free to lay off workers at will and somehow the government has to find ways to reemploy them all! Just like it is supposed to find food when there isn't any. Here Solidarity's scheme is far worse—more ruthlessly capitalistic—than Yugoslav practice. In Yugoslavia enterprises are prohibited from dismissing a worker for economic reasons without securing "equivalent substitute employment" for him. But under Solidarity's plan the majority of "self-managers" can get rid of the workers in an unprofitable or marginal department in order to bolster their own income. Solidarity indeed!

Inequality and Unemployment

Socialism means a democratically administered, planned, egalitarian and internationally organized economy. Before the rise of Stalinism practically no one who considered himself a socialist disputed these basic principles. The program of "market socialism" has nothing in common with socialism. It is basically a product of liberal Stalinism.

The impetus for "market socialism" in East Europe does not come from the workers, but rather from a technocratic wing of the bureaucracy seeking in this way to overcome the rigidities and wastefulness of traditional Stalinist planning. When implemented, however, inter-enterprise competition, allowing enterprises to trade on the world market, etc., produces strong capitalistic tendencies. The leading advocates of "market socialism," like the Czech Ota Sik and the Pole Wlodzimierz Brus, are invariably on the far right of the Stalinist bureaucracies. The immediate effects of inter-enterprise competition, increased unemployment and greater wage differentials, are always resented by the workers as in Hungary and also in Czechoslovakia in 1968.

We can judge the effects of "market socialism" from life itself. Autonomous enterprises under workers self-management were introduced to the world by Tito's Yugoslavia shortly after the break with Stalin in 1948. Workers councils elect the management and control after-tax revenues. Enterprises are, however, subject to certain decisive restrictions which still define them as state, not group, property. Enterprises cannot liquidate themselves or sell off their physical plant without government

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"Market Socialism"...

(continued from page 7)

approval. Workers have a share in enterprise profits only so long as they are employed there; they have no property rights *per se*. (For a perceptive, though now somewhat dated, analysis of the Yugoslav model and its contradictions, see Theo Schulze, "Yugoslavia's Way: the Workers' Council System," *International Socialist Review*, Summer 1962.)

Certain New Left Stalinist confusionists like Paul Sweezy and Charles Bettelheim have praised workers self-management à la Yugoslavia, while deploring market competition between enterprises. In the real world such a separation is not possible. If workers are to be fully master in their own factory, they cannot lay claim to the state budget for additional wage or investment funds. Expenditure by a given enterprise for wages, bonuses, new facilities, etc. can be limited by the revenue from the sale of its product or limited by the decision of a centralized economic administration. But expenditures must be limited somehow. Socialist revolution does not abolish the economic home truth that there is no such thing as a free lunch.

"Market socialism" by its very nature generates increased income inequalities and unemployment. Moreover, the profitability or unprofitability of a concern is usually only marginally affected by the diligence of its workforce. In general the most important factor determining the difference between selling price and cost is the relative *age* of the plant. Under "market socialism" workers unfortunately stuck in older enterprises are penalized with lower incomes than their fellow workers employed in new or newly retooled plants. The second major factor governing enterprise profitability is supply and demand conditions on the domestic and/or world market, again something the workers have no control over. Under Solidarity's scheme Polish coal miners, for example, would benefit when OPEC pushed up the price of oil, thereby increasing demand for coal, and suffer when the world oil market was in glut (as at present). "Market socialism" *violates* the elementary principle, shared by trade unionists as well as socialists, of equal pay for equal work.

The Yugoslav Experience

In Yugoslavia we can see the full flowering to date of "market socialism." After three decades of workers self-management Yugoslavia suffers *the highest rate of inflation in Europe*, East or West, a 14 percent unemployment rate and gross inequalities throughout economic life. The unemployment rate would be far higher still except that the authorities routinely bail out enterprises in financial trouble at the cost of feeding an inflation rate which is now running 50 percent a year (*Economist*, 1 August)! And meanwhile they send their "surplus" sons and daughters to work in capitalist West Europe: remittances from Yugoslavs abroad amount to over half the total value of goods exported.

Inter-enterprise competition combined with federalism has in fact *widened* regional differences, thereby aggravating national conflicts which could rip the country apart. Yugoslavia's most advanced republic, Slovenia, enjoys economic conditions comparable to neighboring Austria's, while Albanian-populated Kosovo more closely resembles Turkey. Moreover, the gap between the richest and poorest regions has increased under "market socialism." In 1952 per capita income in Kosovo was 23 percent of that in Slovenia; by 1977 it was only 15 percent (Laura D'Andrea Tyson and Gabriel Eichler, "Continuity and Change in the Yugoslav Economy in the 1970's and 1980's," in *East European Economic Assessment*). The social surplus produced in Slovenia is largely reinvested in Slovenia. This is clearly seen in the unemployment picture. In 1977 for every vacancy in the socialized sector in Slovenia there were only 1.5 job seekers; in Kosovo there were 35 job seekers for every vacancy! Inequalities of this magnitude can easily fuel reactionary nationalistic movements and provide exploitable material for imperialist intrigues.

While the Soviet Union is far from free of national conflicts and Great Russian chauvinism, centralized planning has enabled it to appreciably *narrow* the once vast gulf between the wretchedly backward peoples of Central Asia and those of European Russia. The liberal British economist Alec Nove, no admirer of the Soviet economic system, acknowledges: "The wage rates in Central Asia are similar to those in Central Russia, the prices of cotton, citrus fruits, grapes, tobacco, have been relatively favourable, the social services provided in Central Asia have been on the standard 'Soviet' scale, and budget statistics show that additional sums are earmarked for the budgets of backward republics" (*The Soviet Economic System* [1977]). To be sure, a workers government in the Soviet Union would overcome the still great inequalities fostered by the parasitic Kremlin bureaucracy, for example, by encouraging migration from the over-populated Central Asian republics to the labor-short regions of Russia and Siberia.

The Trotskyist Answer to Bureaucratic Centralism

Solidarity's advocacy of enterprise self-management expresses the influence of liberal Stalinist and social-democratic intellectuals on the one hand and possibly primitive syndicalist impulses on the other. It also reflects nationalistic rejection of "Russian Communism." In the Yugoslav and Hungarian deformed workers states the tendency of enterprise autonomy to regenerate capitalistic economic relations is circumscribed and checked by a still strong governmental apparatus. But in the anarchic conditions of Poland, self-managed enterprises could free themselves from all but nominal state control.

If carried out, Solidarity's program would add mass unemployment to the miseries afflicting the Polish workers, would facilitate imperialist economic penetration and would strengthen the forces pushing for capitalist restoration. Capitalist restoration would mean bloody counterrevolution, not a peaceful, gradual, purely economic process. But any market-oriented "reforms," further atomizing the Polish economy, can only increase the counterrevolutionary danger.

The advocates of "market socialism" like Brus and Sik argue that traditional Soviet-type planning wastes enormous resources, especially in the consumer goods sector. It produces frequently shoddy goods. Unwanted items pile up in warehouses, while other commodities are chronically in short supply. All this is true and comes as no news whatsoever to Trotskyists.

Even before Stalin drove down the living standards with his first five-year plan, the Left Opposition denounced bureaucratic arbitrariness in economic administration and indifference to consumer well-being. The 1927 Platform of the Joint Opposition called for "the lowering of prices [which] affects above all the objects of mass consumption among the workers and peasants." It further specifies a "price-lowering policy, more adapted to the conditions of the market, more individualized—that is, taking into greater consideration the market position of each kind of goods."

In 1932, at the height of Stalin's economic adventurism, Trotsky wrote:

> "The participation of workers themselves in the leadership of the nation, of its policies and economy; an actual control over the bureaucracy; and the growth in the feeling of responsibility of those in charge to those under them—all these would doubtless react favorably on production itself: the friction would be reduced, the costly economic zigzags would likewise be reduced to a minimum, a healthier distribution of forces and equipment would be assured, and ultimately the coefficients of growth would be raised. Soviet democracy is first of all the vital need of national economy itself."
>
> —*What Next? Vital Questions for the German Proletariat*

Obviously a workers government should produce the types of consumer goods people want with the most efficient use of resources. But this has nothing to do with atomized competition between enterprises. The central economic administration in close consultation with consumer cooperatives should continually adjust the output of different goods to satisfy market demand. Clearly it makes no sense—except to some deluded Gosplan *apparatchik*—to apply long-term targets to the number of shoes delivered to various department stores or wrenches supplied to various garages. The objects of the long-term plan are the construction of new factories, mines, railroads, airports, etc., major retooling operations, urban renewal and the like.

As Trotsky wrote a long time ago, only the *interaction* of workers democracy, the plan and the market can guide the economy through the transitional epoch from capitalism to communism. This is the goal of Trotskyists' call for proletarian political revolution in the bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers states: not backward to the anarchy of the market with its inflation and unemployment, its national chauvinism and imperialist war, but forward to socialism through an international planned economy based on soviet democracy. ■

Walesa (center) in solidarity with reactionary Polish Catholic church.

Chaos Engulfs Poland...

(continued from page 7)

within the working class necessary for the only progressive solution of the Polish crisis: proletarian political revolution. At a minimum it would postpone the decisive confrontation between the workers and their Stalinist rulers. But it could do far worse. It could spark violent resistance by the Poles, leading to a bloodbath that would crush the working class into the ground politically and produce an explosion of anti-Russian nationalism that would take years, perhaps decades to overcome. This would be not merely a defeat for the socialist movement but a historic catastrophe.

Solidarity's opposition to a centrally planned economy (expressed in calls for "self-managed enterprises"—see accompanying article) and its "hunger marches" both express the anarchy which has engulfed the country. Poland does not need anarchy—it needs a socialist order. If ever there was a crying need for socialist economic planning, it is Poland today. But socialist economic planning is possible only under the leadership of an authentically revolutionary workers party. And this requires the ouster of the Stalinist bureaucracy which undermines socialized property. Polish workers and the international proletariat *must defend* the revolutionary conquests that made it possible for Poland to build out of the rural backwardness of the East European plains the tenth largest industrial country in the world!

There can be no thought of a working-class solution to the economic crisis without the *collectivization of agriculture* and the *cancellation of the imperialist debt*. Yet both these programs are directly counter to the clerical-nationalism of the Solidarity leadership. Solidarity's solidarity of the Polish nation causes it to champion the organized peasant smallholders, even as they drive up food prices while reducing supplies. The cancellation of the capitalist debt would be met with reprisals, economic and political. A revolutionary workers government would counter such imperialist retaliation by appealing to the West European working class to become comrades in a new venture, the Socialist United States of Europe. Such an appeal is not merely inconceivable to Walesa and his colleagues, it goes against their entire political outlook.

The notion of "socialism in one country"—with or without workers self-management—is a Stalinist ideological fantasy. Certainly there can be no "independent, socialist Poland" somehow unaffected by the drive of capitalism-imperialism to destroy the Soviet Union. A socialist future for Poland depends on the revolutionary unity of Polish and Russian workers, a unity directed against the Stalinist bureaucracy whose decades-long capitulation to bourgeois forces is responsible for the present disastrous situation. Poland urgently requires an ambitious economic plan to restructure industry and bring about a technological revolution in agriculture, based on the collectivized economy of proletarian state power. A workers political revolution throughout Stalinist-ruled East Europe, led by Trotskyist parties, would inspire the enthusiasm, self-sacrifice and work discipline to put Poland back to work—and open the road to socialism. ■

NOTICE

The next issue of Workers Vanguard will be dated September 11.

Centrists...

(continued from page 5)

were silent for months even though it was dominating left politics in the U.S. Eventually a two-part article presented a historical summary concluding with calls for a workers militia, red army, workers councils and a workers and peasants government. But it fudges every current disputed issue. It recognizes there are "bourgeois elements" in the FDR opposition coalition, but doesn't mention the word popular front or call for workers to break from it. It calls for a "workers party," not even referring to Trotskyism or the program of permanent revolution (*Fighting Worker*, July 1981).

For the May 3 marches in Washington and SF, the RWL and SL-DC were even more verbally radical. A joint leaflet called for "military victory of the workers and small farmers," "break with the capitalists," "defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack" and for labor political strikes against imperialist intervention—all demands which have been raised virtually alone by the Spartacist League. At the marches, the SL/SYL organized an Anti-Imperialist Contingent around demands for leftist military victory and defense of Cuba/USSR begins in El Salvador. This was the class-struggle answer to the popular-front Peoples Antiwar Mobilization (PAM) which called only for "self-determination," and whose Pentagon rally featured Democrat Bella Abzug and FDR leader Ramos, both calling for a "political solution" with sections of the killer junta. Where did the RWL and SL-DC stand when the line between revolution and counterrevolution was drawn?

The Sollenbergerites knew which side they were on—they stood with the bourgeoisie and the reformists. On paper they say break with the Democrats; in the streets they're arm-in-arm with Bella. In their leaflet they say break with bourgeois elements of the FDR; at the Pentagon they're there with the CP/SWP/WWP all cheering for Ramos. Their paper call for military victory is sheer treachery when they loyally troop along for PAM, which calls for sellout negotiations. Nowhere has the RWL published a single criticism of PAM. And when Sam Marcy's goons drew the class line by blocking demonstrators from reaching the anti-imperialist rally, Sollenberger's "socialist scabs" felt right at home marching along with Marcy. Now the RWL is up to its armpits in PAM, both in Ann Arbor and the Bay Area—while "bringing to it the idea of breaking with the Democrats," of course—and has explicitly excused the Marcyites' anti-communist exclusion.

Party and Class

"A centrist swears readily by the policy of the united front, emptying it of its revolutionary content and transforming it from a tactical method into a supreme principle" (Trotsky, "Centrism and the Fourth International"). This is certainly the case with Sollenberger. The RWL's panacea for fighting fascists is "nonsectarian struggle to unite the left." An RWL polemic ("Marxism vs. Spartacism," *Fighting Worker*, February 1981) praises itself for supposedly "consistently nonsectarian struggle to unite the left" and recalls a 1977 BLT proposal for a "united front of the left to continue organizing for a broader united front" to shut down a Nazi bookstore in Detroit. In contrast to this liquidationist, social-democratic conception of concentric circles of "united fronts," Leninists recognize that the division of the working class into separate political organizations is inevitable in this epoch. For the SL and Trotsky the united front is a tactic to unite the working class and its allies in struggle and to win the masses to the leadership of the proletarian vanguard—not the RWL's rotten propaganda blocs which water down the revolutionary program.

Sollenberger liquidates struggle to build a Leninist vanguard party into fluctuating amalgams of the radically discontented. This can also be seen in the RWL/SL-DC's policies on the labor party. The Bryant outfit has a long-standing policy of calling for a reformist labor party as a necessary stage (the first and only, of course, as with stagist theories generally). The RWL, as usual, had no established position. However, in the extremely left-talking May 3 leaflet referred to above, the RWL/SL-DC again borrow demands from the Spartacist League, calling for "Dump the pro-capitalist, back-stabbing bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats and Republicans! Build an independent workers' party based on the unions!" This position is in flat contradiction to the fusion conference resolution calling for a "*labor party*" based on a "united front" with sections of the bureaucracy. For Trotskyists, the demand for a workers party is a tactic in the struggle to replace the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership.

Clearly Thornett's Labourite policies are already having an impact. The RWL/SL-DC fusion agreement talks of the "transitional approach or method" as distinct from Trotsky's Transitional Program for socialist revolution. What this centrist "method" means in practice can be seen in the RWL's "experiments" in the trade unions. Their polemic on the united front accuses the SL of "refus-[ing] to join, participate in, or build united-front caucuses." The latter are the old "center-left coalitions" of William Z. Foster, the mainstay of CP reformism in the unions. In contrast the SL fights for caucuses based decisively on a class-struggle program, as opposed to the RWL's cascading "united fronts" with out-of-office bureaucrats.

At the giant Ford River Rouge Local 600, the Spartacist League politically supports the Rouge Militant Caucus which recently ran candidates for local president and vice president. The Sollenbergerites back a caucus, the CMDUAW, which in turn is allied with a radical-reformist skilled trades group (the *Local 600 Organizer*), and dissident bureaucrats in a United Front Slate. In the middle of the campaign, the UFS presidential candidate deserted, complaining that he had been "used," and endorsed the incumbent bureaucracy. The RWL goes through some ritual criticism of the Slate program, whose main point is that the platform says nothing about defending planned economy in Russia and Poland. And this is no accident, for it turns out that the *Local 600 Organizer* leader agrees with the pro-CIA Solidarity House line for "free and democratic trade unions in Poland like UAW president Doug Fraser" calls for!

Scab International?

Noting the RWL's growing collaboration with the British WSL, we wrote last fall that its programmatic basis was more than suspect: "...this must be the first time someone has actually thought to build an International of strikebreakers" (*WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980). Now it is a fact, for the real significance of the RWL/SL-DC fusion is Sollenberger joining up with Thornett. The RWL's account of the conference is sprinkled with references to the "inspiration" by the "WSL's revolutionary work in the British trade unions." They both cross picket lines, don't they? They also bragged that two public RWL/SL-DC forums in late May featuring a WSL speaker were the "best possible public expression of the ongoing fusion process." In a sense, they're right. They were held under the Third Campist title, "The Struggle Against Imperialism and Stalinism," implicitly equating the two, and in both cases they failed to answer *any* of the political attacks on RWL/SL-DC and WSL opportunism by Spartacist comrades in attendance.

Meanwhile, Thornett's fusion with Sean Matgamna's I-CL will mean the disappearance of the WSL as a public force. The WSL paper *Socialist Press* has published its last issue, and it will now be absorbed by Matgamna's Labour Party "entrist" newspaper, *Socialist Organiser*. WSL members will be part of the Socialist Organiser Alliance, where Thornett no doubt hopes he can hide from the Spartacists. Once again it's fuse first, discuss later: there are differences over Pabloism, Afghanistan, the Common Market and the general strike...at least. A fusion report in *Socialist Organiser* (30 July) says that "Afghanistan came up for discussion more than once" in the negotiations, as one might expect, since the I-CL calls for withdrawal of Soviet troops and WSL opposes it (although "condemning" the Red Army intervention against CIA-backed reactionaries). But such differences (over a key issue in the anti-Soviet Cold War II) didn't stop Thornett from any of his other maneuvers (TILC, RWL/SL-DC fusion).

This is the shining "international" which the RWL has just joined. And with it they acquire some political baggage which they will finally have to defend. The mammoth 1977 document ("Trotskyism vs. Sectarianism") in defense of scabbing distributed by Sollenberger's BLT contains the following prophetic statement:

> "The SYL seems to hold the view that if one crosses the SYL's invisible picket line today, he will vote for the popular front tomorrow."

To set matters straight, those picket lines were very real, so much so that CDUers covered their faces with their coats as they walked across. And now the RWL is in the camp of those who vote for the "workers parties of the popular front." Today the WSL votes for the pro-NATO popular front of Mitterrand in France. That is qualitatively the same (although Mitterrand is more rightist) as voting for Allende's Unidad Popular in 1970, which set the stage for the bloody Santiago coup three years later. And in the U.S., Sollenberger is already in bed with NYC loudmouth Democrat Abzug in PAM, a reincarnation of the NPAC popular front from the days of the Vietnam War.

Yes indeed, those who cross picket lines today will join the popular front tomorrow...at the very least. In fact, "socialist" scabs are capable of far worse. Is this just another way station for the BLT/BLG/RWG/RWL? Where will Pied Piper Peter go from here?■

SL Protests Deukmejian Set-Up

August 1, 1981

Last week the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League, Marxist political organizations, served legal papers on California Attorney General George Deukmejian, suing him for wrongfully including us in his 1979 "Report on Organized Crime" which characterized us as a species of outlaws, terrorists and criminals. That we do not appear in the just released 1980 report is a shamefaced admission by Deukmejian that we are not "terrorists" or "criminals."

A spokesman for the Attorney General's office said it stands by its 1979 report and claims our exclusion from this year's report is based on "less activity" in 1980. In fact we were very active in our typical way. For example, in 1980 we initiated the April 19 Committee Against Nazis, which successfully prevented the Nazis from "celebrating Hitler's birthday" in the San Francisco Civic Center by a mass mobilization of labor unions and community organizations. Last November, we ran Diana Coleman, whose slogan was "Enough! It's time for a Workers Party!" as a candidate for the San Francisco Board of Supervisors. Coleman received over 7,000 votes.

Our inclusion in Deukmejian's 1979 report is a murderous effort to set the Spartacist League up for government and right-wing harassment and violence. The fact that we do not appear in the current report still leaves our organizations in grave jeopardy.

State terrorism report s

SACRAMENTO (AP) — The Ku Klux Klan expanded rapidly last year, and more of the same is coming, a report by the California attorney general's office says.

The annual report on terrorism, released yesterday, also said there was a surge of terrorism by groups identified with foreign political movements — at least 12 bomb and assassination incidents were blamed on them during 1980 after minimal violence in 1979.

And California's youth gangs also grew during the year, it said.

But the report, by Attorney General George Deukmejian, didn't mention the small Marxist group called the Spartacist League, which last year's version of the report called a "dangerous faction."

The Spartacist League filed suit last week demanding that a retraction be circulated as widely as the original report. Deukmejian's office said the Spartacists were left out of the new report for lack of act

The new report said the Ku K in 1976, no

California."

Other domestic extremist g International Committee Again element of the Progressive Labor advocates violence to bring about has a long-standing feud with the

INCAR was involved in a Sacramento, Fontana, Rialto, C during 1980, the report said.

The only other domestic were the Communist Worker bombings are attributed, and t report said had little success in year.

The report described these groups":

• Taiwanese Extremists, also c

San Francisco Examiner

30 July 1981

We are not terrorists, but Marxist revolutionists, Trotskyists, who oppose terrorism as a futile, despairing strategy that turns away from the working class struggle to abolish capitalism. We demand that our names be removed from the 1979 report and that the retraction be circulated as widely as the report.

The efforts of the Spartacist League in California and elsewhere are to organize a workers party to struggle for the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class. The working class and its party have the right to organize. But Deukmejian willfully confuses Marxist education with terrorism. Socialists who believe that the Soviet Union is right in Afghanistan, who are for the victory of leftist insurgents in El Salvador, have the right to say so in the labor movement without being labeled as terrorists.

George Deukmejian is a conservative law-and-order politician and promotes that image to further his political career. But we will not allow him to brand us as terrorists and criminals. The people of California should beware of this new Joe McCarthy.

Al Nelson
Spartacist League

Airports...

(continued from page 1)

walked out of the union after the strike vote was taken! This "professionalist" attitude leads them to look more to pressure from the airlines than to appeal for solidarity from the labor movement. There needs to be *one single union* of airline workers embracing pilots, controllers, mechanics, baggage handlers, etc.

A socially conservative group, the controllers are particularly susceptible to the growing anti-Soviet political climate. In the hysteria following Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, New York controllers "boycotted" an Aeroflot jet carrying Russian ambassador Dobrynin, threatening a possible crash. PATCO was one of the few unions which supported Reagan for president, not just because they figured he would win anyway and wanted a friend in the White House, but because the controllers believed the right-wing Republican represented their kind of people. Poli says Reagan's savage attack on his union took him quite by surprise.

Surprised or not, PATCO is right up against the capitalist state machinery as Reagan tries to grind down all workers' resistance to exploitation. And what happens now will greatly influence whether or not Reagan can continue to pound the labor movement. The *New York Times* (8 August) in a front page article put it bluntly in the negative:

> "Yet it seems clear that if the Reagan Administration is successful in dealing with the 12,000 air traffic controllers, forcing them out of their jobs and decertifying the union, the American labor movement may have suffered a significant defeat."

On the other hand, if Reagan gets beat, and particularly if he gets beat because the American labor movement exerts its muscle against him, it will be a significant victory, the first in a long time. And one that could significantly increase combativity of the working class in resisting a full-fledged war on labor.

For Labor Solidarity! Shut Down the Airports!

If Reagan is gambling with the lives of air travelers, he is also engaged in another, very different kind of gamble. He is gambling that he can completely destroy a trade union, an affiliate of the AFL-CIO, and the cowardly American labor bureaucracy will just whine and eat it. Attorney General William Smith expects no labor support since "American unions have always been essentially law-abiding" (*New York Times*, 11 August). What about the sit-down strikes of the 1930s, which built these unions? For years the labor movement has been so docile, its leaders so obviously willing to give in rather than fight that a section of the ruling class thinks they can carry out old-fashioned, no-holds-barred union busting and make it stick. And so far they have.

Auto Workers' head Doug Fraser actually denounced the controllers for going on strike. It "could cause massive damage to the labor movement," he whimpered. AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland gave half-hearted verbal support to the controllers, admitting that Reagan was "union busting," and even briefly picketed as a gesture. But when a *WV* reporter asked whether he would support solidarity strikes, he replied, "I do not call for strikes." And Kirkland reaffirmed that union-buster Reagan would be duly invited to the AFL-CIO convention this fall. A few bureaucrats actually managed to get angry at Reagan. New York City AFL-CIO boss Harry Van Arsdale compared him to Adolf Hitler who "crushed the whole labor movement." But, as the saying goes, talk is cheap. Not a single union leader has called for labor *action*.

Here the Machinists union (IAM) is key. IAM president William Winpisinger, self-styled radical "troublemaker" on the AFL-CIO executive board and vice-chairman of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, could win this strike quickly. Yet this most prominent social-democratic union leader has *done nothing* to stop Reagan's strikebreaking in his own turf. He has left it up to individual IAM members to honor the PATCO picket lines. But IAM mechanics are still servicing planes guided by scab controllers. And that must end! Machinists: strike the airports!

If Reagan thinks he can count on the wretchedness of the American union bureaucracy, the workers movement in other countries is something else again. Reagan with his right-wing tough-guy image is very unpopular in Europe, where he is generally seen as a trigger-happy warmonger who will blow us all to kingdom come. Now is a perfect chance for European workers to hit back at the reactionary American monarch. Air travel is an international industry *par excellence*. An international labor boycott of American air space and airlines could be decisive in winning the strike and would be a hard blow against Reagan.

With growing momentum we've seen foreign controllers taking action on behalf of their American counterparts. French controllers (no doubt remembering their own strike) have been delaying flights to the U.S. More importantly, the Canadian controllers, who cover the north Atlantic, have defied their own government and refused to handle flights to and from the U.S. The Portuguese controllers, who cover the south Atlantic, have announced they may do the same. This could shut down all air travel between the U.S. and Europe.

"Nearly all the scattered support that the nation's striking air traffic controllers have received so far has come from foreign workers, not from American workers or American unions," observes the *New York Times* (11 August). But Reagan's basic intent is to challenge the American labor movement. And if American labor does not act in solidarity with the controllers, this will encourage the ruling class in further union-busting attacks. American labor must follow the lead of the Canadian and European controllers!

WV Photo

"London, Belfast, Liverpool— Smash Bloody Thatcher's Rule"

BOSTON—Some 160 people, shouting, blowing whistles and banging garbage can lids demonstrated here July 16, protesting British occupation of Northern Ireland. The protest was called outside Symphony Hall, where the "Daughters of the British Empire" were attending the performance as a group. Margaret Thatcher's effigy was strung from the nearest lamppost and her picture graced the "Wanted for Murder" posters which many of the demonstrators carried.

The protest was called by Irish Northern Aid, Irish Prisoners of War and other local Irish groups. Supporters of the Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) comprised the only left-wing contingent present, carrying signs reading "Thatcher Out of Ireland, Reagan Out of El Salvador!" and "Not Green Against Orange but Class Against Class!" A Spartacist chant calling for internationalist opposition to British imperialism—"London, Belfast, Liverpool—Smash Bloody Thatcher's Rule"—was picked up by a number of marchers.

The Capitalist State vs. Workers Power

Reagan says that in striking the controllers have violated their oath and broken the law. There used to be a saying, you can't strike against the government. Well, that notion was exploded in 1970 when 200,000 postal workers wildcatted nationwide. Nixon called in the army, but quickly learned you can't sort mail with bayonets. After that the postal unions gained significant concessions.

Union bureaucrats *hide behind* reactionary no-strike laws, like New York's Taylor Law or the Taft-Hartley Act prohibiting secondary labor strikes, to avoid struggle. Ultimately, of course, when it is in capitalism's interest, *all* hard-fought strikes quickly become "illegal," as the miners found out in 1978 when Carter invoked Taft-Hartley to try to smash their struggle. But laws are only paper reflections of the real relations of class forces. The miners, conscious of their power and solidarity, put the Taft-Hartley injunctions to the bonfire, reducing them to the worthless scraps of paper they were. At bottom it is not a question of legal rights, but of class power. And at moments like the present one, this basic Marxist premise is starkly revealed.

The union bureaucrats fear any struggle which would pit them square up against the capitalist state. There is no middle way. As Trotsky said, the unions in this epoch of imperialist decay can serve either as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism or instruments of the revolutionary movement of the working class. Indeed, part of the reason for Reagan's hardline crusade to break the controllers' union is the bonapartist appetite of the bourgeois state for the statification of the public workers' unions. This was clear from a report, "The Airlines: Air Traffic Controllers Strike" by the prestigious Wall Street investment house, Salomon Brothers. Dated August 6, the report spelled out clearly just what the bankers and ruling class hope to get out of the strike:

> "The Administration has announced that it is bringing military personnel in to staff the air traffic control system. In our opinion, the Administration has embarked on a program that could turn the major airport facilities over to the military services. Thus, for all practical purposes, U.S. air traffic control would come under military jurisdiction. Any air traffic controllers who choose to return to their jobs would become civilian employees of the Defense Department."

Plans for the militarization of airport labor are part and parcel of Reagan's drive to put this country on war footing. War budget, war inflation, moves for labor discipline are all of a piece as the U.S. gears up for imperialist war against the Soviet Union.

The confrontation between labor and Reagan is on. And labor had better win it, for the alternative is massive defeat. For labor solidarity to defend the air controllers strike! Smash the no-strike laws! Smash Reagan's union-busting drive! Bust the union-busters! ■

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Iranians...

(continued from page 3)

By the time of the mass insurgencies in Iran it seemed to me that all organizations including Mujahedeen-Marxist (Peykar) were confused. Their line was tailism of the petty bourgeoisie, so in my heart I could not join any of them. Perhaps it is necessary to recall their slogans and what they were saying at the time, when Khomeini was clearly stating his reactionary program for Iran's workers, women, national and religious minorities.

The Fedayeen were saying: we have to support Khomeini as an anti-imperialist leader. After the shah's overthrow they said: our policy is to reinforce Bazargan's provisional government. They voted for the "red" mullah Taleghani for the Constituent Assembly, and for the leader of the Islamic Mujahedeen in the first presidential elections. They tailed the petty-bourgeois Mujahedeen based on the Koran. They supported the mullahs' Constitutional Assembly.

As for Peykar, after being very militant, they became afraid after executing some religious leaders of the Mujahedeen, and supported Khomeini. Their reasoning was simple: following the Stalinist/Menshevik theory of "two-stage revolution," they claimed that this was the bourgeois-democratic stage, that the petty bourgeoisie is revolutionary and therefore we support its leader Khomeini. To top it all off, they proclaimed Khomeini "the symbol of revolutionary democracy."

One of the "interesting" analyses belongs to the Communist Unity Group.[1] They said in so many words that Khomeini was always very progressive, that he had been fighting the shah for a long time, that he was against communists now just because he was angry about the execution of religious leaders by Peykar. That was their analysis of the class character of Khomeini and his supporters.

The Iranian revolution led me to study more and to examine the dominant ideology of the so-called Marxist-Leninist organizations in Iran. They all try to give support to petty-bourgeois or bourgeois leaders due to their "democratic character" and their "hostility" to imperialism, saying that we must do that first, and then make a socialist revolution. This is the anti-Marxist theory of the two-stage revolution—or the democratic revolution, the popular front or the democratic front. But it all means the same thing. Their policy toward the events which resulted in the tremendous mass support to Khomeini is not something particular to Iran. By supporting the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders as the "first stage," the left has caused the deaths of tens of thousands of people, in Iran, but also in other countries such as Indonesia.

Then I started to think about Trotskyism, so I contacted and discussed with the HKS in Iran. I soon found them just some opportunists who are searching for some sort of career in Iran. To this end, they just followed Khomeini and hailed all the massacres in Iran. They are so in love with the "anti-imperialist" mullahs that they changed all Marxist terms to Islamic terms. So they don't call for workers councils or soviets but for Islamic *shoras*, which means the destruction of working-class organizations in the factories. This is not just a change in terms, but an acceptance of an "Islamic way" of fighting against imperialism.

After some contacts and discussions with some members of different organizations, I could not be satisfied with swimming with the stream. I had no interest in the previous type of activities among Iranian students, but I was also searching for an organization having an *international* program, not a national one. I got into contact not with the HKE/HKS, but with its fraternal USec organization. It did not last too long before I began to fight internally. Together with comrade E, I wrote a letter to the leadership criticizing their collaboration with Khomeini.

I made a review of the recent political positions of different organizations and contacted Spartacist because I was very curious about their slogan "Down with the Shah, Down with the Mullahs," which I had simply ignored at the time of Khomeini's rise in Iran. At the time, the entire left was claiming that the Spartacists were just ultra-leftists, and I accepted that and was not interested in what they meant by these slogans. But it was not just a question of Khomeini but also of Afghanistan. Almost the entire left had the same impulse as in Iran, that is, for a victory for the mullahs in Afghanistan. But in fact, the Red Army in Afghanistan was fighting against the reactionary mullahs, which should be a decisive question for any communist. And the Spartacists said, "Hail Red Army" in Afghanistan. With the cold war of imperialism, it was also a question of defending the conquests of 1917 in the Soviet Union. But most of the Iranian left just took the same line as Khomeini, U.S. imperialism and China.

But I was still very suspicious about everything, so I kept on studying. I received *Workers Vanguard* and read it. And the Spartacist comrades kept in contact with us, so that by the time of the Poland crisis, I had almost the same view as Spartacist. This was confirmed by their Leninist position of revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the Iran-Iraq war.

Today most of the Iranian left are saying that Khomeini and his followers have betrayed their promises and therefore the left withdraws its support for the Islamic regime—except the Tudeh party, the Fedayeen Majority and the Iranian fake-Trotskyists who still support Khomeini. But the left has not given up hoping in the democratic bourgeoisie and the two-stage revolution. In the case of the rise of another Khomeini, or another petty-bourgeois or bourgeois movement, they will again betray the proletariat, for example as with their shameful support to Bani Sadr.

The bitter truth is that Khomeini is doing what he promised to do. When, in line with the anti-Marxist theory of two-stage revolution, the left supported Islamic reaction, the Spartacist tendency was saying that there isn't any anti-imperialist bourgeoisie and so there is no anti-imperialist bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the century of imperialism, the historic tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, as well as national emancipation, cannot be carried out except through a proletarian socialist revolution. This is what the Spartacist tendency stands for. All their positions made me come to the conclusion of giving my possibilities and force to this revolutionary organization.

Hosein

[1] Now the Organization of Communist Unity, which split from the Fedayeen.

WORKERS VANGUARD

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WV Photo

Capitalism scraps Detroit's Dodge Main and Chrysler workers.

Detroit...

(continued from page 12)

defend Detroit would be felt from here to Washington. And you can bet there won't be any more Klansmen burning crosses in our backyards.

The defense of Detroit can't stop at the city limits. Sitdowns against layoffs and strikes against pay cuts could spark a nationwide union offensive to dump the sellout Frasers and get the labor movement off its knees.

Saving Detroit?

From the Ren Cen come proclamations of a "New Detroit." The same bankers, auto barons and their Democratic errand boys who have looted this city now cynically offer plans to "save" it. Mayor Young talks about a Detroit "renaissance" with the same purpose that Ronald Reagan talks about the "reindustrialization" of America. Who believes it? When these guys start producing "survival plans," watch out.

The plain truth is that Detroit can't be saved in capitalist America. It's capitalism that is killing us. This city and its working residents are the direct victims of the vampire capitalists who have bled Detroit for generations. This really is the motor city, and the auto bosses drove the industrial base to hell. The Fords' boom-bust cycle has finally busted our city.

And what is the capitalists' "solution" to economic agony and social decay? A fancy new building amid dilapidated housing. More racist, sadistic cops on the streets while they try to strip the working people or our right to armed self-defense. And a black mayor who is Henry Ford's yes-man. Young tells workers to "choose": layoffs, pay cuts, or tax hikes. Solidarity House, anxious to "save" Detroit for the bosses, has its own "solution": economic warfare against the auto workers of Japan, hoping the Japanese can be pressured into developing a product as inefficient and expensive as an Imperial. And if economic warfare doesn't work, there are other kinds.

Of course the reformists who call themselves socialists have their "solution": guns vs. butter rhetoric and "tax the rich" schemes. Always the same plea for the capitalist state to reform itself and "shift its priorities." "People Before Profits," they say. But you don't have to be a socialist to know that the capitalists will never put anything before their profits. You just have to live in Detroit.

The fight to defend Detroit is part of the struggle for socialist revolution. This is not only the historical imperative; in Detroit it is obviously also the only solution that makes sense.

As the U.S. capitalists take America toward depression and world war, they try to set black and white workers at each other's throats. Racism and race war are their perspectives for Detroit's working people. This city, at the center of the black proletariat, can be the motor of revolutionary struggle in America or its counterrevolutionary model of racist destruction. Whether Detroit's working people fight each other or fight together against their common enemy—the racist, imperialist ruling class—depends on the struggle to forge a revolutionary leadership in Detroit and throughout the world.

Here in Detroit we see the crisis of the entire capitalist system most starkly revealed, most advanced in decay, most anarchic in irrationality, most painful in social consequences. Detroit's skilled proletariat would be the most valuable resource of a rational society—the class that can build a socialist America.

We know well that socialist revolution is not just around the corner. But neither is it some election pipe dream. It is the culmination of a *struggle for power*—working-class power—in Detroit and elsewhere. It is to that struggle, and to the construction of a mass workers party to lead it, that the Spartacist League is dedicated.

From this election platform we raise our revolutionary program: For a socialist fight to defend labor/black Detroit! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Vote Andrews/Weekley—Spartacist Candidates for City Council!

For a Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit!

When the wreckers' ball demolished Chrysler's Dodge Main, more than a building was destroyed. With it the livelihoods of thousands of Detroit auto workers were reduced to rubble. An entire workforce scrapped. And so it goes in this dying city: 30,000 jobs at Chrysler, wage-cut blackmail for city and county workers. Black and white working-class youth get up each morning with nothing productive to do. And now it's starting to look the same to their fathers. The *Free Press* runs feature stories on how families can learn to live on unemployment and welfare. No wonder Detroit workers search the "help wanted" section of the Houston dailies.

And now Reagan's Cold War budget grinds down the cities even more. On imperialism's way to World War III, Reagan and Haig want to stop the "Soviet menace" in El Salvador or maybe Angola. Reagan thinks he can pay for nuclear aircraft carriers by cutting back Aid to Dependent Children, food stamps; if that won't work, he's got plans for Social Security. To the poor and black, the president says: let them eat bullets. Schools, hospitals, libraries, CETA are down the tubes; Detroit cannot live by tank plants alone.

On the fringes of Reagan's Cold War drive, Klan/Nazi terrorists thrive: a black family burned out of its home in Romulus, Cynthia Steel firebombed on the far west side, Nazi provocations against Jews in Southfield.

So what is to be done? First, working people have to stand up and fight. As the saying goes, in Detroit we do mind dying. And we don't mind fighting for our future. But the labor movement which has the power to fight and win is paralyzed by the union bureaucrats who are tied to Coleman Young and the bosses' Democratic Party. So UAW contracts are torn up before our eyes, the unions do nothing and the open traitor Doug Fraser sits on Chrysler's Board of Directors.

Candidates for city council Don Andrews and Ann Weekley stand for an end to groveling class treason. They stand for the beginning of the defense of labor/black Detroit based on the power of the union movement. That's the fight that Detroit needs urgently, and the one the bosses fear.

WV Photos

Don Andrews, 31, has been a fighter for black rights for a dozen years. In 1972 he was a leader of the Riverside (California) Political Prisoners Defense Committee which defeated a police frame-up of three black men. A former phone worker and a member of AFSCME, Don fought for victory to city workers against Young's union-busting in the AFSCME strikes of 1978 and 1980 and against the recent wage-concessions. A member of the Central Committee of the Spartacist League, Don was the main Spartacist speaker at the 10 November 1979 rally against the Klan. More recently, he helped organize the May 3 Anti-Imperialist Contingent which marched for "Victory to the Left-Wing Insurgents in El Salvador" in Washington, D.C.

Ann Weekley, 26, is a Wayne State University activist and the wife of a laid-off Chrysler worker. A supporter of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, Ann was active in the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust South End Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder, which mobilized more than 1,200 Wayne State students against a campus paper editorial that apologized for the Greenshoro, North Carolina acquittal of the fascists who shot down five anti-racist demonstrators.

From the lily-white suburbs of Michigan to the halls of Congress, the Reaganites and the Democrats want Detroit to die quietly, without making too much trouble about it. That is Coleman Young's job. That is the job of both capitalist parties, of all the Democratic city councilmen who want to fill Young's shoes. It is the job of the union bureaucrats and the so-called "leaders" of the black community.

But Andrews and Weekley say that taking it lying down is a crime against every worker and poor person in Detroit. To the capitalists who say Detroit doesn't matter because it's just blacks and auto workers, we say that is exactly why Detroit matters. And that is why Detroit can be a powerhouse when labor and black organizations mobilize to win.

Coleman Young says there is no money. He says Detroit must live on less and less. Well, that's his answer. The people of Detroit need to defend themselves with militant mass action. What we need is some old-fashioned class struggle, the kind that built the unions in this city. When the bosses hit us with mass layoffs, the powerful labor movement should hit back with sit-down strikes. When they try to blackmail us with plant closures, the workers should take the plants and hold them for ransom. Let them dare try to close an auto plant when tens of thousands of workers and blacks are massed outside. And the same kind of mass actions can defend our schools, welfare centers, hospitals. A working-class fight to

continued on page 11

For a Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit!

Smash the Klan!

From Greensboro to Romulus, the KKK and Nazis have grown bolder, fueled by economic crisis and Carter/Reagan's anti-Communist war drive. If their rule over working people is threatened, the capitalists will turn to these fascist stormtroopers. Labor/black Detroit *can* defend itself from these union-busters and race-terrorists.

For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!

- For labor/black defense squads against right-wing attack!
- Disarm the cops!
- Abolish gun control!—For the right of armed self-defense!
- Jail the Greensboro KKK/Nazi murderers—Free the anti-Klan protesters!

Fight the Moral Majority!

The anti-busing racists, bible-thumping bigots and right-to-lifers are no longer the fringe. They are in the White House, the courts and both sides of the aisle in Congress. They want to take away black people's right to vote, black children's right to education, women's right to abortion.

For Working-Class Defense of Democratic Rights!

- End discrimination in schools, housing, jobs!
- Free, quality higher education for all!—Open admissions and free tuition with stipend!
- Free abortion on demand!—Free quality health care! Pass the Equal Rights Amendment!
- Keep the state out of the bedroom!—Down with anti-gay laws and cop harassment! Abolish all laws against pornography, drug use, prostitution! Down with censorship!
- Stop the deportations!—Full citizenship rights for foreign workers!

Fight the Layoffs!

Militant labor struggles of the 1930s turned Detroit into a union town. Now tens of thousands of auto workers are thrown out on the streets with no jobs, no benefits, no hope. The bankers, auto barons and Democratic Party politicians are turning Detroit into a poverty town. What we need are the militant tactics of the 1930s, but this time with the leadership to fight all the way to socialist revolution!

For Sit-Down Strikes Against Mass Layoffs!

- Seize closed plants—take it, it's yours!
- For unlimited unemployment compensation at full union wages!
- No to chauvinist protectionism! No to bailouts!
- For federal programs to triple welfare! For massive public works under union control! For low-rent, integrated, quality public housing! Build mass transit!
- Organize the unorganized! Jobs for all: 30 hours work at 40 hours pay! Penny-for-penny COLA in every contract! Not union-busting "affirmative action" but special union programs for upgrading, recruiting, training of minorities and women!
- Strike to win!—For labor solidarity! Bust the union-busting president—defend air traffic controllers' strike! For the right to strike for all government workers! Picket lines mean don't cross! For mass pickets against scabbing! No pay cuts!—No givebacks!
- Oust the bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats!—For a workers party to fight for a workers government!

Fight the War Drive!

Reagan/Haig are hell-bent on provoking nuclear war with the Soviet Union. They are capable of blowing up the world in order to undo the 1917 Russian Revolution when workers expropriated the capitalist class and formed their own government. As Trotskyists we defend the social gains everywhere capitalism has been overturned, from Cuba to Vietnam. Our movement has fought for more than 50 years against the Kremlin's usurpers, their counterrevolutionary policies and their suppression of workers democracy. Our call for the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucrats through proletarian political revolution is part of our uncompromising opposition to imperialist appetites to restore capitalism.

Defense of USSR/Cuba Begins in El Salvador!

- No aid to the bloody junta!—U.S./OAS hands off!
- Liberals'/reformists' "political solution" means a bloodbath!
- Military victory to Salvadoran leftists!
- Stop the imperialist provocations over Poland!
- Down with Islamic reaction! No to the veil! Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! For workers revolution in Iran!
- Smash Zionist terror!—For Palestinian and Hebrew right to self-determination in a socialist Near East!
- Smash apartheid in South Africa! For international labor action in defense of black trade unions! Military victory to SWAPO—Independence for Namibia! For African self-destiny!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 288 X-523 11 September 1981

Bust Union-Buster Reagan: Shut Down the Airports!

Unchain Labor!

AP

The shackles in which PATCO local leaders were hauled off to jail are meant for all U.S. labor. The air controllers' fight is no ordinary strike over dollars and cents: we're facing a savage attack on all public employees unions, an attempt (so far successful) to terrorize the entire labor movement. It's either them or us, and under Reagan's guns union officialdom is finally getting worried. On September 19, the AFL-CIO has called a "Solidarity Day" in Washington, D.C., the first national labor protest in years. It could be a hundred thousand or half a million: auto workers from Detroit's River Rouge, steel workers from Chicago's Southworks, miners from Appalachian coal fields, municipal workers from New York. These are not random individuals strolling down the street. There will be raw power in Washington September 19, enough to shut down the country if necessary to defend workers and minorities. But what kind of "solidarity" are the union brass offering? Simply petitioning the Reagan Congress, some phony Democratic "friends of labor" on the platform, not a single concrete demand! *If they really wanted to fight the Reaganite labor haters, they would use their muscle to win the PATCO strike. Shut down the airports! And where will the Teddy Kennedys stand then? We need a workers party, to smash the war on labor and blacks through militant class struggle!*

Ronald Reagan has decreed that anyone who gets in his way will get the PATCO treatment: an entire national workforce of 12,000 striking air controllers fired, their union declared null and void. (That's in addition to the more usual strikebreaking tactics: multi-million dollar fines, jailing union officials, using the military as scabs.) It's the most massive union-busting attack since before the CIO was founded in the 1930s. Yet if there had been solidarity walkouts and boycotts by key unions, the air controllers' strike could have been won by now. It still can be. Teamsters, probably the most powerful single union in the U.S., deliver the fuel. The Machinists (IAM), who organize ground crews, even have an official "socialist" as president. They're bringing four jumbo jet loads from the West Coast to Washington for September 19. But "Wimpy" Winpisinger certainly earned his nickname in this strike by

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For Solidarity Strikes with PATCO!

Trying to rub it in labor's face, Ronald Reagan reaffirmed his firing of the entire air controllers' union in a September 3 speech to the convention of the carpenters union in Chicago. The U.S. president wants to make an example of PATCO and cow the rest of the labor movement—and he doesn't care if he kills a couple of planeloads of people to do it. Never before has the entire membership of a national union been fired, and it must not be allowed to happen now! Yet for five weeks, the PATCO strikers have essentially had to go it alone. In all that time, American labor leaders have mustered no significant union action to defend this strike. Instead they have bombarded the labor-hating president with...hot air. The *California AFL-CIO News* called Reagan's action "a whiff of fascism." New York Central Labor Council president Harry Van Arsdale said it reminded him of Adolf Hitler. Their answer? To wait for the election of a Democratic administration.

The attempt to destroy PATCO is a mortal threat to public employees unions, all of which strike more or less in violation of the law. Already teachers strikes in Philadelphia and Boston are threatened with similar union busting. Yet aside from the Canadian air traffic controllers' action, which temporarily halted flights between Europe and the U.S., the amount of aid from other unions would not fill an eye-dropper. French controllers originally boycotted U.S.-bound flights, but were ordered by their "Socialist" government, in the person of "Communist" transport minister Charles Fiterman, to call off their support action. It's shameful that air controllers in Portugal did more to oppose Reagan's efforts to bust PATCO than the entire American labor officialdom! U.S. union tops—conservative, liberal and reformist alike—are caught between a rock and a hard place. They had hoped to duck the Reagan barrage, but the PATCO strike dramatically ups the heat. Do nothing and the administration's war on labor threatens their existence; mobilize the ranks and things could get "out of hand."

Air controllers have become increasingly militant as the strike wears on. TV news programs daily interview picketers appealing for help from other unions. The International Association of Machinists (IAM), in particular, could win the PATCO strike in short order by pulling out airline mechanics. But IAM president Winpisinger, a leader of the reformist Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, refuses to take this

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Under Reagan's Guns

NYC Labor Day 1981

It was the first time in 13 years the labor bureaucracy held a Labor Day march in New York City. Some 150,000 to 200,000 unionists marched up Fifth Avenue—contingents from the construction trades, garment workers, hospital workers, telephone workers, teachers and others. The NYC Central Labor Council (CLC) had advertised it as a big parade, complete with floats, clowns and bands. But attention was

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focused on 3,000 striking air controllers and their families who mobilized from all over the East Coast and marched with fists in the air, chanting "Strike! Strike! Strike!" PATCO chief Robert Poli was in the front line, along with a Virginia PATCO local president, Steve Wallaert, who marched in chains symbolizing the shackles in which he was dragged off to jail last month.

There was plenty of red-white-and-blue flag waving. AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland, decked out in a Masonic-style "Grand Marshal" sash, saluted the floats from a reviewing stand on the Public Library steps. Cheers went up for the contingent of Radio City Rockettes (who fought a bitter strike some years ago) while CLC head, 78-year-old Harry Van Arsdale was playing for the limelight. A big construction trades turnout included some 10,000-plus members from IBEW locals sporting "I'm just wild about Harry" placards.

Despite the hoopla, Reagan's all-out union-busting attacks sparked anger among the union ranks. PATCO T-shirts and buttons were everywhere. Postal workers chanted, "Go, PATCO!" as they passed the reviewing stand. Construction worker contingents lumbering past aboard their towering cranes and giant wreckers were an impressive display of labor's industrial power. An ILGWU banner stretching across Fifth Avenue demanded "Amnesty for Undocumented Workers." In the TWU contingent, militant subway workers carried signs reading "America Can't Run Without NYC Subways" and chanted "Smash the Taylor Law!" (NYC's no-strike law used to bust the 1980 transit strike).

On the reviewing stand, Kirkland pointedly refused to criticize Ronald Reagan by name. To reporters' questions about what real support the AFL-CIO would give PATCO, he replied that labor was already doing "everything that can be done." Van Arsdale was worse, implying PATCO should be punished for breaking the law: "When your children do something wrong, you want to punish them. Do you want to destroy them?" In fact, the AFL-CIO has done nothing for PATCO save a little hollow speech-making. What if 150,000 unionists had been marching up Fifth Avenue on a work day! A strike by airport unions to *shut down the airports* would bring Reagan to his knees!

NYC Mayor Koch showed up and got

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"Strike! Strike! Strike! Strike!" PATCO leads NYC Labor Day demo, but AFL-CIO tops refuse to take strike action to defeat Reagan.

roundly booed all along the line of march. The bureaucracy was pushing votes for dissident Democrat Frank Barbaro for mayor. (As state assemblyman, Barbaro voted for the establishment of the EFCB, a state watchdog committee which oversaw the job-slashing assault on the unions in the 1974-76 NYC "fiscal crisis.") But Koch's main mission was to host Ronald Reagan at Gracie Mansion. In a deliberate attempt to undercut the labor march, Reagan flew into New York to hand Koch an $85 million check for the Westway superhighway.

Not since 1968, when rising labor militancy (teachers strikes, sanitation strikes, etc.) in the context of the Vietnam War caused problems with Mayor Lindsay and various Democratic "friends of labor," had the city's union tops dared to stage such a demonstration of union strength. Labor Day itself is a holiday popularized by the capitalist government as a *substitute* for the real day of workers solidarity, May Day. The internationally celebrated labor holiday, May 1, commemorates the vicious cop massacre of protesting workers at Chicago's Haymarket Square in 1886. But in 1894 strikebreaking Grover Cleveland proclaimed Labor Day, and in the 1920s Gompersite labor fakers joined with the Hoover administration to promote the first Tuesday in September as an alternative to the Communist-celebrated May Day.

At Gracie Mansion about 500 demonstrators gave Reagan a hostile reception. There was a motley collection of eco-freaks and "small is better" Greenwich Village liberal Democrats on hand to boo the Westway, and a "Coalition to Defend the Air Controllers and Stop Reagan's Union Busting." The Coalition's handout supporting PATCO consists of slogans adapted from close

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Canadian Postal Workers Demand:

Solidarity Strikes for Air Controllers!

TORONTO—One of the few genuine acts of labor solidarity with the striking American air controllers, quite effective as long as it lasted, was the boycott of flights to and from the U.S. by the Canadian Air Traffic Controllers Association (CATCA). Following the refusal of individual CATCA members in Vancouver, Toronto, Calgary and other centers to handle U.S. flights, on August 9 the union announced a total boycott. For over 24 hours the Canadian controllers defied government threats of firings, fines and imprisonment, completely shutting down the vital transatlantic corridor from Gander and stopping virtually all U.S. flights to Europe.

The boycott was sold out by a deal between the CATCA leadership and the government. Meanwhile, the government has been going after CATCA with a vengeance for its solidarity action. Transport Minister Jean-Luc Pépin has initiated legal action against union members; suspensions without pay were handed out, and the threat of further discipline hangs over the heads of more than 100 controllers. CATCA itself has been working without a contract since December. While a no-strike injunction was slapped on the union last October after wildcats over working conditions and bonus pay, in recent court action the government has been trying to take away the right to strike for 1,782 operational controllers *for good*. What's needed is a nation-wide strike of Canadian air controllers now! This is the opportunity for a *real* boycott of U.S. air space in solidarity with PATCO—a CATCA strike would be a double blow against Reagan's union busting and the Trudeau government's strikebreaking attacks.

We reprint below a motion passed at the August 20 general meeting of the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) Local 1 in Toronto calling on the LCUC and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) to come to the defense of the victimized air controllers. The same meeting called for raising the solidarity resolution at an upcoming Ontario Federation of Labour convention, and the LCUC Local 1 motion was reprinted as "letter of the day" in the 31 August Toronto *Sun*:

> "Whereas: U.S. President Reagan's firing of striking air traffic controllers is a declaration of war against the entire U.S. labor movement; and
>
> "Whereas: the Trudeau government has stated its intention to discipline and fire air traffic controllers who, in a dramatic act of international working-class solidarity, boycotted U.S. air space and for 24 hours shut down all north Atlantic flights; and
>
> "Whereas: CATCA has been working without a contract since December and no contract, no work is a basic trade-union principle; and
>
> "Whereas: CATCA is under a no-strike injunction which is part of a government campaign to take away not only CATCA's right to strike but that of postal workers and all public sectors.
>
> "Therefore, be it resolved: that LCUC Local 1 stands in solidarity with PATCO (U.S. air traffic controllers) and demands that the National Office actively defend victimized CATCA members up to and including through strike action; and that we call on the CLC to organize such action nationwide by all of labor; and
>
> "Further be it resolved: that we urge CATCA to take further militant action in solidarity with the U.S. controllers and in defense of their own union and right to strike, and that we call on the National Office and the CLC to support CATCA in these actions including by strike action; and
>
> "Further be it resolved: that we send copies of this motion to PATCO, CATCA, the CLC and the press."

Canadian postal workers have first-hand experience with the Trudeau government's union busting. The Liberal prime minister brought down the fist of the capitalist state on the striking Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) in 1978. And this summer a six-week CUPW postal strike provoked demands from the bourgeois press for the Canadian government to "live like Reagan." The LCUC motion points the way to defeating this union-busting drive on both sides of the border.

Unchain Labor...

(continued from page 1)

refusing to order solidarity *strike action* with PATCO. Betrayal is the only name for this backstabbing! The same goes for all the other labor misleaders whose only "support" has been to call for an impotent consumer boycott—when their unions could ground the planes in hours. A union is being hacked to bits before their eyes and they do nothing to stop it. *Labor has the power to bust the union-busters: Use it!*

PATCO isn't by any means the only victim. In fact, air controllers are an elite professional group, who used to be pro-Reagan. If they can do it to these people, what chance does a black welfare mother have? Or a Salvadoran peasant? Black America knows Ronald Reagan best, for it is first in his line of fire on the domestic front. Thousands of angry black people are coming to the capital September 19, organized in contingents by their unions or by black organizations, because they know their economic and social survival is at stake. The Reagan budget hasn't even hit yet: it could be a long, hot winter after cuts in unemployment benefits, welfare, food stamps, etc. take hold in October. And with the KKK's preferred Klandidate in the White House, the race terrorists in white sheets are riding in broad daylight. But just when a sharp fight is most needed, the black masses are leaderless as never before. *The NAACP and ghetto politicos remain loyal to the Democratic Party of racist American capitalism*, offering only a parade in Washington, one more time. What's needed is to mobilize blacks and labor in a common class struggle against racial oppression and class exploitation.

Labor and blacks are the domestic targets of Reagan's crusade to rearm American capitalism to reconquer unchallenged hegemony as imperialist policeman of the world. This means a straight-line drive toward a nuclear World War III against the Soviet Union. At home it's war on the "welfare state": he'll see to it that the rich get richer, and the poor will damn well get poorer. The Reaganites' methods aren't exactly rational: at the same time they're cutting taxes they want to spend hundreds of billions on super-sophisticated weapons, to be operated by a volunteer army of high school dropouts. First they went after leftist guerrillas in El Salvador, then shook up their imperialist NATO allies with the neutron bomb, and now it's provocations against megalomaniac Qaddafi and support for racist South Africa's invasion of Angola. Obviously they want some "enemy" blood to lubricate the cogs of the "wild, wonderful war" they're cooking up. Somehow Hollywood cowboy Reagan and White House general Haig have talked themselves into the idea that they can wipe out the "aberration" of Communism with no white middle-class and upper-class Americans getting hurt. It's a fantasy, but the nuts acting it out control the most murderous war machine ever. In its drive to wipe out every last remaining social gain of the October 1917 Russian Revolution, Reagan's Cold Warriors are willing to set off nuclear holocaust.

PATCO marches at September 1 NYC solidarity rally.

WV Photo

Reagan Hates Everybody

Last year we had the largest reduction in the living standard of the American people since records have been kept. Yet in Reagan's Washington, luxury is "in." As the "self-made" millionaires parade around the Capitol Mall at black-tie banquets with silver candelabras, the head of the inauguration committee proclaimed this would be a "fun administration." Fun for who? Every day the Reaganite budget ax murderers go after another group of poor and working people. Medicare, CETA, they even want to cut minimum payments on Social Security, the thin lifeline for millions of elderly who worked all their lives. Federal pay increases to be kept below 5 percent while inflation soars to 15 percent. Cutting off unemployment benefits after 26 weeks when there are no jobs, not even in Houston. Last November, 44 percent of unionized voters pulled the lever for the Republican presidential candidate, repudiating Democrat Carter whose economic policies were a disaster for workers. Maybe they figured cuts would fall only on "welfare bums." Now they are finding out differently. A coal miner demonstrating against the administration's cut-off of black lung benefits in March expressed a widespread feeling with his sign, "America, I'm Sorry I Voted for Reagan."

Blacks and other minorities are the first to get it in Reagan's racist America. After all, he was elected on a platform which (according to Imperial Wizard and long-time FBI informer Bill Wilkinson) could have been written by the KKK. Suddenly black youth unemployment has shot above 50 percent, the highest level ever; administration spokesmen had "no clear explanation" for this chilling statistic of misery. Now busing has been canceled in Chicago, L.A. and Houston, and the U.S. just announced a new model plan of "separate but equal" black and white colleges to reinstitutionalize segregated higher education across the South. They are even threatening to repeal the 1965 Voting Rights Act, so that "one man, one vote" will once more be sacrificed on the altar of "states' rights." Foreign workers, roughly ten million "illegal aliens" who have some of the worst jobs in the country, face pre-dawn raids and mass deportations under Reagan's immigration policies.

There doesn't seem to be anything his pocket-calculator killers won't do. To reduce welfare rolls, house-to-house searches will now be reinstituted in Harlem to find TV sets and total up the cost of clothes in the closet. And they're minutely measuring out how much food will be removed from school lunches for ghetto kids: hamburgers will now weigh 1.5 ounces (instead of 2 oz.), milk containers no more than 4 oz.! Reagan dismisses all opposition to his "soak the poor" budget as due to "greed and envy." And the Democrats speed it through Congress with only perfunctory handwashing. No wonder national polls show that blacks see no hope in this racist system.

Defend Picket Lines!

A couple of years ago, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland accused big business of waging "one-sided class war" against labor. That's a pretty good description of what's happening right now as the government goes all out to break PATCO. But whose fault is it that the battle is "one-sided"? Democrats and Republicans join hands to reverse the major gains of minorities and labor in this country, from busing to the right to strike. And they're waging a bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive whose aim is to "roll back" revolutions from Havana to Hanoi and ultimately Moscow. What else can you expect from capitalist politicians but capitalist policies? By their standard ploys about a supposed "lesser evil" among bourgeois politicians, politically shackling the power of labor while refusing to wield the unions' power in strike action, the labor misleaders tie the workers to their class enemy: FDR, JFK, LBJ and the last straw, JC. *To bring down strike-breaker, anti-Soviet warmaker Reagan we need hard class struggle, not treacherous class collaboration!*

The main line of the September 19 march in Washington, and of the union tops generally, is to re-cement the alliance of labor and the Democratic Party. This is a *program for defeat*, as history demonstrates over and over. Speaking to the Carpenters' convention recently, Reagan was able to quote Franklin Roosevelt denouncing public employee strikes as "unthinkable and intolerable." Some "friend of labor"! Democrat Harry Truman seized the steel mills and railroads in order to break strikes; Democrat Jimmy Carter invoked Taft-Hartley against the miners. And in 1980 the bankruptcy of New Deal liberal economics, unable to do away with double-digit inflation and mass unemployment, was largely responsible for the election of Ronald Reagan. The present anti-labor offensive, moreover, like the anti-Soviet war drive, did not begin with Reagan. Fundamentally it represents the effort by all sectors of American capitalism to recover from its massive defeat in Vietnam and the erosion of international economic competitiveness. Reagan wants to restore the short-lived "American century" and American working people are supposed to pay for it.

The counterpart of support to the capitalist Democrats is refusal of working-class solidarity. The ultra-conservative London *Economist* headlined its story on the PATCO strike, "Solidarity is not a word America's unions know." Virtually every TV station in the country notices the same thing as they repeatedly ask U.S. labor leaders what they are going to *do* to aid the air controllers, like strike action. This is nothing new. In the bitter 1977-78 coal miners strike, the most important American union struggle since the immediate postwar years, militant ranks held out alone for 110 days in a showdown that affected all labor. Even when Carter imposed court injunctions, the rest of the union movement did nothing, but the miners' picket lines and determination prevented a major defeat.

The union bureaucrats are firmly wedded to the capitalist system; indeed, the "reformer" bureaucrats are sometimes even more consciously so than conservative union bigwigs who just want to skim off some graft. The reform leaders of the United Mine Workers (UMW) under Arnold Miller, elected in 1972 with the aid of the U.S. Department of Labor, three times tried to shove a sell-out contract down the throats of the membership in 1978. This

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Unchain Labor...

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was Miller's payoff to Uncle Sam. His counterpart in the Steelworkers, the Sadlowski/Balanoff leadership of the Chicago/Gary district, refused to fight the no-strike ENA deal foisted on the union by the conservative McBride International. The "dissidents" even voted for the 1979 contract. Not surprisingly, after they proved no better in action than McBride & Co., the Sadlowski liberals were dumped by the disillusioned ranks. Now reform slates are regularly going down to defeat in union elections, the latest being Masoccochi in OCAW.

Meanwhile, the former "reformers" who make the big time act as company agents in the most blatant ways. Perhaps the worst example is the once-proud UAW under Doug Fraser. Fraser, who built a reputation as a social-democratic "progressive" under Reuther, distinguished himself in the 1973 Detroit wildcat sitdowns by organizing a 1,000-man goon squad to *break the strikes for the management.* Since taking over the UAW in 1979, he has continued to play essentially the role of a cop against the union membership. When Chrysler bosses pleaded bankruptcy after systematically looting the company, instead of leading strike action to save jobs or preserve the uniform national contract he (and the rest of the Solidarity House gang) gave away hundreds of millions in wages and benefits. In exchange, Fraser bought himself a seat on the Chrysler board of directors where he regularly approves company takeaway demands on the union! And now he denounces PATCO for striking against Reagan.

What about the "socialist" and "communist" groups which claim to speak in the name of the working class? Virtually the entire left supports one or another wing of the union bureaucracy, what Daniel De Leon in his classic phrase called the "labor lieutenants of capital." In the pages of the Communist Party's *Daily World* and the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* you will find only the mildest criticisms of liberals like Fraser and nothing but praise for the Miller/Sadlowski "reformers." So when in the middle of the '78 miners strike the UMW chief was being burned in effigy throughout the coal fields, these reformist rags had nothing to say. Again today, because they are not willing to break with the labor fakers, these pseudo-socialists turn their back on the air controllers, just like the Kirklands and Frasers. And the CP, ever ready to serve the labor tops, simply dismissed all criticism of the September 19 parade as a divisive "disease of sterile, counterproductive criticism." Typical is the recipe of the Workers World Party/People's Anti-war Mobilization: "The first step by the AFL-CIO is to redouble its own efforts for the Sept. 19 demonstration.... This is how PATCO can win." No, it will take militant labor action, not pressure tactics, to win this crucial fight.

The Spartacist League is just about the only group on the American left that refuses to support slick-talking out-of-office bureaucrats who betray with the best of them as soon as they get elected. Any candidate for union office worthy of a vote, says the SL, must break with the pro-capitalist bureaucracy by raising some key elements of a class-struggle program. When other self-proclaimed "socialists" were supporting the UMW's Arnold Miller, *Workers Vanguard* called for keeping the bosses' government out of the labor movement. In the 1978 coal strike *WV* urged joint strike action of steel and auto workers with the miners, and political solidarity strikes against the union-busting Taft-Hartley injunction. For the Marxist SL, and for militant mine workers (but not opportunist leftists), picket lines mean don't cross. Today *WV* alone demands, "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" while reformists and centrists cover for the criminal inaction of the Kirklands and Winpisingers. And it is the Trotskyists who call for a break with the Democrats—dump the bureaucrats, build a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

Fight Klan Terror!

The September 19 "Solidarity Day" march is being widely compared to the big Washington civil rights march of 1963, which the NAACP and labor liberals played a major role in building. Certainly there are similarities: the aim then was pressure politics, and it's the same today. The liberal civil rights movement of the '60s was based on influencing the Democrats and the courts. But in the '70s backlash, it was the same Democratic Congress and liberal courts that repealed the minimal gains of the previous decade. Moreover, since the beginning of the 1970s there has been essentially no black leadership whatever. Rock bottom came with the 1980 elections, when the NAACP's Benjamin Hooks sang "We Shall Overcome" hand-in-hand with Jimmy ("ethnic purity") Carter and the SCLC's Ralph Abernathy was giving bear hugs to Klandidate Ronald Reagan.

WV Photo

Coal miner in Washington. Reagan reaction targets unions—Democrats no "friends of labor"—Build a workers party!

Today the established black organizations have no answer to rising Klan terror. The most they could muster in the last year was the empty gesture of liberal "concern" of wearing green ribbons for the children of Atlanta. But what about the four black women shot by KKK race killers at a bus stop in Chattanooga, the crosses burned on lawns of minority union members in Contra Costa County? Nothing. And when in November 1979, five socialist, labor and black organizers were murdered by the Klan/Nazis in Greensboro, North Carolina the response of the "establishment" black organizations was to launch an anti-red witchhunt! The answer to Greensboro was given in Detroit at a 500-strong black/labor mobilization, built by the SL, which proclaimed: "The Klan won't ride in the Motor City!" Five months later an SL-initiated labor rally of 1,200 in San Francisco prevented Nazi-fascists from staging a race-hate provocation on Hitler's birthday. The program of labor/black defense against Klan terror is an expression of the Spartacist League's proletarian program of *revolutionary integrationism.*

"Black people are not only segregated at the bottom of U.S. society; they are also integrated into strategic sections of the industrial proletariat in whose hands lies the economic power to shatter this racist, capitalist system" (from the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [revised], "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism"). That's why the role of the labor bureaucracy is doubly criminal. At best indifferent to the needs of minorities, with their job-trusting and reactionary policies the labor misleaders have often driven black militants into hostility toward the unions. Their only active intervention into black struggles has been to tie protests to the Democratic Party, as with the 1963 March on Washington. The Marxists fight for a new, multiracial class-struggle leadership of labor which can transform the unions into key weapons in the battle against race oppression. Black workers, the most combative elements of the class, will win emancipation for all the oppressed by fighting in the front ranks of the proletarian revolution and its vanguard party.

Defend the Soviet Union!

Reformism always compartmentalizes struggles, trying to set various groups of the exploited and oppressed at each others' throats in a mad scramble for crumbs from the capitalist table while leaving the system intact. Reagan reaction doesn't compartmentalize. The fanatic in the White House is determined to destroy every obstacle in the path of reviving American imperialism, from blacks and labor at home to the bureaucratically deformed workers states of the Soviet bloc. He's about as interested in negotiating a settlement with PATCO as he is in a "political solution" with leftists in El Salvador—his aim is a "final solution" to communism and the labor movement. Hitler got like this, but only in the last six months of a losing war on two fronts. Reagan has declared war on all fronts, and it's up to us to make sure he loses. He can be stopped: the Johnson administration was brought down by the Viet Cong's Tet offensive. But right now the Dow Jones average is showing more resistance to the Reaganites than the labor movement. The Kirklands and Frasers only want to bring back the Democrats. It's the job of the Marxists to mobilize the working class to smash Reaganism for keeps.

For the war party in Washington, talk of "containment" and "Cold War" is only a compromise. Already some elements are reportedly dreaming that this will be the administration that "takes back" Cuba. And Reagan is consistent. A PATCO picket sign in Boston showed a picture of the two union leaders in chains under the headline, "Collective Bargaining: Poland or the U.S.?" When CBS canceled Lane Kirkland's Labor Day message because it criticized Reagan, his response was, what about Poland? The reformists think it's contradictory to be

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for striking against the government in Warsaw and oppose striking against the U.S. Not at all—Reagan would love to see blood flow in the streets of "Communist" Warsaw, and he wants to continue his conscious class war on U.S. workers unopposed by the union misleaders. The government is trying to break union resistance and scuttle every social program that serves blacks and minorities in order to jack up profits and free money for the war budget which they see as the motor of recovery for American capitalism. And the Democrats began it: plans to break the air controllers' strike and militarize the airports were first drawn up a year and a half ago under Carter.

Capitalism is a decaying system—you only have to look at Detroit, New York or any other Midwestern or Eastern U.S. city to see the ravages. The liberals complain that Reagan's runaway "defense" budget—a planned $1.5 trillion increase in arms expenditures over 1981-85, more than triple the entire cost of the Vietnam War—will wreak economic havoc. That's for sure. But unlike his liberal critics, Reagan is not thinking about the arms build-up mainly in terms of its long-term economic effects. He actually intends to *use* these weapons. The MX missile is clearly a first-strike weapon to destroy the Soviets' nuclear defense capacity. And the neutron bomb is designed for a "limited nuclear war" in the European "theater." The Kennedys are worried about the buck; Reagan wants the big bang, and he's got his finger on the button.

The reformists, following the liberals, want "butter instead of guns"—as if it were a question of priorities, like "people before profits." Under capitalism, nothing comes before profits, and the guns are meant to protect the rule of the bourgeoisie. But they can't buy nuclear first-strike capability against the Russians just by starving poor black women and their children. They could throw everyone in the country off welfare and scarcely save enough money

WV Photo

PATCO striker at Logan Airport, Boston.

to build half a dozen B-1 bombers. Despite the savage cuts in social programs, Reagan's war budget spells massive inflation. This is worrying the bankers who are demanding that the president stop paying for his N-bombs and cruise missiles by running the printing presses. Wall Street is demanding more cuts, now. Where are they to come from? Reagan has already indicated that he intends to ax Social Security benefits, the only social program anywhere near large enough to offset the arms build-up. The government's anti-Soviet war drive means dismantling the minimal economic security programs that the American working class won through the mass struggles of the 1930s.

Facing increasing foreign competition Reagan has resorted to economic protectionism, for example, by slapping quotas on Japanese autos and steel. These kinds of beggar-my-neighbor trade policies, as they were called in the 1930s, are an attempt to export unemployment to Japanese workers. U.S. workers must oppose national economic protectionism, which the Kirkland/Fraser bureaucracy presents as the "solution" to unemployment. Remember, trade wars lead to imperialist war!

The American ruling class is going on war footing, and they demand of the labor movement that it regiment its ranks. Kirkland, who was chief aide to George Meany when the former AFL-CIO chief backed the Vietnam War, has had plenty of practice for that. Leon Trotsky, co-leader of the October 1917 Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, wrote:

> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."
>
> —"Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," August 1940

Today, for all wings of the labor bureaucracy, solidarity is an unnatural act. Just look at how they let PATCO face Reagan alone. It wasn't always that way. Up to World War II a sizable section of the union movement as a matter of principle refused to handle struck goods. But by the time the Stalinist and anti-Stalinist supporters of FDR's imperialist war effort were finished (no-strike pledge, slandering striking miners as pro-fascist "fifth columnists"), these practices had been abandoned in favor of one or another variety of "business unionism." As the memory of the proletariat, the Marxists have to struggle to recreate traditions which are deeply in the logic of the working-class situation.

And that includes defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, Reagan's main target. This issue can't be ducked. They're ready to break strikes with anti-Communism just like during the Cold War following WWII and in the post-WWI Red Scare. No doubt the next time there are mass wildcats in the coal fields, the government will label picketers in ski masks (to protect them against firings) as "Soviet-backed terrorists." Class-struggle militants must unconditionally defend the Soviet-bloc deformed workers states against imperialism just as they defend the unions against capitalist attack. The Kremlin's Stalinist repression and bureaucratic mismanagement only aid counterrevolutionary forces; their illusions in "détente" amount to class collaboration on a global scale. Nevertheless the USSR remains the main economic/military bastion of the bloc of states where capitalism has been abolished. Collectivized property and the expropriation of the capitalists are historic conquests that must be defended at all costs; they make possible for the first time a planned economy without unemployment, inflation and poverty. It's the sellout leadership that must be ousted by workers political revolution in order to open the road to socialism.

The Reagan reactionaries have big contradictions—they can be brought down. They want a third world war in which Russia will be destroyed, the unions shackled, blacks starved...and every middle American will get two color TVs. Reagan's promising guns *and* butter in a particularly grotesque way. But it won't work. Just as there's no free lunch, Ronald Reagan can't go to war for free. If the American working class fights hard economically, if blacks mobilize against the threats to their survival, if working people reject the counterrevolutionary political aims of new imperialist military adventures, it will throw a giant monkey wrench into the government's plans. What's key is to build a class-struggle leadership capable of fighting for socialist revolution even more consistently than Reagan fights for capitalist counterrevolution. This is the goal of the Trotskyists, who fight for real solidarity—with PATCO, with the ghetto, with Salvadoran leftists, with Cuban and Russian workers. ■

Bureaucrats and Boycotts

Retired ILWU president Harry Bridges recently declined an invitation to spend his 80th birthday in the Soviet Union out of supposed respect for the picket lines of the striking air traffic controllers. Columnist Herb Caen writing in the *San Francisco Chronicle* (26 August) captured the hypocrisy of the gesture: in 1975 the longtime Stalinist fellow traveler scabbed on a clerical workers strike at his own union headquarters! "Bridges not only crossed the line, he was heard to growl, 'You ladies are embarrassing me'." That's how much "respect" he has for picket lines!

Communist Party chairman Gus Hall has similarly decided to "support" the strike by declaring that "flying is scabbing." Machinists' union president Winpisinger ostentatiously traveled to Washington by rented car, while Jerry Wurf, head of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, took a plane to his Cape Cod summer home only after seeking "permission" from a PATCO picket captain. On the other hand, Communications Workers of America Local 9410 president Jim Imerzel in San Francisco boasts that he flies only in planes operating on Visual Flight Rules (VFR), so as not to be directed by scab controllers!

The bourgeois media can ridicule such two-faced gestures because it's obvious to everyone that these labor fakers are doing *nothing* to back PATCO! Their posturing has only helped demoralize the labor movement.

SF Chronicle

Harry Bridges driving through ILWU office workers' picket lines in 1975.

"Wimpy" Winpisinger and his brethren refuse to do the one thing that would shut down the airports and win the strike in a hurry: call the airport mechanics, ground crews, fuel truckers and other air transport workers out on strike. Any union president worth his salt would have taken the first plane home to pull his union out the day the strike began.

PATCO strikers know the strike must spread to other unions to win. But, afraid to confront anti-labor laws against "secondary boycotts" and the treachery of the labor fakers, PATCO has not openly demanded that all airport workers refuse to cross their picket lines, asking instead that the picket lines be "respected." But to any union militant working at the airports the meaning should be clear: don't cross.

PATCO has not called for any boycott by the flying public; they only warn that air travel is unsafe. A consumer boycott—in this case directed mainly at businessmen and other petty bourgeois—would be an admission of *defeat*. Labor misleaders like Bridges suggest an impotent consumer boycott as a substitute for spreading the strike, especially—god forbid!—to their own unions. They fear a massive political confrontation with Reagan, in which union bureaucrats would stand to be swept away as American workers discover they don't need sellouts but a militant new leadership unafraid to take on this fight and win.

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We reprint below Part I of the edited version of a speech given by Spartacist League Central Committee member George Foster at an SL educational weekend in New York City, June 6.

Prelude to the Bolshevik October

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

Novosti

We're going back in time quite a distance to another place that is probably pretty strange to people today and that is the tsarist empire—Russia 1905. In 1905 the whole year, from January through December, tsarist Russia was rocked by an outbreak of strikes, peasant uprisings and mutinies in the armed forces. Soviets sprang up and the year was capped with an armed insurrection in Moscow in December. These upheavals did not break the autocracy, but did constitute the dress rehearsal for the revolution of 1917. And all the various classes and parties associated with them in a sense "self-determined" themselves under the impact of these events. That is to say they were tested and their relations with one another were made clear.

PART ONE OF TWO

So that all the participants of 1917, in a sense, knew one another very well from the experience of 1905. For the Bolsheviks, it was an especially important and shaping experience. The implications of the 1903 split in the Russian Social Democratic Workers Party began to manifest themselves, yet it took several more years to work these out. That is to say, although events of 1905 made clear what Menshevism was, there was also a very strong impulse growing out of the experience of 1905 toward unity, especially at the base of the party.

The 1905 Revolution had a peculiar feature. Trotsky refers to it in his book on the revolution, and I'd like to quote it. He says:

> "So far as its direct and indirect tasks are concerned, the Russian revolution is a 'bourgeois' revolution because it sets out to liberate bourgeois society from the chains and fetters of absolutism and feudal ownership. But the principal driving force of the Russian revolution is the proletariat, and that is why, so far as its method is concerned, it is a proletarian revolution."

And indeed, it was Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution that addressed this contradiction and the way out of it, and I'd like to talk a bit about that today. I'd like to concentrate mainly on the two ends of 1905—the events leading up to January 1905 and particularly the events in December of 1905 in Moscow.

Now my two favorite quotes regarding 1905 are, first, one by the then-minister of finance, Count Witte. This was written in 1895, and he said, "In Russia, fortunately, there is no working class in a Western sense; therefore, there is no labor problem." Then there was Peter Struve, who started out as a "legal Marxist" and became a liberal reformist. He wrote on 7 January 1905, two days before Bloody Sunday, that "there is not yet a revolutionary people in Russia."

It's rather difficult for comrades living in 1981, in the U.S., to grasp what the tsarist autocracy was like. As a system, it made that of the shah of Iran seem something like a regime of liberalism. Nicolas II was the tsar from 1894 until he was overthrown in 1917. Three months after his succession to the throne he had a celebration in which all the representatives from various small towns and villages throughout Russia converged in Petersburg. This included representatives from the local assemblies, the *zemstvos*, who expressed some timid hopes that they might have some say in the government. Tsar Nicholas told them that he was glad to hear their sentiments of loyal allegiance, but:

> "It has come to my knowledge that voices have been heard of late in some *zemstvo* assemblies of persons carried away by senseless dreams about their representatives participating in the administration of the internal affairs of the state. Let every man know that while devoting all my strength to the well-being of my people, I shall uphold the principle of autocracy as firmly and undeviatingly as did my late father."

His late father was Alexander III, who on a similar occasion expressed his views by saying:

> "In the midst of our great grief, God's voice commands us to stand courageously at the helm of the government relying on divine providence with faith in the power of truth and the autocracy which for the benefit of the people we are called upon to strengthen and protect from any encroachment."

These characters very much believed in the divine right of kings. In fact, the tsar's real title, if you ever look it up, probably fills about a page and a half. With every new acquisition of the empire he became the prince of this, or duke of that, or took on one or another obscure feudal title.

Burton Holmes

Japanese officers watch scuttling of tsarist fleet after fall of Port Arthur, 1904.

Development of Capitalism

In a sense one might say that the story of 1905 begins in 1861 with the emancipation of the serfs by Alexander II, who was the "great reforming tsar." The reason he instituted this reform was that the tsarist empire got badly beaten in the Crimean War. It became very clear to the autocracy that it had to develop modern industry if it was to survive military challenges from capitalist Europe. This had been a theme throughout the history of the Romanov empire, that they had to import European methods of production and military techniques in order to defend themselves against their European enemies. And so the serfs were liberated as part of a program of building up capitalist relations.

Now, the last several decades of the 19th century saw enormous growth of the proletariat in the tsarist empire. And it was a peculiar process. It wasn't an organic one. That is to say, if you look around New York or Chicago, you can see very old plants and very small plants reflecting an organic growth of capital. Likewise with any of the other Western capitalist countries. But here we had whole new sections of modern industry imported: textiles, metal work, armament factories, some of the most modern in Europe, were simply transplanted. And so the proletariat was concentrated in very, very large, very modern factories for the times. Petersburg was the center of this process and was the main center of the war industries.

And conditions were terrible. It was not simply that the social-democratic parties or revolutionaries were outlawed. The liberals were too. Except the most timid. And unions were completely illegal. No unions were permitted—strikes were outlawed. If you were late for work by ten minutes, you'd get fined a day's pay. There was a whole system of police spies set up in the factories. In fact, the Russian word for strike—

statchka—derives from an older colloquial term, which essentially meant to conspire for a criminal act.

So it was very difficult to strike. But if you look at the figures in the last part of the 19th century going over into the 20th, with the growth of the proletariat you also see a growth of strikes. If you look at 1895, there were 68 strikes. 1896—it went up to 118. 1897—over 145. 1898—215. 1899—it went back down to 189. There was a lull in strikes in the period 1900-1902, mainly because of a decline due to recession. 1903—there were 550 strikes. And in the first month of 1905, there were more strikes than in the whole previous decade. That gives you some sense of the explosion that took place in January.

Of course the authorities had a response: they used troops to break them. Troops were used in the period from 1891 to 1895 to break 67 strikes. Over the next five years up to 1900, they were used 226 times. In the period from 1900 to the beginning of 1905, 651 times. And if one would take the rather small proletariat—relatively, numerically—that existed and conceive of something on a larger scale for the U.S., you can get a sense of the level of repression and the difficult conditions in which proletarian revolutionaries had to operate.

Zubatov's "Police Socialism"

There were other measures, of course, available to the authorities. I'd like to talk a little bit about them, because it leads into the whole question of how Bloody Sunday came about. And that is to say the Okhrana—these were the tsarist secret police—in general began to look for other ways, other than directly using the troops or police repression to keep the workers in line. As early as 1901, the interior minister at the time (one Sipyagin) began to advocate schemes such as profit sharing, permitting the more skilled workers to buy homes and so on, in an attempt to create a bribed, stable, conservative proletarian layer in the workforce. In particular, there was an experiment engaged in by the Interior Ministry known as "police socialism" or Zubatovism, after one Sergei B. Zubatov, who began his career as some sort of populist revolutionary. He became a police informer and then became a cop in Moscow and went on to become the chief of the Moscow secret police. He was a very ardent monarchist and quite sophisticated. In fact, he was so ardent a monarchist that in 1917 in February, on hearing of the fall of the tsar, he leaped up from the dinner table where he was eating with his family and ran into the next room and blew his brains out.

What he tried to do was to create "unions," which in effect were a circumvention of existing laws. These "unions" operated under the guise of being mutual aid societies. And they were basically designed to direct the workers away from political struggle and into a philosophy of "social-tsarism," if you will. Lenin basically though the Zubatov societies were bribery and perversion and described them as (in their intent) offering minuscule reforms in exchange for no political struggle. There was a lot of faction fighting within the tsarist bureaucracy, especially between the Ministry of Interior, which had the job of holding the workers down and wanted to play around with little phony reforms like this, and the Finance Ministry, which was the voice of the capitalists, both the native ones and the various imperialists who were heavily investing in the tsarist empire, who simply pushed ahead with capitalist economic development.

The officials of the Finance Ministry had the advantage of a certain continuity—Count Witte was the finance minister for a very long time—whereas the job of interior minister was insecure. These top cops tended to be assassinated with fair frequency by the Social Revolutionaries. It seemed on the average about two years was the term. So Goremykin was blown away, and then he was replaced by Sipyagin, who was also shot. And in 1902 a guy named Plehve, who was an ultrareactionary, assumed the reins of the Ministry of the Interior.

This Zubatovism, or "police socialism," had to backfire. Because insofar as the Okhrana had to make their police "unions" look like real unions and occasionally lead a strike or do something, it gave openings for the revolutionaries. If you go to *What Is To Be Done?*, you can read Lenin, who said:

> "Keep at it; gentlemen, do your best! Whenever you place a trap in the path of the workers (either by way of direct provocation, or by the 'honest' demoralisation of the workers with the aid of 'Struve-ism'), we will see to it that you are exposed. But whenever you take a real step forward, though it be the most 'timid zig-zag,' we will say: Please continue! And the only step that can be a real step forward is a real, if small, extension of the workers' field of action. Every such extension will be to our advantage and will help to hasten the advent of legal societies of the kind in which it will not be *agents provocateurs* who are detecting socialists, but socialists who are gaining adherents."

What the Bolsheviks attempted to do, when these Zubatov societies did lead strikes, was to aim to take them over and lead them in a socialist direction.

Zubatov had some success in gaining adherents because these were the only legal workers' organizations permitted. But his enterprise right away ran into the bourgeoisie. In 1903 in Moscow one of his unions tried to run a strike against a Russian textile manufacturer of French origin. And the guy simply got up on his hind legs and said: look, what you're doing is illegal, fuck you. So Zubatov being a head cop tried to get this guy deported back to France, at which point Count Witte, the minister of finance, and the French ambassador intervened. And Zubatov was "promoted" upstairs and sent to Petersburg.

Here he tried to work the same angle. But he met with much less success. It was in his attempts to create "police socialism" in Petersburg that he ran into Father Gapon, who was a very interesting character. Although ephemeral in the events of 1905, his acts created the ignition for the revolutionary explosion. And he deserves some mention, if only because our opponents have tried to draw an utterly false analogy between Khomeini and Gapon.

ECPA

Father Gapon (with chief of police of St. Petersburg) led workers' delegation in audience with the tsar.

Father Gapon's "Social-Tsarism"

Several years prior to 1905 Gapon was attending theological seminary in Petersburg and ran a few parishes. He developed quite a reputation as a social worker: running orphanages, self-help societies, charities for the poor and so on. He had some entrée into the tsarist court as a consequence of these activities. And as he told his fellow students at the seminary, "I will end up famous or in prison." Well, he ended up famous and dead. That's another story.

Eventually Gapon got sick of going to seminary and left. At the time of his departure he was running the Blue Cross Orphanage in Petersburg, but he just chucked it all and ran off to the Ukraine with one of his female charges. Now, this didn't stand him in good stead with his teachers in the seminary when he came back to town and sought readmission to theology school. But with the recommendation of a prominent ex-Okhrana agent, he got back into the seminary and was able to complete his studies. And he became a priest in the transit prison in Petersburg. He was hired officially by the state for about 2,000 rubles a year, a lot of money for the time.

Now, when Zubatov ran into Gapon, he talked him into setting up a sort of variant of a police-socialist union, that is, an independent "union" under church guidance. This was in 1903. Zubatov, though, was getting into trouble because in pursuing his activities in Petersburg, he had to clear them with the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Interior's arch rival in the tsarist bureaucracy. Further, also in 1903, his Zubatov unions in the south of Russia (where they'd been most successful, particularly among the Jewish workers in Minsk) launched a big strike. The strike, basically, was the end of Zubatov. The experiment of "police socialism" didn't work, it backfired. So he got the ax.

Gapon saw him off at the railway station, but nonetheless went ahead with his work to found what became the Assembly of Russian Factory and Mill Workers of the City of Petersburg. And in a memoir to the Okhrana, explaining what his assembly was to be, Gapon says:

> "Essentially the basic idea is to build a nest among the factory and mill workers where Rus', a truly Russian spirit, would prevail. From thence healthy and self-sacrificing fledglings could fly forth to defend their tsar and country and aid their fellow workers."

What Gapon was attempting to set up was less than what Zubatov had attempted to set up in Moscow: not even phony unions, but sort of tea houses where the workers could get reactionary culture. You know, hear sermons, listen to reactionary publicists lecture on the benefits of tsarism and so on and so forth.

Now, Father Gapon was a very funny character. In a sense he believed in "social-tsarism." He had very reactionary elements in his outlook and at the same time was flirting with all sorts of liberal notions. Gapon's associates were interesting. He pulled around him a small circle of people who'd formerly been around the Social Democracy, workers that were no longer in the party. And by about March of 1904 they and he had come up with a secret "Program of Five," which they were going to push in their society. This platform was almost identical to the Social Democracy's minimum program.

War with Japan

In February 1904 Gapon's assembly was approved. It didn't grow very rapidly at all when it was started, but something intervened which was the immediate impulse for the events of 1905. On 27 January 1904, Japan—coming into collision with a very aggressive tsarist imperial drive into China—attacked Port Arthur. The Japanese staged a very effective military attack. They either bottled up or destroyed a large portion of the tsarist Pacific fleet and rapidly laid siege to Port Arthur. The tsar went into this war under some illusions. In fact Witte

continued on page 8

Bloody Sunday, 1905: Workers' peaceful appeal met with massacre.

Stop Deukmejian Witchhunt!

SL California Court Suit Needs $$$

The Spartacist League urgently needs financial help to support its lawsuit against California Attorney General George Deukmejian. The suit demands that Deukmejian retract the inclusion of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League in the 1979 report on "Organized Crime in California—Part 2, Terrorism." The report brands us "yet another dangerous faction with which law enforcement would have to deal"—a species of outlaws, terrorists and criminals.

Deukmejian—a new Joe McCarthy who is running for governor on a right-wing "law-and-order" platform—has smeared our good name and set us up for attacks by police and right-wingers. We do not intend to meet the fate of the Black Panther Party! We do not intend to be nameless, faceless victims who can be blown away with impunity in the night. We will fight Deukmejian's sinister effort to set us up for government persecution and violence with all our political, legal and moral resources. To press our suit, we need your support in the form of generous financial contributions.

A workers party has the right to organize! Deukmejian willfully brands

Young Spartacus

SL protests California witchhunt.

as "terrorism" Marxist education and our efforts to organize a workers party to fight for the interests of the working class and all the oppressed. While smearing the SL/SYL, the report whitewashes the Nazis and Klan, saying the real danger from the fascists is not their racist terrorist actions but "their ability to create trouble by attracting violence from those on the extreme left." In 1980, several months before Deukmejian's report for 1979 was issued, the SL initiated the April 19th Committee Against Nazis, which prevented the Nazis from "celebrating Hitler's birthday" in the San Francisco Civic Center by a mass mobilization of labor unions, community organizations and socialists. As a result, the real perpetrators of terrorist violence, the Nazis, have not shown their faces in San Francisco since April 1980. But for Deukmejian, those who seek to mobilize the working class to stop racist terror are "terrorists."

Deukmejian and his right-wing coterie have sinister plans for labor and its allies. Unless they are stopped, their attacks on the right of the working class to organize will be incorporated in new repressive legislation. The climate of McCarthyite witchhunting will be turned against the entire left, the labor movement and minority organizations. The time to fight back is now!

Protest demonstrations have been held across the state of California against this smear. The suit has already received wide publicity. Reportage on the just-released 1980 report featured the fact that this time the SL and SYL were not included. While our absence from the 1980 report is a shame-faced admission that we are not "terrorists" or "criminals," a spokesman for the attorney general's office said it stands by its 1979 report. Our organizations remain in grave danger from its lies!

Law suits against the state are costly. The SL/SYL suit faces the resources of the state government of California and the right-wing agribusiness tycoons who call the tune for the new McCarthyites. If you defend the right of a workers party to organize, you have a stake in this suit. The Partisan Defense Committee—a class-struggle, anti-sectarian legal defense organization in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League—is collecting funds to support the suit. Make checks payable/send your contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99 Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

1905...

(continued from page 7)

remarked that the tsar didn't know the difference between Chinese and Japanese. He soon found out.

With the war heating up, discontent was rising very rapidly. You have to understand that in this period Plehve, who was an ultrareactionary, was still minister of the interior. He was rubbed out in July of 1904 by the Social Revolutionaries. His passing from the scene was the occasion for a change of policy by the tsar. In order to prosecute the war, to keep the discontent within what they hoped would be reasonable bounds, and probably on the advice of his cousin, Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany, the tsar appointed a new minister of the interior, Svyatopolk-Mirsky, and a so-called spring began. The autocracy eased up particularly on the opposition of the liberal nobility and landlords. And there was a certain flowering of liberal opposition. *Zemstvo* congresses were beginning to meet, even daring to say that they wanted to petition the tsar.

You have to understand that in the way the fundamental laws of the tsarist empire were laid down, the only people who could petition the tsar were the nobility, through their various so-called marshals. Anything else was considered a crime.

But with this upsurge in discontent and this attempt to loosen a little bit the reins of repression, the Zubatov societies began to grow very quickly, particularly the Gapon assembly in Petersburg. A lot of workers streamed into it. By early January of 1905 a strike exploded in the Putilov plant in Petersburg. This was the plant of metal workers, the biggest plant in Petersburg. It started over a "small thing," the arbitrary dismissal of four workers. The Gapon assembly intervened but failed to reverse the firings. And Gapon, who originally had set his society up not to be a union, went along with the workers and found himself conducting a strike, which very rapidly spread to include a large number of the workers of Petersburg.

Now about this time Port Arthur fell. The other fighting taking place in the war in Manchuria was of a very bloody sort, and it continued throughout the next six months of 1905. In fact in its main features it was a prelude to the type of warfare that took place in World War I. After the fall of Port Arthur, the Japanese were able to turn a lot of their armies to the north, and there was a lot of fighting in Manchuria in very hilly country, with defended positions. So, you'd have battles where 90,000 people would be killed or wounded. There were the same sort of attempts to take these defended positions by mass frontal assaults of the troops, with the Russians doing most of the assaults and getting very bloodily beaten.

There was another military debacle for tsarism in 1905, and that was the battle of Tsushima Straits. It had a big military impact and it brought the tsarist autocracy to sue for peace with the Japanese. Now once the Russian Pacific fleet had been rendered ineffective by the initial Japanese attack, the tsar and his advisers decided to move the Russian Baltic fleet 18,000 miles all the way from Petersburg down round the Horn of Africa, past India, up through the South China Sea and into the Straits. They arrived about May of 1905, which was a little late. In bad weather they managed to get quite close to the Japanese fleet before they were discovered. A battle ensued and the upshot of it was that the Russians lost eight battleships (two captured), seven cruisers (three interned, one captured), five destroyers, a couple of torpedo boats and bunch of coastal ships. They lost about 150,000 tons and had about 60,000 tons either captured or interned. In the battle of Jutland, which was another very big naval battle of the time, there were 171,000 tons lost.

Now the Japanese casualties during this engagement were minimal. They lost a couple of destroyers. The Japanese were, by the way, equipped with ships purchased in Italy. The Japanese achieved victory through superior gunnery. They just stood off and, having longer range guns, just cut the Baltic fleet to pieces.

Bloody Sunday

Okay, so back to Petersburg in 1905. The strike growing out of the dismissal of the Putilov workers was threatening to dissipate. It was at this point that Gapon came up with the idea of petitioning the tsar. The petition he was eventually to try to submit was a combination of the most groveling beseeching of his imperial majesty by his humble servants and a demand that the tsar set things right. The petition contained a program which the tsar was asked to adopt. If you go and read this program they presented, it was basically the Program of the Five, with a few modifications added, like a demand for a constituent assembly. One of the demands was the strict separation of church and state—very unlike the ayatollah Khomeini. Gapon was a very popular charismatic figure in this period and his following among the workers reflected the mixed consciousness and the illusions of a lot of the Petersburg proletariat of the time.

The Russian Social Democratic Workers Party [RSDRP] in January of 1905 was, of course, split into its Bolshevik and Menshevik wings, and the events in January in Petersburg almost bypassed them. Both wings, but especially the Bolsheviks, were very weak numerically. It's interesting to look at the reports at the time by the Bolsheviks—they were very frustrated by the whole set of developments over which Gapon presided. For one thing, they didn't know about Gapon's plans till very late. In fact, the Mensheviks, who had a nose for this type of thing, didn't find out what Gapon intended until December 26. Both wings of the RSDRP tended to simply dismiss the Gapon societies as Zubatov societies and basically kept away from them.

In the period immediately preceding Bloody Sunday, whenever the Social Democrats tried to go the the mass meetings of the Gaponovites and intervene, they'd get beaten up, driven off or have their leaflets torn up. The Bolsheviks, when they heard about Gapon's ploy to go and petition the tsar, expected a bloodbath. They tried to warn the workers against what seemed to them to be a Zubatov provocation. But they were standing outside of events and this movement was snowballing. Gapon had behind him a large number of the Petersburg proletariat. And so the Bolsheviks decided to march in the demonstration, but warn against it. Those were the tactics they followed. And when the trouble started, they hoped to be able to intervene and direct the outrage of the masses against the autocracy.

On January 9, 1905 Petersburg saw this peculiar spectacle of thousands and thousands of workers with their families all marching in various routes to converge on the Winter Palace. And the Gapon societies had been permitted to do this. It smacked of a provocation in that the cops knew what was going on and didn't in the least try to stop it. The fact that the processions were widely publicized and that there were no prior police measures to crush them gave a lot of workers the illusion that this was a permissible demonstration. So on Sunday, January 9, as I said, there were thousands and thousands of workers in these religious processions singing "God Save the Tsar," carrying icons and Russian flags. These columns of marching workers were met at key points in the city by concentrations of troops who simply massacred them, fired into the crowds to break them up. In that sense, the last words of Gapon's petition, that "we have no place else to go...we will die here if you want us to," took place.

If the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks had been somewhat outside this situation prior to January 9, afterwards they began to be listened to. Because in one day that incident rocked the proletariat of Petersburg. The news of it spread across the country and as it did, it broke the illusions in the tsarist autocracy of large sections of this Russian proletariat, many of whom were peasants recently in from the countryside, in a way that years of propaganda had not been able to do. And a wave of strikes rolled across the tsarist empire.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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Spartacus Youth League
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299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
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Justice for Japanese American Concentration Camp Survivors!

The bitter story of the four-year agony of Japanese Americans in American concentration camps during World War II is coming out at hearings of the U.S. "Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians." But to remember is not enough! The Commission is "considering"—some 40 years after the fact—whether some compensation might be due the 120,000 Japanese Americans who were rounded up behind barbed wire in barren deserts, their property stolen, then dumped out in 1946 and told to "go home" after World War II.

Responding to West Coast hearings of the Commission, California's notorious Republican senator S.I. Hayakawa added vile insult to the injury already suffered by these citizens. Hayakawa, who spent World War II in Canada, wasn't sent to the camps—although most of the Japanese there were. In a monstrous apology for imperialist racism, Hayakawa said the camps were for their own protection, "just part of the normal insanities of wartime," adding that Japanese American groups' efforts to claim reparations made his "flesh crawl with shame and embarrassment" (*Oakland Tribune*, 5 August).

Diana Coleman, Spartacist candidate for San Francisco Board of Supervisors in 1980, testified before the "National Committee for Japanese Reparations/Redress" community meeting on August 11:

"You don't have to be Japanese American to be angry about what happened in the concentration camps. I went to school here and I heard these lies about the war for democracy, but I never heard one word in California schools about the concentration camps. I never heard one word about the land stolen from the Japanese Americans; I never heard one word about these loyalty oaths, one word about those who were forced to give up their citizenship, one word about the scars they'd left on people. As far as I'm concerned, no amount would be enough for what has been done to the Japanese Americans.

Wilson/SF Tribune

To remember is not enough! Spartacist supporters condemn America's imperialist war, atomic bombing and concentration camps for Japanese Americans at the Hiroshima Day memorial rally August 6 in San Francisco.

"I want justice done, and not only for the victims—the people here in this room and the others that they know. What about those who are guilty? What about the U.S. government which put people in those camps in the first place? What about the U.S. government which is the only government which has dropped the A-bomb on human beings in Hiroshima and Nagasaki? And not even because it was a military objective, which it wasn't, but because it was the opening shot in the Cold War against the Soviet Union.

"So, brothers and sisters, I think it's going to be a hard struggle to get money out of the Reagan government. This government is not giving money to people these days—maybe you've noticed that. But all of us had better learn some things from this struggle, and one is the roll call of those who are guilty—the liberals in the Democratic Party, like Franklin Roosevelt, Earl Warren. All these are supposed to be friends of the minority people in this country. Well, they were the ones that put people in the concentration camps in the first place. And as well, so-called progressive groups, like the Communist Party, which expelled all their Japanese American members and let them go to the camps without a protest. I come from a different tradition. I'm a supporter of the Spartacist League, a revolutionary Trotskyist organization, and it was the Trotskyists who were one of the few groups at the time to speak out against people being put into concentration camps, even though they themselves at that time were being very heavily persecuted.

"I believe that justice will only come with a socialist revolution. That's the only thing that's going to rid this world of racist atrocities and imperialist wars. Those camps are still out there—they still have Manzanar, they still have Tule Lake, and they are waiting for a new war and new victims. I want to stop those camps from being reopened again. And I want to stop the madmen who run this country from unleashing a new nuclear war and bringing out the bombs again in an anti-Soviet war drive." ■

Labor Day...

(continued from page 2)

reading of *Workers Vanguard* ("Defense of the Unions Begins with Defense of the Air Traffic Controllers"). Their plea for sympathy strikes, however, is couched in endless "ifs" and "buts" so as not to offend the labor bureaucracy. They do *not* call for solidarity strikes *now* to shut down the airports, nor for labor to break with the capitalist Democratic Party. Moreover, most of the Coalition groups oppose the Westway, but they didn't raise their objection up at Gracie Mansion in order to softsoap the labor fakers.

Along the line of the Labor Day march a Spartacist League banner was raised calling to "Fight for Workers Rights! Build a Workers Party! Smash Reagan!" And at Gracie Mansion our banner proclaimed, "Reagan: Strikebreaker, Anti-Soviet Warmaker! Labor: Shut Down the Airports! Break with the Bosses Parties—Fight for a Workers Party!" In contrast to the petty-bourgeois opportunists, SL signs demanded "Land the Concorde on the Westway!" Altogether, 1,336 copies of *WV* with the headline "Shut Down the Airports!" were sold on Labor Day. ■

Picket Line/Rally Against CIA Recruiters

- **CIA Spies Off Campus!**
- **Protest CIA's Murder Inc. Terror in El Salvador and Latin America!**
- **Abolish the CIA/NSA/FBI!**

12 Noon, Wed. 23 Sept.
Science Hall
University of Wisconsin/Madison
For more info. (608) 255-2342

MADISON

Company and Cops Gas Illinois Miners

CHICAGO—Some 15,000 Illinois coal miners walked off their jobs and shut down mines throughout the state on August 18. The strike was a response to a vicious assault by state police and National Guardsmen against union coal miners demonstrating at a non-union site in Galatia, Illinois earlier that day. The cops, firing tear gas from National Guard helicopters made available by Governor Thompson, finally dispersed the demonstrators, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA). But it took a three-hour battle to do it, during which the miners ripped down a two-mile chain link fence enclosing the mine site. Construction equipment and trucks owned by the scab outfit were also reportedly set ablaze.

UPI

The attempt by the Kerr-McGee Company to erect a non-union mine in the middle of the UMWA stronghold in southern Illinois is a deliberate provocation. Only one other mine in the entire state is non-union. Coal miners in this area are as determined to defend their union today as their grandfathers were 50 years ago, when bloody pitched battles were fought between the UMWA and scabs. The county bordering on Galatia is still called "Bloody Williamson" in memory of a clash which left 20 strikebreakers dead in 1922. As a 30-year UMWA veteran told the press recently, "If they come bringing in a bunch of people, setting up non-union, they'll be setting up in ashes. Every one of their homes will get burned to the ground. You can count on it, as sure as I'm talking" (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 August).

An official from UMWA District 12 told *WV* that one miner was arrested on August 18 and subsequently warrants have been issued for eight additional demonstrators. Meanwhile, the courts have banned demonstrations and mass pickets at the mine site, and Kerr-McGee has resumed construction work with non-union labor. But the struggle to stop the union-busters is far from over, the official emphasized.

Kerr-McGee, emboldened by Reagan's union-busting assault on PATCO, hope that the UMWA will let itself be tied up in extended court deliberations. Militant mine workers must have no illusions in the capitalist courts and bosses' government. Miners have demonstrated time and again their willingness to tear up Taft-Hartley and court injunctions to fight for what they need. And in southern Illinois they easily have the forces to teach the union-busters a lesson they will not soon forget. What is necessary is a solid mass mobilization of the ranks to put an immediate halt to all scab activities and insure that all mine work is union. Such action can help pave the way for a much-needed labor counteroffensive by the UMWA and the rest of the unions.

WV Photo

Transit worker militants in NYC Labor Day parade demand: "Shut Down the Train to the Plane!"

NYC Transit Militants: "Stop the Train to the Plane!"

New York City subway and bus system workers have a vital and immediate stake in beating back Reagan's all-out assault on public workers' right to strike. However, Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president John Lawe responded to Reagan's union busting by offering to *surrender* his union's essential "no contract, no work" tradition in exchange for binding arbitration. Such a "deal" would leave NYC transit workers utterly defenseless, which is why strikebreaker Mayor Koch rushed to endorse the plan.

The TWU has a tremendous amount of power—although latent—the potential is there. New York is the center of commerce and high finance capital—the American bourgeoisie *needs* the New York subways.

In answer to Lawe's program of cowardice, Local 100 militants have been circulating the following leaflet calling for labor solidarity to defend PATCO and the right to strike:

Reagan's vicious drive to bust the PATCO union has served notice on organized labor: strikes will not be tolerated. He's showing the big city mayors how to smash public workers' strikes once and for all. Labor leaders like Van Arsdale are muttering about Adolf Hitler.

The right to strike for all public workers is at stake here. Reagan means to intimidate labor by attempting to destroy those unions that dare to fight. And John Lawe got the message—we are disgusted at his cowardly submission before the racist strikebreaking Koch—offering to give up "no contract, no work" to show his compliance.

It is elementary and urgently necessary that labor defend PATCO with solidarity *actions now!* Shut down the airports! All unions must stop crossing PATCO picket lines.

Our Local 100 must stop servicing the scab operation at Kennedy—shut down the Train to the Plane. The JFK Express is a symbol, it's Koch's pride and joy. To shut it down would be a dramatic act of solidarity and a big fist in Koch's face. Let Koch know that we won't take the PATCO treatment this fall.

The strike is our only weapon. We can't rely on a "neutral" arbitrator to fight for COLA, or defend dues checkoff, or prevent the TA from murdering our brothers—remember Jesse Cole and Al Lamberti.

We've got to take a stand. For labor action to defend PATCO—defend the right to strike! Shut down the Train to the Plane!

—The Ad Hoc Committee for Labor Solidarity

PATCO...

(continued from page 1)

elementary action. A few militant exceptions have pierced this wall of treachery. In Northern California, Oakland city bus drivers stop short of the airports, forcing riders to walk the rest of the way. (The Amalgamated Transit Union in the Bay Area has threatened to fine any member $500 who crosses a PATCO picket line.) In New York City militant transit workers in the Transport Workers Union have been fighting to shut down the "Train to the Plane," an express subway to JFK Airport, as an expression of solidarity.

If U.S. labor has miserably abdicated its responsibilities in the PATCO strike, the capitulation is even more blatant in the case of reformist and centrist leftists who call themselves socialists. In the Bay Area a left-dominated strike support committee—including supporters of the Communist Party, Communist Workers Party, Communist Labor Party and the small Revolutionary Workers League/Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (RWL) helped pro-capitalist union bureaucracies prevent a one-day airport shutdown in August. Spartacist League supporters and class-struggle union militants had demanded a commitment from unionists to fight in their organizations for an immediate airport shutdown to back the air controllers strike. The fake-revolutionaries, in contrast, only wanted a sandbox in which they could act as the "left" tail of do-nothing union bureaucrats.

This was revealed at the very first meeting that established the support committee on August 14 in Oakland. Assorted Stalinists (Albanian and ex-Peking varieties) pushed through a proposal for an airport rally on Saturday, August 22, which would explicitly *not* seek a work stoppage of any sort. After backing this proposal, a supporter of the RWL presented a five-part motion vaguely calling for a one-day airport shutdown (when?) and the formation of a labor party "with clear policies of defending the labor movement"! (At May 3 El Salvador rallies these fake-Trotskyist centrists had imitated the Spartacist League with a leaflet calling for dumping the bureaucrats, breaking with the Democrats and building a workers party. Now it seems that "clear policies"—whatever that means—are enough.) When an SL trade-union supporter demanded, "Set a date for the airport shutdown," the RWLer replied: "Oh, no! We are only for the *idea* of a strike."

Longshore and warehouse militants from the ILWU called for setting a date, pointing out that twice in the past year their union had shut down a harbor in solidarity with other unions. A militant phone worker raised a motion (supported by the Spartacist League) calling on trade unionists to "go back to their unions with a proposal that their unions strike in sympathy with PATCO for one day, Friday, August 21, and hold a mass picket/labor rally to shut down the San Francisco and Oakland airports." RWLers opposed this call to set the date as "strange." On the contrary, it's the only way to put the union misleaders on the spot. The Stalinists and RWL were greatly chagrined the next day when the local AFL-CIO selected the 21st for an airport picket. No doubt the opportunists thought it was some kind of Spartacist plot. When PATCO officials announced this plan at the next strike support committee meeting, they were dismayed. One speaker termed it "unfortunate" because it would mess up their plans for a Saturday rally!

On the morning of the 21st, the bureaucrats failed to mobilize the thousands who should have been there to shut down the three Bay Area airports. Nevertheless, hundreds of local unionists took time off work to answer the call. In San Francisco, Jeff Pector of the S.F. Airport Labor Coalition announced there were to be no picket signs or anything resembling a picket line, or any suggestion to anyone at the employee entrance gates that they shouldn't go in to work: "There are always people who see a picket line and go home, and then get disciplined and we can't defend them." No, the bureaucrats *won't* defend them! The bureaucrats also tried to forbid sales of *Workers Vanguard* with the headline, "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!" But *WV* salesmen held their ground (130 copies sold), and the picketers soon picked up our chant, "Shut it down! Shut it down!"

Across the Bay in Oakland, several hundred unionists picketed all four lanes of the highway leading to the airport. Alameda Central Labor Council leader Dick Groulx had earlier addressed a PATCO strike meeting in Fremont calling for a "complete shutdown of the airports." But on August 21 he worked out a deal with the cops to let militants block the road for several minutes at a time and then periodically clear the way to let accumulated traffic pass: picket lines become glorified stop lights! At a subsequent Oakland Airport picket on September 4, an even larger crowd of 600 workers, many of them from public employees unions, mounted an aggressive, frustrated stand-off with the cops. While the bureaucrats were careful to prevent the August 21 demonstrations from closing the airports, it is ironic that the union tops found it necessary to take their "shutdown" rhetoric further than the fake-lefts. Perhaps this is the kind of "clear policy"—all talk and no action—that the RWL has in mind for their anti-labor "labor party."

On August 24 the "support" committee met again at the Fremont union hall. This time many PATCO members were in attendance for their regular nightly strike meeting. SL trade-union supporters again raised a motion to nail down a one-day strike and mass airport pickets. The air controllers applauded and seconded the motion, but the opportunists jumped in to object: it was too soon, the unions would never do it, etc. In the end there were not enough votes to pass the strike motion. Lane Kirkland himself couldn't have done better in dissipating the PATCO strikers' militancy. Nevertheless, a labor shutdown of the airports is increasingly urgent. Air transport workers have the power to do it—the obstacle is the do-nothing bureaucracy, in alliance with their pseudo-socialist cheerleaders. Victory to the PATCO strike! Shut down the airports! ■

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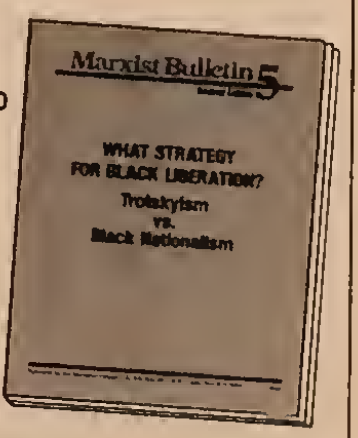

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Angola...

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presence as justification for supporting South African militarism. Even more so today than in the 1975-76 war, defense of black nationalist Angola against white racist South Africa is bound up with the defense of the bureaucratically ruled Soviet state against capitalism-imperialism.

Reagan Reforges U.S./South Africa Axis

While the Carter administration quietly maintained Washington's traditional alliance with white-supremacist South Africa, it simultaneously sought, especially through black front man Andrew Young, to draw black African regimes into the pro-Western, anti-Soviet camp. To this end, as well as for domestic consumption, Carter/Young hypocritically criticized the apartheid state for violating "human rights." Reagan has denounced all talk of "human rights" as a sign of softness toward Communism and has openly embraced every bloody right-wing regime he can find, from Pinochet's Chile and Zia's Pakistan to Begin's Israel and Botha's South Africa.

As soon as Reagan came into office top-level meetings took place between Washington and Pretoria. For instance on March 15 a group of South African officials, headed by the chief of military intelligence, met with members of the U.S. National Security Council, Defense Intelligence Agency and Reagan's UN ambassador, Jeane Kirkpatrick. Later Kirkpatrick tried to downplay the significance of the meeting by claiming she didn't know the status of the people involved, even though the *New York Times* reported on the same day that five "top military men from South Africa were in the U.S."!

Since then Kirkpatrick & Co. have openly flouted UN resolutions for the independence of Namibia. South Africa took over the German colony of South West Africa (Namibia) during World War I and was duly given a League of Nations mandate in 1920. In 1966 the "Third World" majority at the United Nations revoked the South African mandate and subsequently resolved that the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) was the "sole" representative of the country. Needless to say, the South Africans are still there in force. Now the Reagan administration declares that independence for Namibia must be linked to the withdrawal of Soviet/Cuban forces from Angola, thus rendering the black African nationalists defenseless against South African militarism.

While stiffening South Africa's resolve to hold on to Namibia, the Reagan administration has also openly encouraged attacks on Angola. It pushed for Congress to repeal the 1975 Clark Amendment, which prohibits overt or covert aid to any Angolan group. This amendment was passed in response to revelations of CIA involvement in the South African invasion and expressed American ruling class anxiety at the time of being drawn into "another Vietnam." Reagan clearly wants to resume military support to Jonas Savimbi's UNITA, a joint U.S./South African puppet engaging in terrorism in southern Angola. Repeal of the Clark Amendment was intended as a declaration of political solidarity with South Africa and a virtual declaration of war on Angola.

So Pretoria knew it had the green light for its present invasion. If there was any douht of Washington's support to South African militarism before the invasion, there certainly is none now. A week after the invasion began U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Chester Crocker gave what is probably the most pro-South African speech ever given by a high U.S. official. While hypocritically claiming the U.S. was "neutral" in any and all conflicts between the white-supremacist regime and its black victims, internal and external, he then told it like it is: "The Reagan administration has no intention of destabilizing South Africa in order to curry favor elsewhere" (*New York Times*, 30 August).

And Crocker was as good as his word. The next day the U.S. accepted complete diplomatic isolation by vetoing a UN resolution condemning the South African invasion. Here Reagan not only went against the "Third World"/Soviet bloc majority but his own imperialist allies. France, Japan and Spain all condemned the South African invasion. Even the British Thatcher government, in many ways the ideological twin of Reagan's, thought it wiser to abstain than to solidarize with the hated racist pariah of Africa on this occasion. *New York Times* commentator Flora Lewis summed up the diplomatic situation in a column entitled, "Alone with South Africa."

The Liberals' Carrot and the South African Stick

That is not to say there are no differences or tensions between Botha's South Africa and Reagan's America. The white rulers of South Africa want to keep Namibia no matter what and view the MPLA regime in Angola as a mortal enemy which must be destroyed. For U.S. imperialism, even under a right-wing fanatic like Reagan, the options are broader. Washington knows that "Third World" petty-bourgeois nationalist groups like SWAPO in Namibia and the MPLA in Angola can be bought off and that many a Soviet client of yesterday is today Washington's (Sadat's Egypt!).

The U.S. regards South Africa's direct colonial presence in Namibia as an obstacle to winning black African states to the anti-Soviet cause. So even the Reagan administration is willing to entertain the prospect of a SWAPO government in Namibia provided it is purged of all Soviet allegiances. On Angola, Washington's stated position is to force the withdrawal of Cuban/Soviet forces and a coalition government of the MPLA and UNITA. When Crocker visited Pretoria last April for high-level talks, he argued that:

> "We believe there can be no peace in Angola without reconciliation between UNITA and MPLA. We see no prospect of military victory for UNITA. Must achieve movement toward reconciliation by playing on divisions in MPLA...."
>
> —*CounterSpy*, August-October 1981

But any such deal with the African black nationalists is completely sabotaged by Washington's present fulsome support to South African militarism. Thus Reagan's southern African policy utterly dismays not only the "liberal" wing of U.S. imperialism but even some hard-line Cold Warriors. The *New York Times*' Flora Lewis, who often mirrors the views of the CIA, is positively enraged that Reagan has thrown away anti-Soviet diplomatic unity by championing the racist pariah of the world. Washington's "neutrality" over the Angolan invasion, she writes in her 31 August column, "was to reverse the anti-Soviet lineup after the invasion of Afghanistan and to isolate the U.S." Andrew Young, ever the black liberal front man for U.S. imperialism, pointed out on ABC's *Nightline* (2 September) that American oil companies continue to do a roaring business with "Marxist" Angola and that support to South Africa will only drive the MPLA deeper into the Soviet camp. These liberal and not-so-liberal U.S. imperialists want to wheel and deal with the various black nationalists in Africa. But the main imperialist military force on the continent is white-supremacist South Africa. Squaring that circle is the CIA's problem, not ours.

For Workers Revolutions in Southern Africa

While Cuba, the Soviet Union and East Germany have poured troops, advisers and equipment into Angola, their aim has *not* been to spread or defend proletarian revolution. Rather they seek to curry favor with and support the anti-working-class nationalist regime in Luanda. For example Cuban troops guard the Gulf oil fields in Cabinda. Small wonder Gulf espouses the "liberal" line on Angola. Military defense against South Africa cannot be trusted to the MPLA leadership, which could easily discard its Soviet ties for a quick deal with U.S. imperialism just as Sadat's Egypt did in 1973. (Soviet arms supplied to Egypt are now being used to kill Russian soldiers in Afghanistan!) The Angolan working class needs a revolutionary (Trotskyist) party, one with the closest ties to the South African proletariat.

The main force for the liberation of the working masses of Angola and Namibia lies in the several-million-strong black proletariat of South Africa, the industrial powerhouse of the continent. In recent months there has been a great upsurge in working-class struggle in South Africa leading to the emergence of mass unregistered black unions and a sharp rise in strikes—at least one a day. Strikes have even occurred in the economically critical gold mines where 450,000 blacks labor in practically prison-like conditions. The South African military adventure in Angola coincides with stepped-up internal repression—forced eviction of thousands of "squatters" from the Capetown area, police attempts to break up the black unions. Yet, despite the desperate measures of the white racist regime, the curve of black class struggle in South Africa is on the upswing, needing above all a communist leadership to direct the struggle toward proletarian power throughout the continent. ■

U.S. Concentration Camp at Lake Placid

Stop Deportation of Haitian Refugees!

Protesting the plight of thousands of Haitian refugees who escaped the bloody torture regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier only to be held prisoner in concentration camps in the U.S., the Spartacist League joined several dozen demonstrating outside the Supreme Court building in Brooklyn, September 5. While the Reagan administration has initiated mass deportation proceedings against them, thousands of Haitians await their fate in the festering, overcrowded pens such as at the Brooklyn Navy Yard or in grotesque concentration camps like the one created at Lake Placid, N.Y., originally built as the site of the 1980 Winter Olympics.

WV Photo

At Krome Detention Center in Miami, INS men and "contract guards" last week tear-gassed and attacked refugees driven to hunger strikes and brick-throwing outbursts to protest their desperate situation. Reagan, like Carter before him, insists the black Haitians are not "political refugees," but simply economic immigrants. Under the draconian new immigration laws, Coast Guard boats will soon be ordered to intercept the Haitians' rickety boats at sea, hold on-the-spot hearings and compel immediate deportation back to sure torture and death.

Springboks...

(continued from page 12)

battling racist imperialism in Africa.

The South African government has long used the Springboks as a means of breaking out of diplomatic isolation and gaining international acceptance for the apartheid system. In a country that is over 70 percent black, this "national" team consists of 39 whites and one token coloured (mixed race) player. Four members of the team are in the army and two are cops. To arrange for the U.S. tour—scheduled for New York City, Chicago and Albany, N.Y.—a prominent Johannesburg businessman with close ties to the South African government "donated" $25,000 to the Eastern Rugby Union, clearly a bribe for the invitation.

The Springboks tour is an outrage to American blacks and to all who hate racist oppression and seek its destruction. Indeed, everyone knows this tour could well become a target for an outpouring of mass black anger. New York mayor Ed Koch, no less a politician of the racist white backlash than Reagan, canceled a permit for the Springboks to play in city facilities since he could not guarantee "public order" if this living symbol of apartheid was displayed a few miles from Harlem. Likewise, Chicago mayor Jane Byrne has refused public facilities for the South African "national" rugby team. The organizers of the tour indicate that the New York and Chicago games will take place in *secret* locations!

While the organizers of the Springboks tour and the mayors of New York, Chicago and Albany rightly fear mass militant protests especially by blacks, the liberals and reformists of the Stop Apartheid Rugby Tour group (SART) are asking Reagan to cancel the team's visas. To appeal to the U.S. imperialist government under *any* president to boycott South Africa is a disgusting display of liberal moralism. But to appeal to the right-wing fanatic Reagan, a man whose program could have been written by the Ku Klux Klan, to dissociate himself from South African apartheid is nothing short of obscene.

As against liberals and reformists, we reject moralistic boycotts of all things South African from sardines to Krugerrands. The only real effect of such boycott campaigns is to prettify "democratic" U.S. imperialism as if "the land of the free" was more humane, more high-minded than South Africa. The crimes and atrocities of white-supremacist South Africa, real though they are, pale before those of U.S. imperialism—Hiroshima, Vietnam, the installation of bloody juntas throughout Latin America. South Africa is a local power, a fairly junior partner of U.S. imperialism. In their wildest fantasies Piet Botha and his colleagues dream only of extending their sphere of influence to adjacent black African states. Reagan/Haig are planning World War III to destroy the Soviet Union because it embodies the gains, albeit bureaucratically degenerated, of the great Bolshevik Revolution.

Drive the Springboks out! Smash the U.S./South Africa Cold War axis! The main enemy is at home! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S./South Africa Cold War Racist Axis

Smash Apartheid Invasion of Angola!

U.S. imperialism backs South Africa's racist killer corps.

Alan Hutchinson

South African racism found its natural ally in Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive as Pretoria unleashed an invasion of Angola on August 24. "WE KILLED RUSSIANS IN ANGOLA," boasted South African war minister Magnus Malan in a screaming *New York Post* (1 September) headline. The *New York Times* (3 September) observed that the South Africans are "all but displaying the mounted heads of Soviet military advisers killed in last week's invasion." These brave Russians were among a handful of military advisers fighting in the invasion area as two South African columns with 32 tanks and air support swept over southern Angola destroying defenseless villages as well as killing Angolan soldiers. While Washington keeps claiming that its South African ally is withdrawing, the latest reports indicate that Pretoria intends to hold onto territory in southern Angola as it has apparently reinforced the original invasion force with a third armored column.

Pretoria claimed that the purpose of the attack was to destroy the bases of SWAPO guerrillas fighting for the independence of South Africa's Namibian colony. In reality the invasion has a far broader aim, one strongly encouraged by Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive—to "destabilize" (as the CIA would put it) and ultimately overthrow the Soviet-allied nationalist government in Angola.

In fact a state of war has existed between South Africa and the nationalist MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola) regime supported by the Soviet bloc ever since the Portuguese colonialists pulled out in 1975. A U.S.-backed South African army then moved into the power vacuum trying to reconquer Angola for Western imperialism. This imperialist power play was turned back by the timely arrival of 20,000 Cuban troops armed with modern Soviet weaponry. Since then the Angolan nationalist regime has depended on Cuban troops and Soviet military aid for its very survival as South Africa has continually subjected the country to air and ground attacks. And as we wrote last spring: "Given Reagan's bellicosity, an attempt to reverse the imperialists' 1976 defeat in Angola by another Washington-backed South African invasion is possible" ("Racist U.S./South Africa Axis," *WV* No. 281, 22 May).

As proletarian revolutionaries we say: Drive the South African army out of Angola! Military victory to SWAPO in Namibia! At stake in these conflicts is far more than the fate of the black peoples of southern Africa. Angola/Namibia could well become a flashpoint for World War III as the MPLA calls for more Soviet-bloc military aid while Reagan points to the Soviet/Cuban

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Drive Springboks Out!

Rugby Team Tours for Apartheid

On August 24 the South African army, with tanks and air support, invaded Angola. A few days later the Reagan administration declared it would do nothing "to destabilize South Africa" and duly vetoed a UN resolution condemning the invasion. In late September for the first time ever the South African "national" rugby team, the Springboks, is scheduled to tour the U.S. The timing of these events is far from accidental. This tour by the apartheid ambassadors in rugby shorts is intended as a public demonstration of the newly reforged U.S./South African Cold War axis. Even the *New York Times* (14 August) recognized that Reagan/Haig's approval of the Springboks tour is meant "to demonstrate the new friendliness toward South Africa."

The Springboks will come to the U.S. straight from New Zealand where their presence provoked mass violent protests and produced a major political crisis which could even bring down the right-wing National government. The Springboks' periodic tours to New Zealand and Australia are an attempt by South Africa to assert its membership in the club of rich white men's countries. But their first ever U.S. tour is far more sinister in purpose. It is intended to gain public acceptance for Washington's alliance with the hated apartheid regime as part and parcel of the global war drive against the Soviet Union and its allies.

The Springboks tour provides an important opportunity for massive protests against the U.S./South Africa Cold War axis. By driving the South African "national" team out of the country, militants can demonstrate support to the guerrilla fighters of SWAPO, to the Angolan and Cuban soldiers and Russian advisers now

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Police terror at South African football match.

Peter Mugubane

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 289 25 September 1981

No "Solidarity" with Democrats!

For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!

WV Photos

AFL-CIO organized largest labor demonstration in U.S. history, but refused to call solidarity strikes in support of PATCO.

It was the biggest labor demonstration by far in American history, and perhaps the largest protest ever seen in Washington. As many as half a million marched through the capital's streets September 19, dwarfing the AFL-CIO's own conservative prediction of 100,000. It was a massive outpouring of working-class anger against the Reagan government, but the union ranks were not brought to D.C. for militant struggle. For the union bureaucracy, which planned "Solidarity Day" as a pressure tactic, the numbers were the message, period. Many rank and filers, however, wanted real action against Reagan's vicious cutbacks and strikebreaking. An angry steel worker remarked, "We should have been here during the week to shut down Washington." It is because of sentiments like these, the danger that things could "get out of hand" and turn into a class struggle against the capitalist government, that the union tops resort to such mobilizations only when their own backs are to the wall.

And they are. The unprecedented labor demonstration was called to answer Reagan's charge that union leaders like AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland were "out of touch" with their members. The 44 percent vote for Reagan by unionists in 1980 backed up this implied threat, and the administration's actions in Congress and toward the PATCO strike show it feels it can safely ignore Kirkland & Co. The response of the labor fakers and the broader purpose of September 19 was to reforge the unions' traditional ties to the Democratic Party—the popular front American-style. A brown-and-white sticker widely distributed at the rally expressed the bureaucrats' option: "Solidarity in '81—Victory in '82!" And the *Washington Post* (20 September) noted that the aim of the march was "stiffening the spines of wobbly Democrats" and "to drive Ronald Reagan and his kind from power in 1984 by reviving the old Democratic coalition."

Hundreds of thousands of workers came out because they hate Reagan, not to demonstrate support to a Democratic "alternative." There were 50,000 Machinists alone, tens of thousands of AFSCME members, 20,000-plus auto workers and large delegations of steel workers, construction workers and most other sectors of American labor. It was a broad cross section of the union movement, including at least 100,000 black workers. Notably absent, however, were ghetto youth and other minorities, whom both the unions and civil rights organizations failed to turn out. This is a dramatic expression of the deep vacuum of black leadership in the U.S. and the absence of a class-struggle leadership of labor which could mobilize behind it the oppressed masses in struggle against the common capitalist enemy.

The bureaucracy was forced to provide Marxists with a tremendous opportunity to intersect a broad cross section of the American labor movement. If the Spartacist League were even a small mass workers party, we would have sought to mobilize and bring to Washington at least a quarter of the march. As a small propaganda group, we were able to sell over 8,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard* even when competing with the Communist Party and Workers World giveaways. Reagan's union-busting has produced a shift in the consciousness of the American working class. The labor movement may be no less anti-communist and politically backward. A poll taken at the demonstration claimed a majority of those questioned supported a stronger American military. But even workers from conservative craft unions and decked out in American flags enthusiastically bought *WV*, if for no other

continued on page 4

The Russian Revolution of 1905

PAGE SIX

SL/ANZ Protests Anti-Tamil Terror in Sri Lanka

MELBOURNE—A militant demonstration took place here on September 1 outside the Ceylon Tea Centre to protest the recent escalation of terror against the Tamil minority in Sri Lanka (Ceylon). For months the right-wing government of Sri Lankan President J.R. Jayawardene has resorted to martial-law "emergency rule," unleashed troops and fomented pogroms to smash Tamil agitation for a separate state on the island ("Tamil Eelam"). In the June "emergency" the military ran amok in the predominantly Tamil northern town of Jaffna, and by early August mobs of Sinhalese chauvinists were attacking Tamils across the island, including on the tea and rubber estates worked by the horribly oppressed "Indian Tamils." (Descendants of impoverished Indians imported by British planters in the 19th century to work as "coolies," they have been denied all citizenship rights since 1948, sent back to India by the hundreds of thousands since 1965, forced to labor for sub-subsistence wages on estates resembling concentration camps.)

The Melbourne demonstration, which was called by the Spartacist League, raised demands and slogans such as "Cops and army out of the Tamil areas—smash the state of emergency!" "For the Tamil right to self-determination" and "Tamil workers—key to the Sri Lankan revolution!" While the rest of the left (notorious for Australian nationalism) ignored the protest, the SL speaker emphasized how here in racist "white Australia" solidarity action in defence of Asian workers and the oppressed is a crucial concrete test of revolutionary internationalism. Genuine anti-imperialism means opposing not only the American CIA/NSA spy-in-the-sky satellite tracking station here at Pine Gap, but also the U.S. imperialist military outpost on the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia and the Pentagon's designs to move into Sri Lanka's strategic natural harbour at Trincomalee. Among the SL slogans at the protest was "Defence of Vietnam, USSR begins in Pine Gap, Diego Garcia and Trincomalee!"

While defending the right of the oppressed Tamil minority to form a little capitalist "Eelam," the SL speaker called for united class struggle, linking the desperate Tamil plantation workers with the Sinhalese working people, especially women workers in the Singapore-style sweatshops set up by foreign capitalists in Jayawardene's "free trade zone": "There is no way that the anti-Tamil terror, the discrimination in all aspects of social life and in the workforce against women on the island of Sri Lanka will be resolved in the interests of the working-class movement, in the interests of the Tamil minority, in the interests of the women of Sri Lanka, short of proletarian revolution."

Letters

RWL CLAPS for Bureaucrats

San Francisco
September 19, 1981

To the Editors:

I liked your article in the last issue, "For Solidarity Strikes with PATCO!", especially the part about the RWL's antics around PATCO strike support. So I thought you might be interested in what happened to BAY-CLAP (BACLP—the Bay Area Coalition for a Labor Party, of which the RWL is a prime pusher) in my union, CWA Local 9410.

BAY-CLAP is better known in the Bay Area as the John Henning Fan Club. Henning is the California AFL-CIO secretary who occasionally in a fit of frustration, mouths support for a labor party while in practice he has always endorsed and voted for Democrats.

BAY-CLAPer Marge Clouser, who is on my local's executive board, included a BAY-CLAP petition in mailings to local stewards—you know, the kind that calls for the Central Labor Council to do good things, to support PATCO. But even that went too far for the bureaucrats BAY-CLAP sucks up to. At our September 15 union meeting, Clouser announced that BAY-CLAP was *retracting* the petition because some union officials said: "It placed the labor councils in a bad light"!

The PATCO strike can and must be won by labor shutting down the airports. This will take a fight against the do-nothing union bureaucrats like my local president Jim Imerzel, a new BAY-CLAP endorser. The PATCO strike *will not* be won by building sandboxes like the RWL's BAY-CLAP and Strike Support Committee which only kiss up to the very bureaucrats who have done everything to kill real strike support.

Fraternally,
Kathy Frick

On Iranian "Communist Unity"

21 August 1981

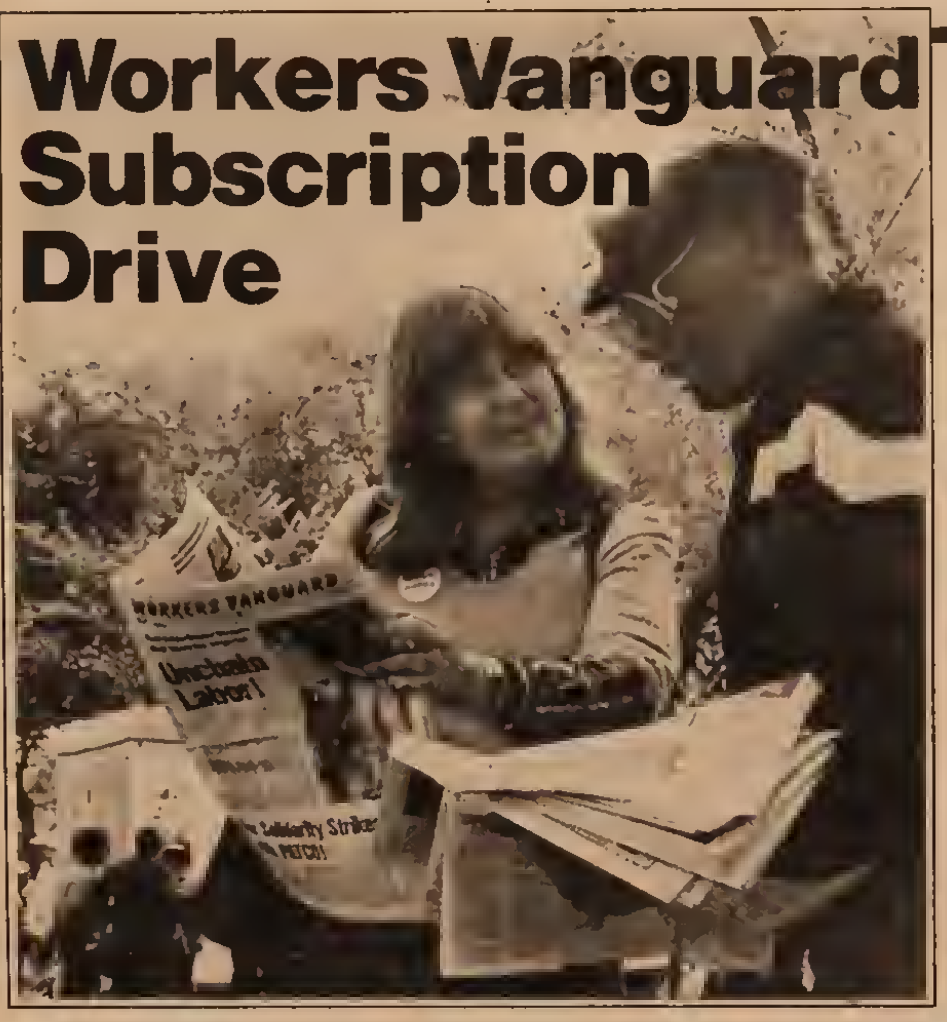
Spartacist League/U.S.

Dear comrades,

In relation to the last issue of *WV* [No. 287, 14 August], and the article "Iranian Leftists Join iSt," the following correction about the footnote on the group called "Communist Unity" is required: the group is not a split from the Fedayeen. According to the declaration issued by the group in March 1978, the group was begun by "some very small communist currents which were founded by some anti-imperialist currents which were founded by anti-imperialist militants abroad." The unification of all these little groups produced the group called "Communist Unity" in 1970. The group began its activity in the Middle East in 1970, and at the same time got in touch with the founder of the Fedayeen organization, i.e., the Ahmadzadeh group. The group has had close political cooperation with the Liberation Movement of Dhofar [Oman].

Comradely,
Elahe

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive



The 1981 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive is off to a good start with 27 percent of the national quota met after the first week. But the sale of 1,118 sub points is overshadowed by the spectacular success of a single-copy sales campaign begun in August which has introduced the Spartacist League's press to thousands of new readers, many of them trade unionists.

The SL decided to undertake a one-shot sales drive to push our late-summer issue, *WV* No. 287, as singularly appropriate given especially the impact of the PATCO strike. The drive was so successful that an expanded press run of 18,000 copies was sold out. Altogether more than 8,500 copies of the issue were sold in street sales, including more than 1,300 sold at New York's Labor Day demonstration. The next issue sold out again when the September 19 labor marches in Washington, D.C. and California yielded a total of 8,894 copies of *WV* No. 288 sold to demonstrators. The star salesman was comrade Gloria of New York, with 318 copies sold. Altogether 9,329 copies of Spartacist periodicals were sold on September 19, as well as packets, pamphlets and 87 points in subscriptions.

From the time the labor marchers got off the buses in Washington, they were deluged with free newspapers; most of which ended up on the ground. That more than 8,000 of them paid a quarter for our paper is testimony to our comrades' determination, to their pride in their party and its press. But more than that, the sales figures are an index of the mood of the unionists who came to Washington. They are angry over the economic crisis, desperately threatened by Reagan's vicious program for workers and minorities. And evidently some of them are open to investigating a radical perspective as an alternative to the empty gestures of union leaders who offer no leadership.

At present there exists no mass revolutionary pole capable of offering leadership within the unions and among the doubly oppressed minority populations. To build the revolutionary workers party to fill that vacuum of leadership is the historic task to which the Spartacist League is dedicated.

WEEK ONE TOTALS

Area	Quota	Week 1	%
Ann Arbor	80	19	24%
Berk./Oak.	630	56	9%
Boston	450	296	66%
Champaign	80	28	35%
Chicago	500	97	19%
Cleveland	260	103	40%
Detroit	200	15	8%
LA	400	69	17%
Madison	120	26	22%
New York	910	319	35%
SF	470	90	19%
TOTAL	4100	1,118	27%

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Spartacist Candidates in Detroit Elections:

"Labor/Black Defense Against Klan Terror!"

Labor Day in Detroit, September 7, Don Andrews (right). WV Photo

DETROIT—In primary elections September 15, Spartacist candidates for city council Don Andrews and Ann Weekley received 1,700 and 2,000 votes respectively. This amounted to roughly 2 percent of the total vote in our first campaign for public office here. Andrews and Weekley campaigned as the workers candidates "For a Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit!" In particular they pointed to the successful November 1979 labor/black protest initiated by the Spartacist League (SL) and United Auto Workers (UAW) militants, where 500 proclaimed: "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!"

The Spartacist platform called for militant class struggle against the rotting capitalism that has ravaged Detroit, devastating the auto plants and sending ghetto youth unemployment to 70 percent. Not Chrysler-style givebacks to the bosses but sit-down strikes to stop plant closings and citywide strike action by municipal workers against wage cuts! Andrews and Weekley pointed out that it is the city administration of black liberal Democrat mayor Coleman Young that is shoving Reagan austerity down the throats of working people, at the behest of the auto companies and banks. The SL campaign called on labor to break with the Democrats, dump the bureaucrats and build a workers party. Opposing phony "butter vs. guns" reformism, Andrews/Weekley denounced the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. Socialist revolution, said their campaign brochure, "is not only the historical imperative, in Detroit it is obviously the only solution."

A central focus of the Spartacist campaign was to take the socialist fight into Detroit's auto factories, particularly the giant Ford River Rouge complex. The Rouge Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in UAW Local 600, built the Andrews/Weekley campaign at the plant, and Don Andrews was a guest speaker at the September meeting of the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit:

> "Detroit today is being pushed off the cliff. Mass layoffs, plant closings are destroying workers' jobs, homes and families by the thousands. Before Dodge Main was closed the Spartacist League fought for militant labor action—sit-down strikes—as the only answer to the destruction of a huge section of the working class....
> "Reagan will blow up the world to get the Soviet Union back into the orbit of capitalism. At home he is trying to hack to pieces the PATCO union and the labor movement while its leaders are sitting passively by. We say shut down the airports, fight Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive with hard class struggle!
> "The Ku Klux Klan and Nazis are growing under Reagan. They're even running in both of the racist, strike-breaking bosses parties, the Democrats and Republicans. We say black and white workers have common interests to fight for, and perhaps Reagan's anti-labor, anti-minority vendetta will make clearer the need to struggle for a workers party."

The Spartacist campaign had an impact at Rouge. One black worker coming off night shift, approached by the Militant Caucus to sign a statement demanding that the UAW furnish buses so that the Rouge could demonstrate against Reagan in Washington September 19, pulled out an Andrews/Weekley brochure and said, "Let me show you something that tells it like it is."

A high point of the campaign was at the Labor Day parade organized by the labor bureaucracy where a class-struggle contingent marched behind a banner reading, "Break with the Democrats! Build a Workers Party! Vote for Andrews/Weekley, Labor Candidates for City Council!" Another Spartacist banner proclaimed, "For Labor/Black Mobilization to Smash Klan/Nazi Terror!" This was the only program that answered the burning need for working-class independence from the capitalist parties and intersected mounting disgust among Detroit black workers against the Democrats. At the rally site in Kennedy Square, every Democratic Party speaker was booed by at least a section of the audience. AFSCME workers whose wages were frozen by Young were particularly vociferous in catcalling the mayor. Democratic senator Riegle, who voted for Reagan's budget, was jeered throughout his speech and actually forced to stop speaking at one point.

Don Andrews was the main Spartacist speaker at the 10 November 1979 rally in Kennedy Square that prevented the KKK from "celebrating" their bloody Greensboro massacre in labor/black Detroit. Socialists of the SL and class-struggle militants in the UAW were able, through agitation in the auto plants and black community, to force Coleman Young to back down on his threat to arrest anti-Klan protesters. It was the first mass anti-fascist rally in Detroit in decades. This Marxist strategy to fight race terror was sharply counterposed to the reformists' policy of building illusions in capitalist "law and order"—whether through calling on the state to "ban the Klan," like the Communist Party, or by advocating "free speech for fascists" as do phony "progressive" Democratic councilman Ken Cockrel and the civil-libertarian Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Liz Ziers, SWP candidate for city council, went so far as to challenge Nazi Gerald Carlson to a debate, even after her house was firebombed by the fascist scum!

At a September 12 "gay pride" conference, the Revolutionary Workers League and Revolutionary Socialist League opposed a resolution to endorse the Spartacist candidates for city council, even though Andrews and Weekley were the only candidates for city council whose program called for defending the democratic rights of homosexuals. In the voting, Andrews/Weekley did comparably or better than the other candidates who ran as socialists in the city council election. But unlike reformists such as the SWP and CWP, the SL campaign did not present utopian "tax the rich" gimmicks to reform capitalism, calling instead for a workers government—won not through bourgeois electoralism but by mobilizing in the streets and factories. The task now is to organize and recruit from Detroit's largely black working class and youth the class-struggle militants to wage this fight for socialist revolution. ■

Black CWP Youth Victimized by Cops, Courts

Drop Charges Against Anti-Nazi Protester Carlton Grisson!

CHICAGO—Last October 19, 2,500 angry people routed the racist scum of the National Socialist (Nazi) Party of America, and in the process literally trampled upon the authority of the capitalist police. Now the authorities are out to get even, through a vicious frame-up vendetta against 19-year-old black college student Carlton Grisson.

The small band of Nazi punks got their taste of popular outrage when they tried to hold an officially sanctioned race-hate rally in the heavily Jewish Chicago suburb of Evanston, home to large numbers of concentration camp survivors. These uniformed Hitler-lovers, protected by 300 police in riot gear, received the appropriate reception from the 2,500 furious anti-fascist demonstrators whose ranks included many Jewish organizations, blacks and a large contingent from the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL).

No sooner had the Nazis unfurled their genocidal propaganda than the crowd unleashed a hail of catcalls, rocks and eggs, then charged police lines and crushed barricades underfoot, forcing the fascists to flee for their lives.

Grisson was one of six protesters arrested during the melee, and he now faces a *three-to-five-year prison sentence* on a felony charge of throwing a brick at a police officer. Charges against the five others have been dropped. A policeman—the only "witness" who can be produced—claims to have followed the flight path of this brick from Grisson's hand to the head of a policeman stationed between protesters and the Nazis over 20 yards away, at a moment when the air was alive with a barrage of objects hurled by the charging crowd.

Grisson makes an ideal scapegoat for them because he's black, a red and charged with assaulting a police officer. He was the only black arrested that day and is a supporter of the Communist Workers Party (CWP).

Don't let them get away with this racist, anti-communist vendetta! Donations for Grisson's legal defense are urgently needed and should be sent to: Carlton Grisson Defense Committee, c/o Les Friedman, 4435 No. Winchester, Chicago, IL 60640. Stop the Frame-Up of Carlton Grisson! For Labor/Black Mobilizations to Smash Nazi/Klan Terror!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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No. 289 25 September 1981

For Labor Action...

(continued from page 1)

reason than to give Reagan the finger by buying a socialist newspaper with the popular and powerful slogan, "Shut Down the Airports!"

Where Reagan's rampage against the labor movement has succeeded in cowing already frightened labor bureaucrats, the piecards actually tried to *sabotage* mobilization for Washington. This was the case with the powerful New York subway workers union TWU Local 100, whose president responded to the steamrollering of PATCO by graciously throwing away the right to strike. Only a few dozen TWUers showed up in Washington. Likewise the UAW Fraser bureaucracy, dependent on the government for Chrysler bailouts, tried to *prevent* auto workers at the giant Ford Rouge plant in Detroit from going to Washington by providing only *three* buses for a workforce of well over 20,000. Angry militants led by the Rouge Militant Caucus initiated a statement signed by several dozen union officials and members demanding that the voice of labor/black Detroit be heard in Washington, and that the UAW provide buses for whoever wanted to go.

Reagan seems to be doing his best to piss away whatever advantage the Republicans gained from Carter's bankrupt policies. He is busting the air controllers union, an elite professional association that endorsed him for president, and he's even going after the construction trades. The hardhats are supposed to be the aristocracy of U.S. labor—in exchange for being pieced-off financially they can be mobilized for conservatives at the polls or to beat up student antiwar demonstrators in the street. But Reagan doesn't make fine distinctions, and by trying to repeal the Davis-Bacon Act (requiring union-scale wages at federally financed construction sites) he is trying to force construction tradesmen into the same situation as black New York hospital workers or unemployed Midwestern auto workers. What he is counting on is the dead-end refusal of the labor bureaucrats to wage a fight—like shutting down the airports with solidarity strike action, which could win the PATCO strike in a matter of days.

One of the placards handed out by the unions September 19 read, "Carter's Peanuts Were More Nourishing Than Reagan's Jelly Beans." But hundreds of thousands of workers didn't spend 10 to 40 hours on buses to bring back the "good ole days" of Carter when real wages dropped a whopping 10 percent during the Democrats' last year in office. And in fact there were no Democratic Party speakers (though Teddy Kennedy was on the platform in D.C.). Perhaps they didn't want to get involved in Teddy-Fritz fights; maybe they remembered 1975 when at an AFL-CIO demo in Washington angry workers shouted down Hubert Humphrey. But the AFL-CIO tops were united in "viewing this march as the first step in the 1982 election." According to the *Wall Street Journal* (15 September) Kirkland & Co. hope that "the spectacle of so many groups supporting the AFL-CIO Saturday may help rebuild the liberal-labor political coalition." And after the 19th? "Keep in touch with your Representatives and Senators," advised an official brochure passed out at the rally.

Labor and the Anti-Soviet War Drive

While Reagan insists on treating organized labor like Salvadoran peasants, an administration spokesman last week emphasized one "area of agreement" with the AFL-CIO, namely "backing for a strong defense." And in fact, an editorial in the September 1981 *American Federationist* criticized the budget cuts but not the skyrocketing war budget: "Popular support for a strong defense and foreign policy cannot be sustained by unjust social and economic policies which generate social tension, class conflict and political polarization." But Kirkland's hawkish anti-Sovietism would be just as ruinous as Reagan's "supply-side" "voodoo economics." Unlike the period from the end of World War II to the Vietnam War, U.S. capitalism can no longer afford to both pay for an escalating military budget and provide incremental increases in the living standards of working people. The AFL-CIO's "guns-*and*-butter" policy means wild inflation, higher taxes and uncontrollably high interest rates, leading to corporate bankruptcies and mass layoffs.

Solidarity Day was named not after the union song, "Solidarity Forever," but for the Polish union Solidarność. So in the mouths of Kirkland & Co. "Solidarity" means counterrevolution. And while Reagan keeps trying to provoke Soviet intervention, the AFL-CIO eggs on the most rabidly anti-Soviet leaders of Solidarność, sending them dollars, printing presses and CIA agents. Kirkland's Cold Warrior stance was echoed by social-democratic unions in Washington: a United Federation of Teachers placard read, "Want to Outsmart the Russians? Restore Reagan's Education Cuts." And it was seconded by former vice president Walter Mondale speaking at a San Francisco "Solidarity Day" rally, who delivered a virulently anti-Soviet speech for a "strong America," "sacrifice" to pay for "our defense needs" and support to Polish Solidarity. However, the diatribe was nearly drowned out by boos and chants of "PATCO, PATCO, PATCO."

Unlike the liberals and reformists, the Marxists' opposition to Reagan's arms build-up is *not* basically economic. Reagan is building the MX missile, B-1 bombers, Trident submarines, etc. not because he is foolishly wasting money, but because *he intends to use them*. Class-conscious workers must unconditionally defend the Soviet-bloc degenerated/deformed workers states against imperialist militarism just as they defend their unions, despite the bureaucratic leaders, against capitalist attack. Certainly the Kremlin Stalinists' suppression of democratic rights and bureaucratic mismanagement has made communism a dirty word to most American workers. But the USSR remains the main economic/military bastion of the bloc of states where capitalist exploitation has been abolished. Collectivized property and economic planning are historic gains for workers throughout the world, and they must be defended tooth and nail. They make possible for the first time a society without unemployment, inflation and poverty. And this is the key issue in Poland today where Solidarity, backed by imperialist friends of "free trade unions" like Reagan and Kirkland, has embarked on an openly counterrevolutionary course.

Fake-Lefts Tail Labor Fakers

In SF, Democrat Mondale spoke but PATCO strikers were denied a speaker. In Washington some 6,000 PATCO air controllers facing the full brunt of Reagan's union-busting were criminally forced to *the end* of the march, so that militants would not appear before TV cameras and in front of the podium. The PATCO strike dramatically demonstrates the treachery of the AFL-CIO tops. Kirkland, Winpisinger and Fraser all have the same "program": Reagan must "negotiate" with the air controllers. (For a "political solution," like in El Salvador—fat chance!) And if he refuses to bargain? Well, vote Democratic in '82! Meanwhile, the union tops refuse to bring out their ranks for real struggle against the real war on labor being waged by Reagan. And as Kirkland et al. do, so do Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC) and Gus Hall's Communist Party (CP). The Spartacist League (SL) alone has fought for labor to *shut down the airports!*

September 19 demonstrated both the tremendous power of the labor movement and the cowardice of its leaders. Unleashing that power in militant struggle requires the building of a workers party. But when reformists like the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) call on the likes of Lane Kirkland or William Winpisinger to build a labor party, they are calling for a racist, anti-communist, Cold War militarist "labor party"! Yet even this is a reformist daydream. While the SWP talks labor party and the CP talks "new people's unity," the entire AFL-CIO officialdom was uniting solidly behind the Democratic Party. A workers party can be built only in militant labor struggle against Reagan. Faced with mass labor actions every leading Democratic politico would rush to Reagan's side in upholding capitalist interests. The SL has repeatedly insisted that a workers party can be built only in a struggle to oust the pro-capitalist bureaucracy which ties the powerful union movement to phony "friend of labor" Democrats.

The most popular chants on September 19 were the ones ending with "Reagan gotta go!" But that must not mean back the Democrats. A distributor of the Democratic National Committee publication *Democrats Today* remarked to a *Workers Vanguard* salesman that our socialist newspaper was selling faster than he could hand out his flyer for free. "It's because they remember Carter," he sighed. Reagan *can* be brought down, not by waiting for the 1982 elections to replace him with a strikebreaking Democrat, but through hard labor struggle. In 1968 Lyndon Johnson's administration was rendered impotent by the North Vietnamese Tet offensive. We need a Tet offensive by the U.S. labor movement to bring Reagan to his knees. And that requires the leadership of a socialist vanguard party with a Marxist (Trotskyist) program of workers revolution. Smash union-busting and social reaction! For militant labor action to bring down Reagan! ■

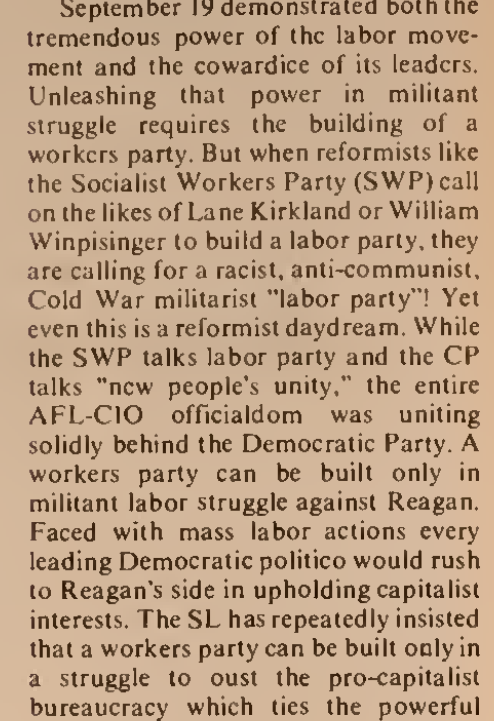
September 19:

Labor Has the Power!

The most energetic contingent, of course, was PATCO—the hard-pressed air controllers who have been fighting Reagan's strikebreaking alone for the last seven weeks. "Strike, strike, strike, strike!" they chanted as they moved down the street in Washington. Neighboring contingents took up the chant, including the liberal/Stalinist United Electrical Workers (UE) which was marching next to PATCO. But then some of the UE people spotted Confederate flags stuck on the banner carried by the Spartanburg, North Carolina controllers and everyone fell silent. A black UE member came up and said simply, "I thought this march was for black people as well as whites." PATCO members apologized and the contingent stopped marching while the air controllers themselves tore off the racist flags, and PATCO members conspicuously trampled on them. It was a moving demonstration of how the class struggle brings black and white workers together, enabling them to transcend race prejudice in a common fight.

The September 19 "Solidarity Day" march sponsored by the AFL-CIO in Washington was full of instructive incidents. Above all, you could see the power of labor everywhere, from the organization of the march to the giant contingents which flowed for hours out of the Washington Monument and Ellipse staging areas onto Constitution Avenue. They rented the entire Washington, D.C. subway system for the day and ran it free, at peak capacity all day long, bringing their people in from the Pentagon and RFK stadium and then back out again. The unions brought over 4,000 buses, seven special trains, box lunches for their members. There were enough toilets! And a sound system that would put Woodstock to shame. It was structured from top to bottom, using the shop stewards to provide the marshals and bus captains. An army came to Washington, not 500,000 individuals—an army of labor. You could see it: *labor can organize society*. But the pro-capitalist tops won't—class-struggle leadership is key.

It certainly wasn't an antiwar march by student radicals. The May 3 El Salvador demo was the first mass anti-Reagan protest, but there was very little overlap between the two marches, except for the left. (Most of the eco-freaks and New Leftists spent September 19 in NYC's Central Park listening to a Simon and Garfunkel '60s revival concert.) This crowd came from all over the East Coast, the Midwest and the South. And this march will certainly produce a dramatic increase in union consciousness in the coming months: all those union baseball caps; the T-shirt of white Florida unionists, "If you ain't union, you ain't shit!"; the chant by black D.C. AFSCME workers, "We're bad, we know it—we got the union to show it!"; the skilled tradesmen marching with blacks and buying papers from communists.

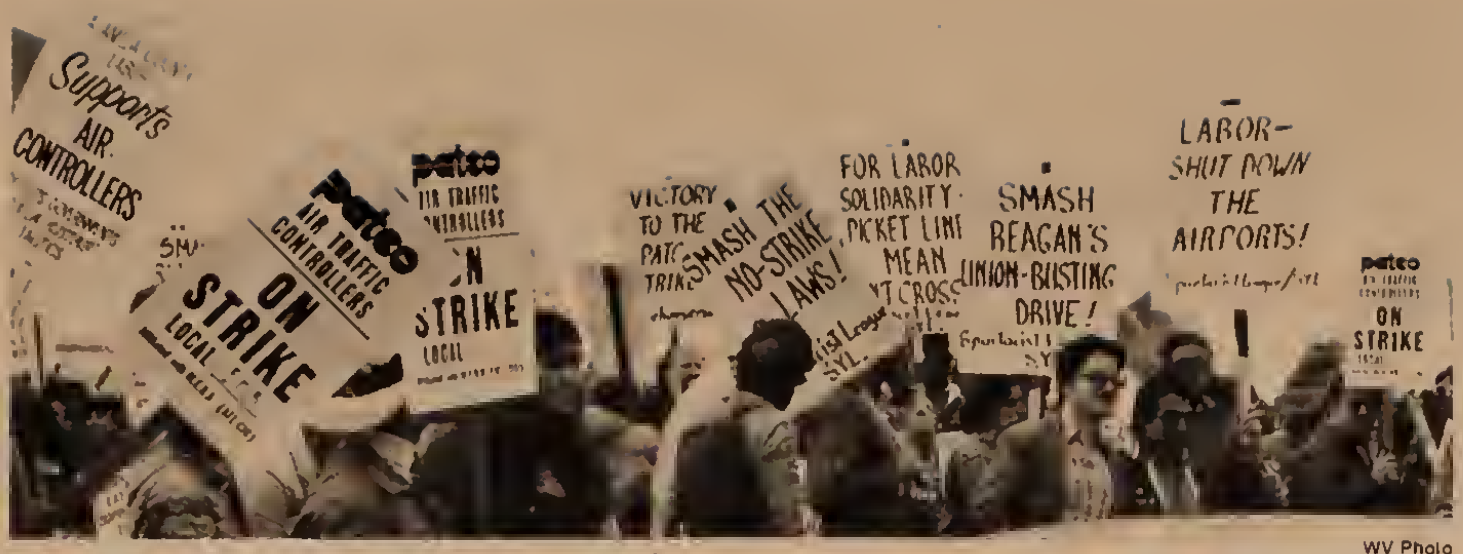


WV Photo

Washington, D.C., September 19.

There was a lot less red-white-and-blue patriotism than one might expect:

continued on page 9



PATCO demonstration, Oakland airport August 21. WV Photo

Why Reformists Won't Say "Shut Down the Airports!"

PATCO Strike and the Left

For seven weeks the American labor leadership has left the striking air traffic controllers totally isolated in the face of the most brutal government union-busting attack in decades. While mouthing "support" to the PATCO strike, union bureaucrats like William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) have refused to lift a finger in concrete action. Yet it is patently obvious to all that Reagan's goal—the obliteration of PATCO—would be a tremendous setback for the entire labor movement. At stake is not just the existence of a small union of white-collar workers on the fringe of the labor movement. Rather, the administration is testing labor's resolve to defend its rights and living standards against the reactionary program of budget cuts, racism and anti-Soviet war buildup. So far the labor movement is miserably failing.

The PATCO strike should have been won in early August by the labor movement shutting down the airports and decisively busting the union-buster Reagan. Any one of several unions embracing airport ground and flight crews—most importantly the IAM—could bring air traffic to a halt in hours. Winpisinger, however, rejected as "bubble-headed" and "foolhardy" any call for solidarity strikes, saying that, "Our lawyers assured me that any organized work stoppage by our members under these circumstances would leave both members defenseless against management retaliation up to and including mass dismissals" (*Boston Globe*, 18 September). He also feared that the IAM would lose its "entire financial resources and reserves." So having discovered that the capitalist state is on the side of the bosses, this pseudo-socialist resolves to do... nothing. The AFL-CIO tops simply added the PATCO mass firings to their long list of grievances to be voiced in Washington September 19.

The Spartacist League (SL) and our supporters in the unions have fought and will continue to fight for *immediate action to shut down the airports*. But the rest of the left has unanimously fallen in step behind AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland's posture of giving the air controllers "solidarity" in words, betrayal in deeds. Before the PATCO strike was even two weeks old, "Marxist" newspapers began to appear calling for "building support" for the strikers on Solidarity Day, a month later! The Communist Party's West Coast weekly, *People's World* (8 August) said: "Support the controllers with telegrams, resolutions and other actions. Let's begin now to build Sept. 19...." Sam Marcy, big cheese of the Workers World Party (WWP), recommended "resolute class action" like the September 19 march in an article entitled "How the PATCO Strike Can Be Won" (*Workers World*, 21 August).

Meanwhile, a special PATCO supplement of the *Militant* (21 August), newspaper of the long-since ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), advocated unspecified "united action," a labor party and a big demonstration on—you guessed it—September 19. Even the foundering right-centrist Shachtmanites of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) have joined the act. In their 15 August *Torch*, they call for "a few simple practical steps" topped off with: "Finally, the already planned AFL-CIO-called March on Washington for Jobs on September 19 could be used to rally support for PATCO." Anyone who in *August* talked about "supporting" the PATCO strike on *September 19* is a cynical liar.

DSOC Backstabbing

The social democrats ensconced in the liberal wing of the Democratic Party are angrier at PATCO than they are at Reagan. Doug Fraser, "progressive" president of the United Auto Workers (UAW), captured this backstabbing spirit when he moaned that the air controllers strike "could do massive damage to the labor movement." Taking the cue from Fraser and windbag Winpisinger, a leader of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), the soc-dems have set their typewriters a-clackin' to justify betrayal.

In These Times, a trendy social-democratic tabloid distributed by Winpisinger and other labor liberals like Jim Balanoff, ex of the Steelworkers, criticized PATCO sharply for its "go-it-alone attitude...ineptly handling their strike...did not make their case as well as they could have," etc. *ITT* prepared to make the best of the worst: "Even defeat could catalyze the labor movement...." Writing in DSOC's *Democratic Left*, chairman Michael Harrington struck a similar chord in order to highlight the supposed largesse behind such gestures as UAW officials not taking planes, an AFL-CIO defense fund (which has collected a paltry $33 per striker from other unions), and a small rally at Kennedy airport. What further action does Harrington advocate? "Write your senator and U.S. representative opposing Reagan's union-busting."

The Workers World and CP reformists are looking forward to cultivating multi-issue popular fronts in PATCO's ashes, much like the Grand Coalition being forged by the bureaucrats with the Democratic Party. *Workers World* talks absurdly about the "three-step punch" that will supposedly knock out Reagan: Labor Day, September 19, and ...the WWP's own All-People's Congress in Detroit in October! Further aid, says Marcy, "can also come in the form of legal decisions by the courts who have an unusual opportunity to show their independence from the executive" by nullifying PATCO's decertification. So it's constitutional checks and balances to the rescue!

For the CP, the PATCO strike is an opportunity to mend its ties to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party through more traditional channels. This includes unstinting praise to Mayor Koch's opponent in this year's New York City election, liberal Frank Barbaro, darling of the city's labor bureaucracy. Meanwhile, Gus Hall is pushing his "flying is scabbing" cop-out, taking front-groupism to new heights with the formation of "Concerned Air Travelers." This is a conscious attempt to *divert* the working class from pushing for powerful labor action which could *win* the strike. For the CP it is a service consciously rendered to the union misleaders. For example, on August 21 the AFL-CIO called for mass picketing at three airports in the Bay Area. Spartacist supporters attempted to turn this action into an airport shutdown, and at S.F. airport picketers picked up the chant, "Shut it down!" CP supporters helped take the heat off the bureaucrats by handing out an appeal to *passengers*, asking them not to board their planes!

During the air controllers strike, one of the easy outs has been to suggest that airport unions honor PATCO picket lines. Even Winpisinger mouthpiece Larry Rubin of the IAM said, "If airline mechanics are confronted with a picket line...I don't know of any Machinist who would cross it." The suggestion having been made by a bureaucrat, both the SWP and RSL meekly hint that honoring picket lines would be nice. They have refrained from *demanding* such action, however, since Machinists might actually encounter PATCO picket lines some day. But mainly the controllers have limited picketing to control towers, in order not to put pressure on the leaders of other airport unions. Asked at the NYC Labor Day parade what else he would ask Kirkland to do in support of the strike, PATCO leader Robert Poli replied that the AFL-CIO was doing everything necessary! Under these circumstances, all talk of simply honoring picket lines is a cowardly loophole to let the Winpisingers off the hook.

On the other hand, the small centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) manages to call for *everything*, because it has no intention of fighting to implement *anything*. Thus an RWL-supported caucus in UAW Local 600 (Ford River Rouge) in Detroit, the Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW (CMDUAW), put forward a motion at the August 15 meeting of the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) unit, calling for: sympathy strikes, refusal to fly, mass picketing, financial support, a one-day UAW sympathy strike and a general strike to force Reagan's resignation! When DAP chairman Hank Wilson objected, a CMDUAW member jumped up offering to drop the part about the general strike. But that was back in August. At the September 12 DAP unit meeting, the CMDUAW raised a motion to endorse Solidarity Day, which failed to even mention PATCO! Thus the RWL is helping the bureaucrats bury PATCO while endorsing Lane Kirkland's flag-waving inauguration of the 1982 Democratic Party Congressional campaign.

Now the RWL has produced a new paper, *Workers Struggle*, whose first issue shamelessly imitates *WV* on the PATCO strike, from the headline ("Shut Down the Airports") to the picture. Yet at a strike support meeting in the Bay Area on August 14, the RWL put forward a motion for a one-day airport shutdown while *rejecting* the call by the SL and class-struggle union militants to *set a date*. Thus their talk of airport shutdowns is simply pie-in-the-sky, no more real than the bogus calls to "respect picket lines" which don't exist.

Solidarity Day has not brought PATCO closer to victory. On the contrary, the bureaucrats hope that September 19 will have dissipated working-class anger over Reagan's union busting so that now PATCO can be quietly laid to rest. The AFL-CIO tops want no more PATCOs and no more mass demonstrations. From here on out it's to be Democratic Party electoralism. Or is it? PATCO members are not the only public employees who are ready to fight. Millions of workers don't want to wait until November 1982, or 1984, for another "veto-proof Congress" which will give them nothing. Labor: Shut down the airports now! Bust union-buster Reagan! ■

Spartacist League Forums

For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan!

Reagan: Strikebreaker, Anti-Soviet Warmaker

Boston
Friday, Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Room 904-908, Campus Center
U. Mass. Amherst

Friday, Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m.
Phillips Brooks House
Harvard University
For more information: (617) 492-3928

Detroit
Friday, Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m.
Dairy Workers Hall
15840 Second Ave., Highland Park
For more information: (313) 868-9095

Chicago
Friday, Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Embassy Room
Michigan and Balbo Sts.
For more information (312) 427-0003

Cleveland
Friday, Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m.
St. Alban's Episcopal Church
2555 Euclid Heights Blvd.
Cleveland Heights
For more information: (216) 621-5138

Barricades of the Moscow insurrection.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

We reprint below Part II of the edited version of a speech given by Spartacist League Central Committee member George Foster at an SL educational weekend in New York City, June 6.

PART TWO OF TWO

As I said, the Bolsheviks were in January 1905 on the outside looking in, at the beginning. Krupskaya wrote a letter to the Petersburg Committee on 5 January concerning the Putilov strike, which was the prelude to Bloody Sunday. She says:

> "But where are the proclamations with which the Committee promised to deluge the city? We aren't getting them. Nor any reports. We learned from foreign papers that the Putilov plant was on strike. Do we have connections there? Will it really be impossible to get information about the strike? Only it has to come quickly. Make every effort to arrange for workers themselves to write reports."

And on Bloody Sunday, 9 January, they had 15 people turn up at the Bolshevik concentration point. In the previous period the Bolsheviks engaged in a bitter factional struggle with the Mensheviks, during which they both lost a number of their supporters. The 1903 split was murky, and it was particularly murky at the time to the workers in the Social-Democratic circles, who tended to view it as a dispute between the intelligentsia in the party.

The tsar, of course, had a reaction to Bloody Sunday. He had his cops round up a delegation of about 34 pro-tsar workers, dragged them out to his palace on the outskirts of Petersburg and said he excused them for their seditious outburst. It didn't go over. The anger of the workers just exploded. There were strikes all across European Russia, and these strikes continued to spread throughout 1905.

One feature of 1905 was that unions began to spring up, de facto and unofficial. That presented a new problem. But the main question posed was whether the autocracy would fall. It was badly discredited by the defeats suffered in the Russo-Japanese War, a war which Lenin greeted as progressive Asian capitalism striking a blow against the tsarist autocracy. And here, over the question of the fate of the autocracy, the differences between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks began to manifest themselves. When it became clear that the events taking place represented a huge explosion of class struggle, the Bolsheviks and Lenin in particular began to raise the cry for insurrection—to put an end to tsarism once and for all.

And if you look at Lenin's writings in 1905, you'll see a work that's particularly important, calling for an insurrection, calling for the planning of it, calling for setting a date! That was Lenin's "political solution," if you will, to the events taking place, and it was the main point of contention with the Mensheviks. I want to make that clear because the Mensheviks were clever at trying to cover their asses on this question.

The Mensheviks had a "conference" at the same time the Third Congress, the Bolshevik congress, of the RSDRP [Russian Social-Democratic Workers Party] took place. This was in the early summer of 1905, and their perspective was outlined there very baldly. It was: "a decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism may be marked either by the establishment of a provisional government which will emerge from a victorious popular insurrection or by the revolutionary initiative of a representative institution of one kind or another, which under direct revolutionary pressure from the people decides to set up a popular constituent assembly."

Now, when you dissect that statement, and Lenin did, it becomes very clear that the Menshevik orientation was a passive tailist one. You know, if a popular insurrection happens, fine and good, but on the other hand maybe a "constituent assembly," a sop from the tsar will be set up. Lenin says,

> "Thus, we are told that a decisive victory of the revolution over tsarism may be marked either by victorious insurrection, or...by a representative institution's decision to set up a constituent assembly! What does that mean? How are we to understand it? A decisive victory may be marked by a decision to set up a constituent assembly?? And such a victory is put side by side with the establishment of a provisional government which will 'emerge from a victorious popular insurrection'!! The Conference failed to note that a *victorious* popular insurrection and the *establishment* of a provisional government would signify the victory of the revolution *in actual fact*, whereas a 'decision' to set up a constituent assembly would signify a victory of the revolution *in words* only."

And if you want to know the difference between the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks in the 1905 Revolution, *that was it.* Lenin was working for an insurrection to put an end to tsarism once and for all. And the Mensheviks adopted a passive and tailing policy.

Now, of course, when Lenin accused them of tailism, the Mensheviks had a reply. They accused Lenin of being a Blanquist, of wanting to engage in putschism, or a palace revolution. Martynov wrote a long article saying everyone knows that revolutions are social processes, that you can't put a date on them. Lenin had a very effective reply, in *Two Tactics*, that yes, you can't put a date on a revolution, but you can put a date on an insurrection. And it is absolutely necessary, if an insurrection is to succeed, to put a date on it, to plan it and to time it, the same as one does a strike. In fact it is a parallel situation. If you have an organization which is rooted in the proletariat, has the connections with it and is able to judge the situation correctly, it's quite possible to plan, organize and carry through an insurrection. It was Lenin's intent that the RSDRP play the leading role in carrying out such an insurrection.

Menshevik Smokescreen

The various liberal oppositions clearly exposed themselves in 1905, from the most conservative to the "radical" ones. The liberals were willing to play parliamentarist games with the tsar, or to be content with the sops that he threw out. There was an attempt after the initial strike wave of January to set up a Duma, which was to be a purely consultative body with a very limited electoral basis. And the bourgeoisie fell all over themselves grasping onto this tsarist sop.

The Mensheviks, as I indicated, had a tailist position, but this wasn't clear to the workers at the time. Because one of the things the Mensheviks were doing, precisely because they didn't have a perspective of an insurrection, was to jump into a lot of economist strike activity. There was a lot of this, too, throughout 1905. In contrast, the Bolsheviks had a perspective of aiming for political strikes and aiming to muster the strength of these striking workers for an insurrection.

So there was a lot of confusion, and there were polemics, too. You had people like Martov and Dan and Martynov, going after the Bolsheviks, and sometimes the Mensheviks sounded very "orthodox." Comrade Robertson made the point in his talk on the West Coast that it's very easy, with historic hindsight on the role that Menshevism played in 1905 and especially in 1917, to dismiss it out of hand. But if you put

Leaders of the Petersburg Soviet on trial, 1906. Penguin

yourself back in the setting of 1905, and even '17, it was not so clear what was going on. Because the Mensheviks threw up a lot of smokescreens.

Now, Lenin's conception of what the insurrection should aim for was a "revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry." He wanted an insurrection to bring about a very radical, Jacobin-type dictatorship, which would carry through all the bourgeois-democratic tasks to their conclusions. Burn tsarism out of Russia! The whole institution, its bureaucracy and everything, in much the same way that the Jacobins in the French Revolution erased the monarchists. So he projected an alliance of the insurgent peasantry and the revolutionary proletariat in particular to carry out these bourgeois-democratic tasks—a revolutionary dictatorship, a provisional revolutionary government which was to be the prelude to a constituent assembly and bourgeois republic. And the Mensheviks said, "Aha! Lenin is guilty of Millerandism! What is this participating in a bourgeois government? This is class collaboration!"

So you have Martynov, who was a very right-wing Menshevik, writing concerning Lenin's "Jacobin petty-bourgeois dictatorship":

> "We are on the eve of the political self-liberation of Russian bourgeois society, on the eve of a bourgeois revolution. Anyone who takes stock of the conditions involved in bringing about a revolutionary dictatorship will see that to advise Social-Democracy to prepare for revolutionary dictatorship or even for a 'temporary seizure of power' in *that* kind of revolution is to advise it to prepare for its own bankruptcy and to discredit the socialist flag in the eyes of the proletariat for a very long time.... It means, moreover, betraying the true business of the revolution, for in *attracting* the proletariat onto the road of fantastic adventures we *distract* it from its real revolutionary task.... We must always remember that until the socialist revolution Social-Democracy is and must remain *the party of the extreme opposition,* unlike all the other parties, which in one way or another, to a greater or lesser extent, can count on joining in the government of a bourgeois society."

Somewhat later, in a different context, Martynov points out:

> "A party striving for the dictatorship of the proletariat has no right to covet the trappings of power, which promise only to sever its ties with the proletariat; and if it does find itself in power, it has no right to evade carrying out its socialist obligations to the full. Either Millerandism or Marxism!"

And Martov, writing on this question, said:

> "*If [the proletariat] as a class comes to power,* it cannot but lead the revolution on, it cannot fail to strive for *Revolution in Permanenz,* for an outright struggle with all of bourgeois society. Concretely, this means either a repetition of the Paris Commune or the beginning of a socialist revolution 'in the West' and its spread to Russia. And it will be our *obligation* to strive for the second."

So the Menshevik conference, which adopted the resolution a part of which I read earlier, the one that Lenin took apart, also said:

> "Only in one event should Social-Democracy on its own initiative direct its efforts towards seizing power and holding it as long as possible—namely, in the event of the revolution spreading to the advanced countries of Western Europe, where conditions for the achievement of socialism have already reached a certain [?] degree of maturity. In that event the limited historic scope of the Russian revolution can be considerably widened and the possibility will arise of entering on the path of socialist reforms."

So, they threw up a lot of political smokescreens to mask what was at bottom their real position. And they were clever enough to try to take advantage of the problems with Lenin's conception of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, to use that as a club against him for their own purposes, which were reformist at bottom.

Lenin and Trotsky

Now, Lenin believed that the immediate tasks of the revolution posed in 1905 were in fact the tasks of the bourgeois revolution. And this shouldn't surprise us, because there was a long history of polemic in the Marxist movement in Russia against the Narodniks and the Social Revolutionaries who said Russia does not have to proceed on the road of capitalist development à la Western Europe, that the Russian peasantry in particular had historic institutions that are innately socialist, and that it was possible to have a revolution of the toilers in Russia that will produce a Russian communal rural socialist regime. If you read a lot of the early writings of Plekhanov and of Lenin you can see that one of the big fights that had to take place was a fight for Marxism, a fight to insist that Russia was not exempt from the laws of capitalist development, but in fact subject to them. This was the tradition of Russian Marxism, to insist against the populists, that Russia would take a capitalist course of development.

Workers on strike at Petersburg's Putilov munitions works, 1905.

There was a problem, of course. I'd like to quote Lenin regarding Trotsky's views at the time. Trotsky and Parvus, in particular, had a different position than the majority of Mensheviks. They held that it was necessary to engage in an insurrection and establish a provisional revolutionary government in Russia with the working class playing a large role in it. There was a divergence throughout 1905 and Trotsky began to move away from Parvus toward the theory of permanent revolution. But in "Social-Democracy and the Provisional Revolutionary Government," that is a polemic for the revolutionary democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry, Lenin writes:

> "If that windbag Trotsky now writes (unfortunately, side by side with Parvus) that 'a father Gapon could appear only once', that 'there is no room for a second Gapon', he does so simply because he is a windbag. If there were no room in Russia for a second Gapon, there would be no room for a truly 'great', consummated democratic revolution. To become great, to evoke 1789-93, not 1848-50, and to surpass those years, it must rouse the vast masses to active life, to heroic efforts, to 'fundamental historical creativeness'; it must raise them out of frightful ignorance, unparalleled oppression, incredible backwardness, and abysmal dullness. The revolution is already raising them and it will raise them completely."

And he goes on to point out how the government's acts are facilitating this.

Now Trotsky, from his point of view, pointed out that there was a problem that the Bolsheviks had, in particular in light of his experience in the Petersburg Soviet which arose in late 1905. Lenin's formula did not recognize a key problem: if the proletariat played, and in 1905 it did play, the major role as a revolutionary battering ram against autocracy, and if the proletariat was compelled, leaning on the peasantry and peasant upheavals in the countryside, to seize power, then the government that was created, would essentially be a proletarian government. In carrying out the bourgeois-democratic tasks it would also be forced to address itself to the task of the socialist revolution.

Trotsky said:

> "The snag is that the Bolsheviks visualized the class struggle of the proletariat only until the moment of the revolution's triumph, after which they see it as temporarily dissolved in the 'democratic' coalition, reappearing in its pure form—this time as a direct struggle for socialism—only after the definitive establishment of a republican system. Whereas the Mensheviks, proceeding from the abstract notion that 'our revolution is a bourgeois revolution,' arrive at the idea that the proletariat must adapt all its tactics to the behavior of the liberal bourgeoisie in order to ensure the transfer of state power to that bourgeoisie, the Bolsheviks proceed from an equally abstract notion—'democratic dictatorship, not socialist dictatorship'—and arrive at the idea of a proletariat in possession of state power imposing a bourgeois-democratic limitation upon itself. It is true that the difference between them in this matter is very considerable: while the anti-revolutionary aspects of Menshevism have already become fully apparent, those of Bolshevism are likely to become a serious threat only in the event of victory."

And he goes on to mention an experience in the 1905 Petersburg Soviet where the Soviet tried to force the eight-hour day through on the manufacturers in Petersburg. The response of the manufacturers was to padlock all the factory gates, and Trotsky said, well what's the government to do then—say, oh, we're a democratic bourgeois dictatorship? He said no, it would be impelled to open the factories up and run them at the expense of the government, which is essentially expropriation of the bourgeoisie, that is, carrying out a socialist task.

The Soviets

Okay, I'd like to say a few words about the soviets. They made their first appearance in 1905. The first one appeared in June. It grew out of a strike in the cities of Ivanovo-Voznezhensk, which was the Russian Manchester. Previously politically backward textile workers were led out by the Bolsheviks in a very bitter strike. A strike committee was set up, originally at the behest of a local factory inspector, but expanded its role and assumed some of the aspects of a soviet. It was disbanded when the strike was settled. In Petersburg, on 13 October, a soviet constituted itself, mainly at the initiative of the Mensheviks. This organization grew very quickly. It had 562 delegates in it, each representing 500 workers. It's interesting to note that about 350 of those were metal workers. And essentially during the late October/early November period in Petersburg, when general strikes were occurring, it played the role of organizing the working masses, directing the political strikes and demonstrations, and also arming the workers to protect the populace against pogroms. Because one of the cards the tsarist autocracy played very heavily in 1905 was to provoke anti-Semitic pogroms which, particularly from October/November onwards when the class struggle really heated up in the proletarian centers, became extremely vicious. Where the soviets did organize workers defense squads, though, they were able to suppress the pogromists.

The Bolsheviks were suspicious of these new-fangled creations, the soviets. As late as November of 1905, the conference of the Bolshevik northern committees, which met in Moscow, passed a resolution on soviets which said:

> "Soviets of workers' deputies need to be created only where the organization cannot direct the proletariat's mass action in any other way or where it is necessary to detach masses that have fallen under the sway of bourgeois parties. The Soviet of Workers' Deputies must be the Party's technical apparatus for carrying the RSDRP's political leadership to the masses. Therefore it is imperative to gain control of it and to persuade it to recognize the program and the political leadership of the RSDRP."

In Moscow, in October, not only the workers went out on strike but also students, and professors and governmental bureaucrats, and so on. And there was a sort of strike central, which included not only the working class, but also representatives of the intelligentsia, and so on and so forth, and it was a real zoo.

Lenin was out of the country for most of 1905. He came back in November when the strike movement in Petersburg was quite strong. Soviets, these new creatures, had appeared on the scene and it was necessary to hammer out tactics toward them, just as the Bolsheviks were compelled to hammer out their tactics toward unions which sprang up during 1905. Previously, unions had just been the legal workers' societies. And you can see a development by the end of 1905 of the basic communist unit of work, which is the cell, in the labor movement.

There was an interesting article that

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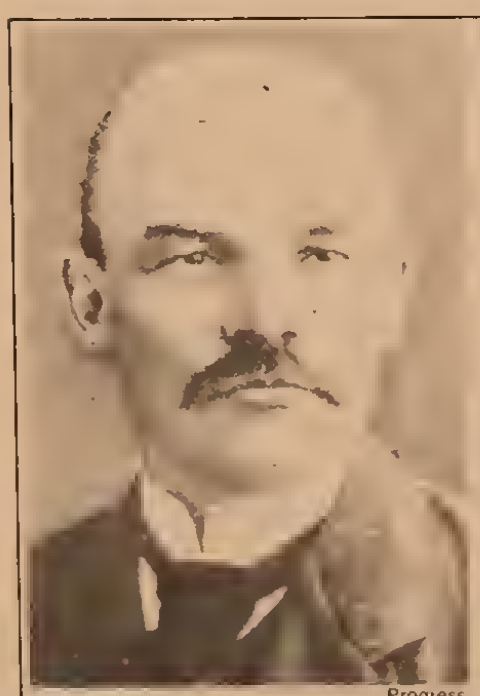

Lenin, 1907

Progress

Trotsky in prison, 1906.

1905...

(continued from page 7)

Lenin wrote en route to Petersburg. It was written in Stockholm—a letter written to *Novaya Zhizn*, which was the Bolshevik paper in Petersburg. Lenin prefaced this letter with an indication of some uncertainty. "I am still forced to write from that accursed 'afar,' from the hateful 'abroad' of an exile...." His proposals regarding the Soviets were not necessarily in contradiction with the motion that I just read. He said:

> "As I see it, the Soviet of Workers' Deputies, as a revolutionary center providing political leadership, is not too broad an organisation but, on the contrary, a much too narrow one. The Soviet must proclaim itself the provisional revolutionary government, or form such a government, and must by all means enlist to this end the participation of new deputies not only from workers, but, first of all, from the sailors and soldiers, who are everywhere seeking freedom; secondly, from the revolutionary peasantry, and thirdly, from the revolutionary bourgeois intelligentsia.... We are not afraid of so broad and mixed a composition—indeed we want it, for unless the proletariat and the peasantry unite and unless the Social-Democrats and revolutionary democrats form a fighting alliance, the great Russian revolution cannot be fully successful. It will be a temporary alliance that is to fulfil clearly defined immediate practical tasks, while the more important interests of the socialist proletariat, its fundamental interests and ultimate goals, will be steadfastly upheld by the independent and consistently principled Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party."

That's correct, as long as it's a hard party. And this article is interesting because it didn't see the light of day until 1940. I suspect Lenin had a lot of trouble with his "committeemen" on this point.

On the Soviet, I think also Trotsky's experience in it disoriented him. Too much from below, the spontaneity. He saw the workers in Petersburg, Bolsheviks and Mensheviks together in the Soviet, and assumed, therefore, that unity was possible. Overlooking the crucial fact that unity at the top was impossible, that the Mensheviks' role in 1905 was clearly anti-revolutionary. And this was to be Trotsky's downfall in the interwar period, of trying to reconcile into one party the revolutionary and opportunist wings of the Russian workers movement.

Now, I don't have time to go into all the details. The fact that Lenin in 1917 came over to Trotsky's conception of the permanent revolution, comrades can look at his *Letters from Afar* and *Letters on Tactics* and the *April Theses*. It is interesting to note that in Lenin's lecture on the 1905 Revolution, which took place in January 1917, there's a formulation on the nature of the revolution which is almost word for word the one of Trotsky's I read at the beginning of this talk—about the peculiar features of the Russian Revolution, the role of the proletariat and the tasks which were posed. And he does not in January 1917 mention the formula of the revolutionary democratic dictatorship. So I think he'd already abandoned it and was moving away from it, even before the February events.

Moscow Insurrection

Now, I'd like to close with a few words on something else. And that is the Moscow insurrection. Because it was in Lenin's opinion the high point of the 1905 Revolution. In Moscow there'd been a number of strikes. But a strike started in early December which the autocracy tried to put down by force. The strike grew, at first tentatively, but then with increasing rapidity into a generalized insurrection in response to the attempts to suppress it. And for Lenin, this was the most important lesson he drew out of the 1905 events, that is to say that a section of the proletariat went over to an insurrection. And it was part of what he had been hammering at *all year: that it was necessary to organize an insurrection to bring the tsar down. It would not happen spontaneously, the tsar had to be thrown out!*

And I'd like to read a little bit about it, just a couple short quotes from Lenin:

> "The strike was growing into an uprising, primarily as a result of the pressure of the objective conditions created after October. A general strike could no longer take the government unawares: it had already organised the forces of counter-revolution, and they were ready for military action. The whole course of the Russian revolution after October, and the sequence of events in Moscow in the December days, strikingly confirmed one of Marx's profound propositions: revolution progresses by giving rise to a strong and united counter-revolution, i.e., it compels the enemy to resort to more and more extreme measures of defence and in this way devises ever more powerful means of attack."

And he goes on:

> "From a strike and demonstrations to isolated barricades. From isolated barricades to the mass erection of barricades and street fighting against the troops. Over the heads of the organisations, the mass proletarian struggle developed from a strike to an uprising. This is the greatest historic gain the Russian revolution achieved in December 1905; and like all preceding gains it was purchased at the price of enormous sacrifices. The movement was raised from a general political strike to a higher stage. It compelled the reaction to go *to the limit* in its resistance, and so brought vastly nearer the moment when the revolution will also go to the limit in applying the means of attack. The reaction *cannot* go further than the shelling of barricades, buildings and crowds. But the revolution can go very much further than the Moscow volunteer fighting units, it can go very, very much further in breadth and depth. And the revolution has advanced far since December. The base of the revolutionary crisis has become immeasurably broader—the blade must now be sharpened to a keener edge."

Lenin writing in 1906 was able to see this. Rosa Luxemburg in 1917 was still bemused with the notion of the mass strike, the general strike as the highest form of proletarian struggle. The Moscow uprising was key for the Bolsheviks in 1917, because they went through the rehearsal in 1905, they had gone through the leap from a general strike to insurrection. So they were able to do it in October. They knew how to do it, and they did it. That was the lesson of 1905.

Summary: Now there's a number of things I didn't mention which are interesting, but I don't have time to go into. One of them is the national question, because in 1905 some of the fiercest centers of resistance and of working-class upsurge were the areas of the oppressed nationalities. In fact, immediately preceding Bloody Sunday there was a long strike in Transcaucasia of the oil workers, in Baku. And in Poland, in Lodz, in June there was one of the bloodiest incidents of the 1905 Revolution. Polish school children and elements of the Russian garrison were wearing red shirts and singing the Internationale, and opposing the attempts at Russification. But it took a leftist expression—unlike today, thank you, Stalinists.

It also had an international impact in West Europe and the border areas of the tsarist empire, Turkey and Iran (Persia at the time). The peasantry insurrected in the countryside: from about April through July about 15 percent of the manor houses in European Russia were burned and the land seized. But it didn't go deep enough. As Trotsky pointed out, the peasants in the countryside could see grabbing the estates, but their brothers in the army were shooting at the workers at the same time. (World War I was to change that.) And there were a lot of insurrections in the army. The Warsaw garrison insurrected. The sailors of the battleship *Potemkin* mutinied. There were other garrisons—again, a lot of them in outlying regions where they were used to suppress the insurgent nationalities. Troops refused to be entrained to the Far East. A railway workers strike brought the Trans-Siberian Railway to a standstill. So those are also interesting aspects.

There's a big dividing line in the workers movement, and it boils down to the question: should the Bolsheviks have seized power? If you want to find out where somebody stands, push on that question, and push hard. Because that's the dividing line. This was Lenin's point in 1905. It was very clear that the revolution had to grow over into a proletarian one. In 1928 Trotsky's closest collaborator, Adolph Joffe, committed suicide. He left Trotsky a note and in it stated that Lenin had admitted to Joffe that in 1905 Trotsky was right and he had been wrong. Joffe was taking Trotsky to task because Trotsky saw further, he said, than any of his contemporaries, but he lacked the intransigence of Lenin. And this was a suicide note to his best friend.

A final point, actually a postscript. So as not to idealize history, let me give you some idea of what Lenin was dealing with in the Bolshevik organization. When this upsurge occurred, the Bolsheviks—these committeemen in Russia—had been embroiled in fighting the Mensheviks. And you can read a lot of letters to the center about the Mensheviks flooding Petersburg. You know, "if we only had ten more good agitators and organizers, we could deal with these people—please help." But there was a failure on the part of a lot of the Bolshevik committeemen to make a turn when the upheaval occurred, a conservatism about turning outward and recruiting. There's a famous letter by Lenin to Bogdanov that I'd like to read from:

> "We need young forces. I am for shooting on the spot anyone who presumes to say that there are no people to be had. The people in Russia are legion; all we have to do is to recruit young people more widely and boldly, more boldly and widely, and again more widely and again more boldly, *without fearing them*. This is a time of war. The youth—the students, and still more so the young workers—will decide the issue of the whole struggle. Get rid of all the old habits of immobility, of respect for rank, and so on. Form *hundreds* of circles of *Vperyod*-ists [Bolshevik supporters] from among the youth and encourage them to work at full blast. Enlarge the Committee *threefold* by accepting young people into it...."

And he goes on to say:

> "In the first place, if you fail to organise them and spur them on to action, they will follow the Mensheviks and the Gapons, and this very inexperience of theirs will cause five times more harm. In the second place, events themselves will teach them *in our spirit*."

And he closes:

> "I shall write of this in *Vperyod* and speak of it at the Congress. I am writing to you in one more *endeavour* to evoke an exchange of ideas, to call upon you *to bring* a dozen *young, fresh* workers' (and other) circles *into direct contact* with the Editorial Board, although... between ourselves be it said, I do not cherish the slightest hope that these daring ideas will be fulfilled, unless, perhaps, two months from now you will ask me to wire whether I agree to such-and-such changes in the plan.... I reply in advance that I agree to everything. Goodbye until the Congress. Lenin"

You think that did it? What happened at this [1905] Congress? Well, one of the things the Mensheviks were criticizing the Bolsheviks for was the lack of workers in the Bolshevik committees. And just because the Mensheviks brought it up didn't mean that it wasn't a problem. It was in fact precisely what Lenin was trying to push Bogdanov to do, to open the Bolshevik organization up to these newly radicalized workers. So I'd like to read from the transcripts of the Congress and the motion that came out of the debate. So one character says:

> "We must introduce workers [into the committees] because the movement is growing, not because the Mensheviks are 'sowing discord'."

Mikhailov says:

> "The workers are interested in the question of the relationship between workers and *intelligenty*."

And somebody shouts: "There are the rules!" So Lenin steps into the debate:

> "It will be the task of the future center to reorganize a considerable number of our committees. The committee members' inertia must be overcome. (Clapping and hissing.)
> "I hear Comrade Sergeev hissing, while non-committeemen are applauding. I think one should look at the matter more broadly. Bringing workers into the committees is not only a pedagogical but also a political task. Workers possess the class instinct, and with a little political experience they quite soon become tempered Social-Democrats. I should be very pleased if there were eight workers to every two *intelligenty* in our committees."

Then Mikhailov speaks again:

> "It is said that we do not have workers capable of sitting on a committee. That is not true. The criterion for admitting workers... ought to be different from the one applied to *intelligenty*. There is talk of tempered S-D's, but... first- and second-year students, familiar with Social-Democratic ideas from the Erfurt Program and a few issues of *Iskra*, are already considered tempered S-D's. Thus in practice the requirements for *intelligenty* are very low, and for workers they are extremely high."

Lenin interjects, "Very true!" and a majority of the delegates scream, "Not true!"

> "The only valid criterion for admitting workers into a committee must be the degree of their influence among the masses. (Hissing, shouting.) All workers who are leaders and have been in our circles must be members of our committees. (Right!)"

It goes on from there. Later Lenin returns to the subject:

> "I could not sit quietly when it was said that there were no workers fit to be committee members. The question is being put off; evidently there is some sickness in the Party. Workers must be brought into the committees. It's funny—there are only three publicists [the people who put the paper out] at the Congress, the rest are committee people, and it is the *literatory* who approve of bringing in workers, while the committeemen are all worked up for some reason."

The upshot of the debate was that the issue was shelved. The final motion passed was on the undesirability of passing a resolution on the principles of the problem.

So Lenin had a lot of trouble whipping these guys into line. And the other big fight that he had was that Bogdanov already at the time of this letter that I quoted, which was written pretty early in 1905, was in a waltz with the Mensheviks in Petersburg. There was this strong impulse from below toward unity growing out of 1905, and they had to go through it, go through a unity congress that unified nothing. Lenin, I think, was the only person to vote against it, although he didn't speak against it. And then we go through the period leading up to the final 1912 split. So you see that Bolshevism did not spring from Lenin's head in 1903, but that it took an evolution, struggles over real questions and the experience of dealing with events to hammer out what was to become the party and the program and the practices that led to the successful October Revolution of 1917, and which were later codified in the early Congresses of the Communist International. ■

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Spartacus Youth League
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Walesa Brings "Mr. AFL-CIA" to Poland

Irving Brown: Cold War Criminal

"Tell me what company you keep, and I'll tell you what you are."
—*Cervantes*, Don Quixote

On August 27 the AFL-CIO quietly announced that the American labor federation's "President Lane Kirkland has accepted the invitation of President Lech Walesa to attend the first National Conference of Solidarność in Gdansk, Poland, Sept. 26-29." The terse press release added that Kirkland will be accompanied by one "Irving Brown, AFL-CIO European representative." Polish workers beware! Walesa's welcome to this pair can mean but one thing: openly embracing capitalist counterrevolution.

Lane Kirkland's connections with the U.S. imperialist state are well known—for example, his directorship of the CIA labor front, the "American Institute for Free Labor Development" (AIFLD), which sets up yellow "unions" and helps overthrow leftist governments in Latin America (Guatemala 1954, Brazil 1964, Chile 1973). But Irving Brown is in another category. His sinister record of anti-labor, anti-Communist subversion goes back more than three and a half decades. This long-term operative of the U.S. spy agencies is "Mr. AFL-CIA" himself.

Irving Brown was the man who used CIA dollars to plant agents, buy officials and hire goon squads to split, smash and subdue combative unions in Western Europe after World War II. Irving Brown has been identified by former Central Intelligence Agency official Philip Agee as the "principal CIA agent for control of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions." Irving Brown was dispatched to Portugal in 1975 to stop revolution by busting up the Communist-led union federation while CIA-funded mobs were burning CP offices. Now Irving Brown is being sent to Poland to organize counterrevolution.

Brown's notorious activities are carried out in secret, or publicly with a "labor" cover provided by the Meanyite

Free Trade Union News

Sinister Irving Brown: Promotes bloody counterrevolution in Poland with AFL-CIO Polish language issue of *Free Trade Union News*.

Cold Warriors who control American unions. But the cover has been lifted enough times so that his true aims and employers are plain to see. Beginning in the mid-'30s he was the No. 1 sidekick of Jay Lovestone, once Stalin's hatchetman-leader of the U.S. Communist Party who became an anti-Communist witchhunter in the unions long before McCarthyism. When Lovestone was made head of the AFL's "Free Trade Union Committee" in 1944, Irving Brown became his main European operative. His mission: carry out a Red Purge of European labor.

Already in the McCarthy years Brown's activities were revealed in an exposé by Hal Draper entitled, "Cloak-and-Dollar Man: Mr. Irving Brown of the AFL in Europe," and published in *Labor Action* of 20 October 1952. Draper quoted articles in the French newspaper *Le Monde* detailing Brown's operations in France, where with the aid of U.S. dollars, fascist collaborators and Corsican gangsters he engineered a split in the Communist-led CGT union federation:

> "Being a realist, Mr. Irving Brown does not long hesitate, it is well known, about the choice of methods to struggle against communism.... In his speech on December 13, 1951 at the American Club of Brussels, he even gave France precise advice: abolish the CGT's right to trade-union representation; return to the ranks of free trade-unionism the activists who were purged for having given support to the [Nazi-allied] Vichy regime."

Draper comments on the methods of this apostle of "free trade-unionism":

> "This frankly means 'anti-Communist terror,' and less frankly, terror backed by the benevolence of the government. The prime example in France... is that of the so-called Mediterranean Committee which is virtually a Brown creature. He had found his man, one Pierre Ferri-Pisani, among the Marseilles dockers—described flatteringly as a 'steely Corsican' by the [*Readers*] *Digest*—and poured AFL money in to build it up."

Brown's "steely Corsican" put together goon squads in every French port to intimidate the CGT and unleashed a wave of terror that sent several CP leaders to the hospital.

It all cost a bundle, far more than the AFL could manage. Quite a few years later it was confirmed that Irving Brown's big bucks came from the CIA. Tom Braden, head of the Agency's International Organizations Division from 1950 to 1954, explained how "With funds from Dubinsky's union [the ILGWU], they [Lovestone and Brown] organized Force Ouvrière, a non-Communist union. When they ran out of money they appealed to the CIA. Thus began the secret subsidy of free trade unions" ("I'm Glad the CIA is Immoral," *Saturday Evening Post*, 20 May 1967). In 1949 Ferri-Pisani's goon squads broke a French dockers strike: Braden said Brown needed the CIA money "to pay off his strong-arm squads in Mediterranean ports, so that American supplies could be unloaded against the opposition of Communist dock workers." Meanwhile, following Brown's advice, the U.S. literally bought itself a union movement in the Western occupation zones of starving postwar Germany by feeding hundreds of functionaries with CARE packages and supplying free paper, printing presses and cars—and a ban on the Communists. The total cost of the Lovestone/Brown operations was estimated by Braden at $2 million a year.

The whole post-WWII AFL-CIA operation would have had little success if it hadn't been for Stalinist betrayals, such as the French CP/CGT suppression of strikes as their ticket for staying in the government. And Lovestone first learned his gangster methods as Stalin's hack at the head of the CPUSA, where he silenced, expelled and beat up the Trotskyist Left Opposition (only to find himself expelled soon after). But make no mistake: these "labor" front men for U.S. imperialism are the front-line organizers of bloody counterrevolution. Remember how they helped prepare the 1973 Chile coup! Polish workers: do not let the crimes of Stalinism blind you to the fact that the AFL-CIO and its Solidarność friends represent a mortal threat to the collective property which is a historic conquest of the *world* proletariat. No to the "democracy" and "free trade unionism" of CIA assassins, Reaganite strikebreaking and racist terror! Defend the gains of October! Smash the counterrevolutionary threat! ■

Labor Has the Power...

(continued from page 4)

some little American flags, but not a lot; a banner, "Pittsburgh Carpenters for a Stronger America." But this was an overwhelmingly anti-Reagan march. Interestingly, some of the "progressive" unions of yesteryear exhibited the worst social-patriotism. Doug Fraser's UAW bought 20,000-plus blue/white caps with "Buy American" across the crown. Albert Shanker's UFT had endless signs like "Education—First Line of Defense." Of course, the axis of the anti-Soviet mobilization was support for Polish Solidarity. There were numerous Solidarność banners, T-shirts, references in speeches by Kirkland and Mondale. But the domestic class struggle pitting labor against a vicious anti-working-class government also had an impact. A curious sign in the PATCO contingent was noticed as they marched past the Spartacist banner: "I wish I were a controller in Poland."

"Wimpy" Winpisinger's IAM is pushing hard to be the UAW of the '80s. They mobilized heaviest, had caps for everyone, staked out the key spot in the staging grounds so they could move out first, and invited in a host of student and reformist left groups to march with the IAM contingent. Machinists "socialist" president Winpisinger is a leader of Harrington's DSOC, and the DSOCers had a large contingent (several hundred) behind their symbol of a fist and a rose on a background of stars-and-stripes. This captured the social-patriotic quality of the IAM/DSOC contingent—"Jobs not Bombs" was the main slogan. And just as they earlier tagged along after the Mine Workers' Arnold Miller and Steelworkers' Ed Sadlowski, the reformists are all beseeching Winpisinger to build a labor party—while he is reforging AFL-CIO links to the Democrats. And above all, "socialist" Winpisinger whose membership includes airline ground crews around the country is doing nothing to win the PATCO strike.

The need for a revolutionary vanguard party is posed pointblank if the working class is to smash Reagan's war on unions, blacks and minorities and the anti-Soviet war drive which threatens a thermonuclear World War III. This was the message the Spartacist League brought to Washington, with a banner proclaiming, "Fight for Workers Rights, Build a Workers Party, Smash Reagan!" The tremendous sales demonstrated not only the will of the SL membership to intervene in this unique opportunity for class-struggle politics, but also a changing mood in the working class. PATCO strikers bought extra copies of *Workers Vanguard* to hang up on their union bulletin boards. Approached by a subscription salesman, a group of air controllers discussed the question—they were broke—and finally one striker spoke up, "Well, we've obviously got to get a sub because we have to read this, so I'll buy one for all of us."

A black comrade from Detroit sold eight *WV*s to a circle of black steel workers from Virginia who wanted to learn about the November 1979 black/labor demonstration which stopped the Klan from marching in the Motor City. The USWA local president arranged for literature on the November 10 rally to be sent to the union. Another comrade from New York met a group of miners, who demanded to see the union bug on *WV*, then bought the paper. Altogether 8,135 copies of *Workers Vanguard* with the headline "Unchain Labor!" were sold in Washington September 19. Including other SL publications and sales at West Coast demos, some 9,239 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold that day, many times more than at any other event in the SL's history. ■

Spartacist League Forums

Smash U.S./South Africa Anti-Soviet Racist Axis!

- **Drive the Springboks Out!**
- **South Africa Out of Angola!**
- **Military Victory to SWAPO!**

Thursday, Sept. 24, 12 noon
City College of New York
438 Finley Hall

New York City

- **For Workers Revolution to Smash Apartheid!**

Friday, Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m.
Schermerhorn Hall
Room 501
Columbia University
For more information (212) 267-1025

Poland...

(continued from page 12)

no "third way," much less a purely trade-unionist third way.

It was clear from the beginning that Walesa & Co. saw themselves leading the entire Polish nation under the banner of eagle and cross in a crusade against "Russian-imposed Communism." Solidarity is no longer a trade union, but has come to include large sections of the intelligentsia, petty bureaucrats, priests, etc. Last winter/spring much of Solidarity's efforts were directed toward forcing the government to legally recognize the organization of peasant smallholders, Rural Solidarity, a potent social force for capitalist restoration. In late March Solidarity even threatened a nationwide general strike primarily on behalf of the rural petty capitalists, despite the fact that they were driving up food prices for urban consumers.

Local Solidarity organizations have kept up a barrage of anti-Soviet propaganda of the most vile right-wing sort. For example, the Solidarity newspaper at the Katowice steel mill, the largest in the country, reprinted chapters from Solzhenitsyn's *The Gulag Archipelago* and ran cartoons that could have come straight out of the Western yellow press. At the same time, Solidarity's leaders have nothing but good things to say about the imperialist West.

Small wonder Ronald Reagan could declare that the Polish crisis signals the beginning of the end of Communism, the desperate dream of world imperialism ever since October 1917:

> "...I think the things we're seeing not only in Poland but the reports that are beginning to come out of Russia itself ...are an indication that communism is an aberration—it's not a normal way of living for human beings, and I think we're seeing the first beginning cracks, the beginning of the end."
>
> —*New York Times*, 17 June.

These were no mere philosophical musings. U.S. imperialism is deeply involved in fomenting anti-Communist reaction in Poland, especially through the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which has contributed $300,000 and their first printing press to Solidarity.

While engaged in subverting Poland from within, the Reagan administration is also trying to *provoke* the Soviet Union into military intervention, in part through inflammatory statements like the above. Reagan/Haig *want to see* Polish workers hurling Molotov cocktails at Russian tanks in order to fuel their anti-Soviet war drive to white heat.

While the motion in the year-long Polish crisis has been toward pro-imperialist counterrevolution, the condition of cold dual power also created an *opening* for the crystallization of an authentically revolutionary workers party which could reverse this process *from within*. As Trotskyists, therefore, we oriented toward the potential for development of a left opposition from among those Solidarity and Communist party militants who wanted a genuine "socialist renewal" by seeking to recover the internationalist traditions of Lenin and Luxemburg, perverted in the service of the Stalinist bureaucrats. A revolutionary vanguard in Poland would seek to *split* Solidarity, winning the mass of the workers away from the anti-Soviet nationalist leadership around Walesa. It would put forward a program centering on strict separation of church and state, unconditional military defense of the Soviet bloc against capitalism-imperialism, and a political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy and establishment of a democratically elected workers government based on soviets to carry out socialist economic planning (including the collectivization of agriculture). Yet we fully recognized that this program goes very much against the stream in Poland today and that the dominant tendency was for Solidarity to consolidate around a counterrevolutionary course in the name of nation, church and "the free world."

Solidarity Calls for "Bourgeois-Democratic" Counterrevolution

For a year the Solidarity leadership stopped short of openly calling for the overthrow of the official "Communist" system (a bureaucratically ruled workers state) and its replacement by (bourgeois) "democracy" like in the West. Walesa in particular liked to posture as a simple trade unionist, as if Solidarity was the same as the AFL-CIO in the United States or the DGB in West Germany. But as the economy descended into chaos, everyone recognized that simple trade unionism was impossible. Industrial and agricultural production has collapsed, the stores are empty, people wait hours to buy food and other necessities. The head of Solidarity's Warsaw chapter likened the organization to a union of seamen aboard a sinking ship. The obvious helplessness of the Polish Stalinists and evident reluctance of the Kremlin to intervene militarily further emboldened Solidarity's so-called "militant" wing.

The organization made its first bid for power on the economic front. Last April Solidarity came out with a program for the abolition of centralized economic planning, the election of enterprise managers by the workers and enterprise autonomy on the basis of market composition. In the anarchic conditions of Poland such self-managed enterprises would quickly free themselves from all but nominal state control. If carried out, Solidarity's economic program would lead to immediate mass unemployment, facilitate imperialist economic penetration and greatly strengthen the forces pushing toward capitalist restoration. (For a fuller discussion of this, see "'Market Socialism' Is Anti-Socialist," *WV* No. 287, 14 August.) If the government does not agree to this program, Solidarity is threatening to conduct its own national referendum as the first step to taking over effective control of the economy.

But the actions of Solidarity's first congress go much further even than this. Its open appeal for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc is both an arrogant provocation of Moscow and a declaration of ideological solidarity with Western imperialism. While the demand for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control is integral to the Trotskyist program for proletarian political revolution in the Stalinist-ruled Soviet bloc, the *slogan* of "free trade unions" has long since been associated with NATO imperialism. At the start of the Cold War the fanatically anti-Communist Meanyite bureaucracy set up the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in closest collaboration with the Central Intelligence Agency. It is therefore quite fitting that accompanying Lane Kirkland to the Solidarity congress will be none other than Irving Brown, "Mr. AFL-CIA," whose disruption of the labor movement on behalf of U.S. imperialism spans three and a half decades. The Solidarity leadership is well aware of the anti-Communist meaning of the slogan, "free trade unions," as they have been dealing with the AFL-CIO tops for months.

Even more important than "free trade unions" in the ideological arsenal of imperialist anti-Sovietism is "democracy"—not workers democracy based on soviets as in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 but bourgeois parliamentary "democracy." Here also the Solidarity congress fully adhered to the "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution. The important Warsaw chapter put forward a motion calling for "free elections" to the Sejm, further stating that "the road to the nation's sovereignty is through democratic elections to representative bodies" (*New York Times*, 10 September). In the world of Solidarity everything, including democracy, is subordinate to Polish national sovereignty. (For a theoretical discussion of "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution in bureaucratically ruled workers states, see Shane Mage, "'Pure Democracy' or Political Revolution in East Europe," *Spartacist* No. 30, Autumn 1980.)

Assuming the Warsaw regime was powerless to prevent it (as is probably the case) and that the Soviet army didn't intervene, what kind of government would emerge from free elections to a sovereign parliament in Poland today? A quarter to a third of the voters would be peasant smallholders, who will do what their local priest tells them to do. Their social attitude was summed up by British journalist Tim Garton Ash: "It is the conservative Catholic peasants of South-Eastern Poland who would overthrow communism at the drop of a Cardinal's hat" (*Spectator*, 14 February). Historically, Marxian socialism has been a powerful and at times dominant current within the Polish industrial proletariat. But 35 years of Stalinist bureaucratism has made much of the Polish working class sympathetic *at this time* to clerical-nationalism and pro-Western social democracy, while demoralizing the rest. The likely result of parliamentary democracy would be the victory of anti-Communist, nationalist forces seeking an alliance with NATO imperialism against the Soviet Union.

Such a government would mean the counterrevolution in power. In 1935 Trotsky observed that "the restoration to power of a Menshevik and Social Revolutionary bloc would suffice to obliterate the socialist construction" ("The Workers State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," *Writings [1934-35]*). And the parties that would win "free elections" in the Poland of Wojtyla and Walesa are far to the right of the Russian Mensheviks and Social Revolutionaries. They would be closer to Pilsudskiite nationalism, hankering after the great Poland of the fascistic dictator of the interwar years.

And what would happen to any left opposition to such "bourgeois-democratic" counterrevolution? In his report to the Solidarity congress the organization's secretary, Andrzej Celinski, declared that his Communist opponents "do not hesitate to enter the road of national treason" (UPI dispatch, 6 September). Given the mood of the delegates, the accusation of "national treason" is the most inflammatory political denunciation imaginable. As Solidarity moves to reassert national sovereignty, loyal members and supporters of the PUWP will become the victims of a white terror.

Fake-Trotskyists like Ernest Mandel of the European-centered United Secretariat and Jack Barnes of the American Socialist Workers Party, tailing anti-Soviet social democracy, argue that Solidarity's leaders have not explicitly called for the restoration of capitalism. But they clearly have called for the overthrow of the existing state and its replacement by a clerical-nationalist regime with close ties to NATO imperialism. And this would not be a peaceful process but a bloody counterrevolution. Trotsky debunked the notion of a peaceful, gradual transformation from proletarian to bourgeois state power as running the film of reformism in reverse.

As for the resulting economic transformation, Trotsky also pointed out that "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy" ("Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" *Writings [1937-38]*). State industry would be starved for new investment or even repairs, since this would divert resources from the rapidly growing private sector. At the same time, foreign capitalist investment would be invited in on a massive scale. Walesa openly calls for joint enterprises with Western capitalists as the salvation of the Polish economy. Wages would be kept low to compete on the world market. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of workers would be laid off as a "necessary" rationalization measure. Certainly the mass of deluded workers in Solidarity do not want this. But the restoration of capitalism in all its ruthlessness would follow, as the night follows the day, from Solidarity's program of "Western-style democracy."

Tell Me Who Your Friends Are...

While proclaiming the need for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc, Solidarity has conspicuously *not* solidarized with workers' struggles in *capitalist* countries. When Ronald Reagan fired 12,000 striking air controllers, the entire national union membership, practically every trade-union federation in the Western world protested. But not the Polish Solidarity! Solidarity spokesman Zygmunt Przetakiewicz attended the New York City Labor Day demonstration in the company of Albert Shanker. At a time when even the most right-wing AFL-CIO bureaucrats were denouncing Reagan's massive union busting and savage cuts in social welfare programs, the Solidarity spokesman maintained a careful neutrality in the conflict between the American working class and the most reactionary government in half a century. When asked what he thought of Reagan's policies, Przetakiewicz replied, "I would not like to be involved in this kind of thing" (*New York Times*, 8 September).

At the Labor Day demonstration Przetakiewicz announced Solidarity was opening its first foreign office in the New York headquarters of Shanker's United Federation of Teachers (UFT). The UFT is hardly a typical American business union. It is the main organizational base for the Social Democrats, U.S.A., otherwise known as "State Department socialists." Shanker's Socialist Party (which in 1972 changed its name to avoid the stigma of socialism!) were hawks in the Vietnam War till the bitter end, even after Nixon/Kissinger had given it up as a lost cause.

The Social Democrats are despised by

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Winnipeg, Manitoba
(204) 589-7214

Protest Counterrevolutionary Polish Union Solidarność!

Down with the Solidarność-"AFL-CIA" Axis!

Demonstrate at the newly opened Solidarność U.S. office at Albert Shanker's UFT headquarters:

260 Park Ave. South Thursday, September 24, 11 A.M.

mainstream liberals as crazed, anti-communist warmongers. In the film *Sleeper* by left-liberal humorist Woody Allen, the typical New York hero (or anti-hero) reawakens a few centuries in the future and learns that his civilization was wiped out in a nuclear war. He asks, how did this war begin? He's told: we really don't know, but we think a man by the name of Albert Shanker acquired the atomic bomb.

In the past decade the Social Democrats have developed the closest ties to the Meanyite machine which runs the national AFL-CIO. Kirkland/Shanker have done more than anyone else in the American labor movement to prepare the way for Reagan's massive arms buildup and anti-Soviet war drive. These two criminals are actively working for a nuclear first strike against the Soviet Union. Kirkland is a member of the Committee on the Present Danger, a right-wing militarist pressure group which attacked Carter for "selling out" to the Russians in the SALT negotiations. The *first point* in a recent resolution on global politics by the Social Democrats, U.S.A., states:

> "The major priorities for the [Reagan] administration in the area of foreign policy should be:
> "1) *Rebuilding American nuclear and conventional strength:* The correction of the imbalance, along the lines suggested by such responsible defense analysts as those associated with the Committee on the Present Danger, must be undertaken as rapidly as possible." [italics in original]
> —"The Global Vision of Social Democracy," *New America*, January/February

There's a saying: tell me who your friends are and I'll tell you who you are. Well, these are Solidarity's American friends.

Soviet Russia and the Counterrevolutionary Danger in Poland

Faced with the counterrevolutionary danger in Poland, the Kremlin Stalinists have gone beyond denunciations in *Pravda* to mobilizing the Soviet workers against Solidarity. Mass meetings in the giant Zil auto and truck factory in Moscow and similar plants in Leningrad and elsewhere were held to approve a public answer to Solidarity's appeal to Soviet workers:

> "They ask us to renounce ourselves, the results of our work, of our struggle, to betray millions of people who fell in battles against imperialism, to betray our Communist future."
> —*New York Times*, 12 September

These words and these meetings are not simply bureaucratic displays from above without support at the base. Doubtless the Kremlin Stalinists try to whip up Great Russian anti-Polish chauvinism. Furthermore, Soviet workers and collective farmers resent the fact that for years Moscow has subsidized the Polish economy, although the standard of living in Warsaw and Gdansk is far higher than in Moscow or Kiev. Even Western bourgeois journalists report that the Russian man-in-the-street has no sympathy for Solidarity and what it stands for. Why? It is not primarily chauvinsim or economic resentment.

The fundamental reason is that the Soviet working masses want to defend the collectivized social system born in the October Revolution, despite its subsequent Stalinist degeneration, against world imperialism. Unlike in Poland, where a deformed workers state was imposed from above by the Red Army, the Russian working class in 1917 took history into its own hands and will not lightly relinquish the social conquests of October. Moreover, Soviet working people keenly remember the 20 million lost fighting Hitler's Germany. 600,000 of these fell liberating Poland from the horror of the Nazi occupation. The Soviet working people know that the terrible nuclear arsenal of American imperialism, with the anti-Communist fanatics Reagan/Haig on the trigger finger, is aimed at them.

They fear the transformation of East Europe into imperialist-allied states extending NATO to their own border. The Kremlin bureaucrats cynically exploit this consciousness to rally support for their crushing of popular unrest and democratic aspirations in East Europe, as in Czechoslovakia in 1968. But the Poland of Wojtyla and Walesa is not the Czechoslovakia of Dubcek's "socialism with a human face." Now the counterrevolutionary danger is all too real. Any day Poland could explode into a 1921 Kronstadt-style counterrevolutionary rebellion on a massive scale.

But if Poland could become a giant Kronstadt, the bureaucratic regime of Brezhnev is separated by a political counterrevolution from the communist government of Lenin and Trotsky. As proletarian revolutionaries, it is not our task to advise the Kremlin Stalinists on how to deal with the counterrevolutionary situation in Poland for which they bear ultimate responsibility. They are not our saviours. We have no confidence the Russian Stalinists can or will defend the social gains of the October Revolution bureaucratically extended to Poland. In principle the Kremlin Stalinists are perfectly capable of selling Poland to the German bankers if they think they can preserve their own domestic power base. Remember the Stalin-Hitler pact. Ever since the Red Army drove out Hitler's forces at the end of World War II, the Western imperialist bourgeoisies have dreamed of "rolling back" the Soviets to the borders of the USSR (and beyond). However, given the implacable, insane hostility of the Reagan adminstration and the relative weight of American as against German imperialism, giving up Poland is not a very viable option for the Soviet bureaucracy today. This is especially the case as Poland lies across the main supply and communications routes between the Soviet Union and East Germany, the main state confronting Western imperialism.

Every class-conscious worker in the world, especially in the Soviet Union, Poland and the other East European countries, must understand that Solidarity is pursuing a straight-line policy threatening the gains of the October Revolution, the greatest victory for the working class in history. Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course must be stopped! *If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily to stop it, we will support this.* And we take responsibility in advance for this; whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution.

What do revolutionaries do when the Marxist program stands counterposed to the overwhelming bulk of the working class, a situation we of course urgently seek to avoid? There can be no doubt. The task of communists must be to defend at all costs the program and gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today Trotskyists find themselves in such a position over Poland, and it is necessary to swim against a powerful current of counterrevolution.

But Soviet military intervention against Solidarity will have an entirely different character than its intervention against the Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, which opened the possibility of liberating the Afghan peoples from the wretched conditions of feudal and pre-feudal backwardness. There we said, "Hail Red Army!" In Poland it is the Stalinists themselves, through decades of capitulation to capitalist forces, who have produced the counterrevolutionary crisis.

Rolke/Stern

Counterrevolution is no joke. Polish university students wear "EA" ("anti-socialist element") T-shirts.

If a Trotskyist leadership had to intervene against counterrevolution in Poland today the conflict might be no less violent. But it would seek to mobilize those sections of the Polish working class which stand on the historic social gains of liberation of Poland from Nazi enslavement and capitalist exploitation, who hate the bureaucracy for undermining those gains, and who would fight together with the Soviet Army to defend the material foundations of a socialist future. The crimes of Stalinism, not the least the present counterrevolutionary situation in Poland, mandate proletarian political revolution in the Soviet bloc, and these workers could well be its conscious vanguard in Poland, tempered in part through a revolutionary mobilization to crush the reactionary forces of Solidarity.

The European bourgeoisies, no less than Reagan and Haig, are trying to convince the working masses to focus their fears on a supposed menace of "red imperialism." But this is starkly contrary to the facts. In Afghanistan the CIA is arming feudalist tribesmen in an attempt to strike a blow at the southern border of the USSR, while Soviet troops act as social liberators. Vietnam is under constant menace of renewed attack from China, now overtly militarily allied with U.S. imperialism. And the racist apartheid South African regime is increasingly becoming a central part of the "free world," acting as an American surrogate in attacking Angola with Israeli supplied weapons. Or that other showplace of the "free world," El Salvador, where American war materiel and Green Berets are supplying and maintaining a kill-crazed junta busy exterminating large sections of its own population.

Fake-Trotskyists and fatuous opportunists like Jack Barnes and Ernest Mandel (who hailed Khomeini's "Islamic Revolution" as progressive even as the mullahs were slaughtering their followers) now claim a proletarian political revolution is going on in Poland and Solidarity is its instrument! On the contrary, Solidarity is the translucent Trojan Horse for Reagan/Haig's fanatical anti-Soviet war drive and what is going on in Poland is a pro-imperialist counterrevolutionary polarization. It is no accident that Solidarity has flourished under the gun of mounting anti-Soviet imperialist militarism of first Carter/Brzezinski and now Reagan/Haig, with their virulently anti-communist Polish pope in the Vatican. It is also no accident that in this period when defense of the Soviet Union is urgent, fake-Trotskyists led by Barnes/Mandel abandon all pretense of defense of the Soviet Union and embrace Solidarity.

The choices facing revolutionaries over Poland in the absence of a mass Trotskyist vanguard are not attractive even if they are clear. Abstentionism is not a choice; it is backhanded support to counterrevolution. No less a danger is abandoning the perspective of struggle for the conscious factor in history, for the *international proletarian vanguard*, which leads either to a social-democratic accommodation with the bourgeoisie or accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucracy (à la Marcy who defended Stalinist intervention against a nascent workers political revolution in Hungary). Of course the present Polish situation could only have come to fruition in a political vacuum reflecting the destruction of the important tradition of international communism in Poland through savage persecution, both capitalist and Stalinist. That tradition will only be reforged in a reborn Fourth International by revolutionaries who defended the gains of October when the danger was near, the situation complex and the need for programmatic clarity and backbone urgent.

We warn the Polish workers and the world proletariat that under the banner of nation, church and "the free world," the Solidarity leadership is organizing a bloody capitalist counterrevolution. The creation of a "democratic" Poland subservient to Reagan/Haig on the Western border of the USSR would bring much closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Solidarity's counterrevolution must be stopped before it is too late! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Time Runs Out in Poland

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

The massive strike in the Baltic ports last August brought Polish workers before a historic choice: with the bankruptcy of Stalinist rule dramatically demonstrated, it would be either the path of bloody counterrevolution in league with imperialism, or the path of proletarian political revolution. The Gdansk accords and the emergence of Solidarity (Solidarność), the mass workers organization which issued out of last year's general strike, produced a situation of cold dual power. This precarious condition could not last long, we wrote. And now time has run out.

With its first national congress in early September, decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution. The appeal for "free trade unions" within the Soviet bloc, long a fighting slogan for Cold War anti-Communism, was a deliberate provocation of Moscow. Behind the call for "free elections" to the Sejm (parliament) stands the program of "Western-style democracy," that is, *capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government*. And now leading Polish "dissident" Jacek Kuron, an influential adviser of Solidarity, and a member of the Second International, has issued a call for a counterrevolutionary regime to take power.

To underscore their ties to the "free world," Solidarity's leaders have invited Lane Kirkland, the hard-line Cold Warrior who heads up the American AFL-CIO, to attend the second session of the congress scheduled for late September. This top labor lieutenant of U.S. imperialism, a man deeply involved in Washington's anti-Soviet war drive, has announced he will be there to wave the "free world" banner in Poland. Accompanying Kirkland is Irving Brown, the sinister AFL-CIO "European representative" whose "labor" cover is an invaluable part of his years-long role as top CIA provocateur against the European labor movement. In turn Solidarity is opening a U.S. office in the premises of teachers' union leader Albert Shanker, a notorious right-wing social democrat whose party newspaper, *New America*, denounced George McGovern as little short of a "Commie dupe" and even condemned *Nixon* as soft on Russia!

Over and above the formal actions of the congress, the whole activity and spirit of Solidarity is that of an organization making a bid for power. A few weeks before the congress the top leader, Lech Walesa, told printers who were striking government newspapers:

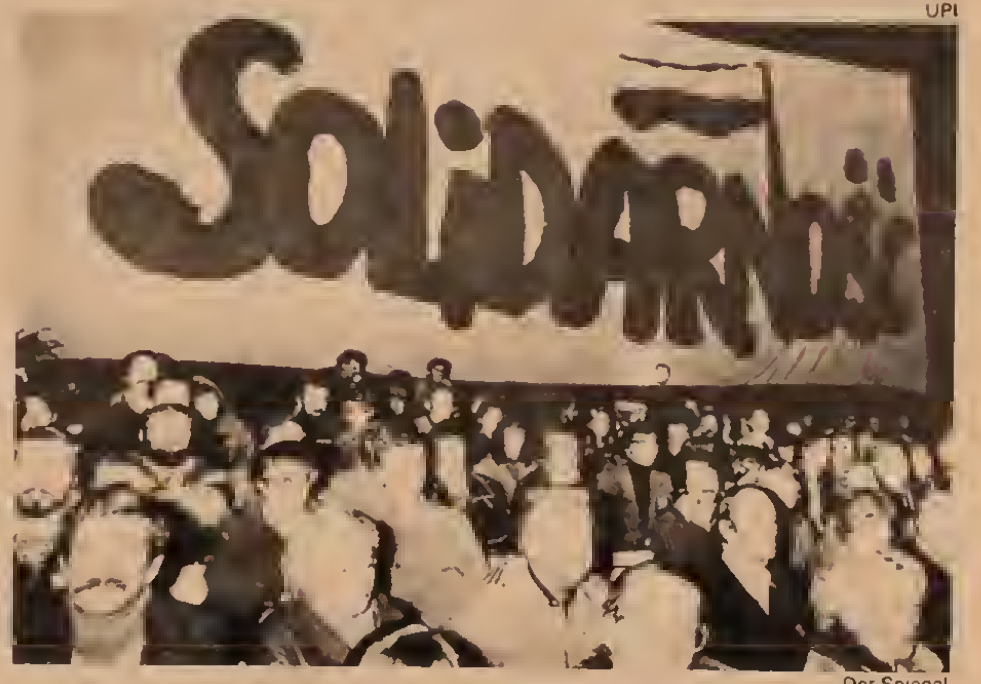
> "I believe that confrontation is unavoidable. The next confrontation will be a total confrontation....
>
> "We see more clearly that without political solutions nothing can be achieved. The whole war will be won by us."
>
> —*Los Angeles Times*, 21 August

When asked what would happen if the Sejm refused to act on Solidarity's program for self-managed enterprises, Bogdan Lis, regarded as the organization's number two, replied smartly, "Maybe we'll dissolve it" (*New York Times*, 13 September). When the 900 delegates left the congress, they understood that the organization was moving to take over the basic economic and political aspects of Polish life. Now, writing in Solidarity's newsletter, *Niezaleznosc*, Poland's most prominent social democrat, Jacek Kuron, has called for a new government based on a "council of national salvation" consisting of Solidarity, the Catholic church and "moderate" Communist officials. "The moment the council is formed, it would suspend operation of all authorities, including the government," Kuron added (UPI dispatch, 16 September 1981).

The sophisticated representatives of Western imperialism, such as the *New York Times*, and apparently the Kremlin Stalinists as well, understand that Solidarity has now crossed the Rubicon. Top American officials have been quoted in European papers saying that Poland today is the most exciting and important opportunity for the West since 1945. And this is from an administration that begins to salivate as soon as it hears the word "rollback." Moscow has issued its strongest warning to date, demanding that the beleaguered Warsaw regime "immediately take the determined and radical steps in order to cut short the malicious anti-Soviet propaganda and actions hostile toward the Soviet Union." In response the Polish government has announced it is preparing drastic actions. Everyone thinks this means declaring a state of emergency and preventing the second part of Solidarity's congress.

Solidarity's counterrevolutionary course has also produced a powerful response from the anti-Moscow center, the Vatican. A week after the congress Pope Karol Wojtyla of Krakow issued his long-awaited encyclical on "the social question." This reaffirmed the church's traditional *defense of capitalist private property against socialism* and war against Marxism, while favoring unions as long as they are a "constructive factor of social order and solidarity." The Polish Conference of Bishops got the message and has thrown its support behind Solidarity's long-standing demand for greater access to the mass media. Does anyone doubt that "the new Poland" Solidarity's leaders say they are building conforms to the guidelines set down by the Catholic church to which they all profess deep allegiance? The pope's encyclical (written in Polish) could well become the manifesto of a counterrevolutionary mobilization in Poland.

UPI



Der Spiegel

Solidarity leaders bow to pope (above). With its first congress Solidarity crosses over to pro-imperialist counter-revolution.

It is the most damning indictment of Stalinism that after three decades of so-called "socialism" a majority of the Polish working class is so fed up with it as to embrace the slogans of the Cold War. It is the Stalinists with their crushing censorship and endless falsifications, their corruption and gross economic mismanagement, their suppression of democratic rights always accompanied by cynical promises of "democratization" who have driven the historically socialist Polish proletariat into the arms of the Vatican and "AFL-CIA."

It is also important to point out that a reported 15 to 20 percent of the Polish workers have *not* participated in Solidarity's mobilization, despite the enormous social pressure on them do to so. Most of these workers probably retain some loyalty to the communist cause and are hostile to the clerical-nationalism of Walesa & Co. But today such workers are clearly a minority and on the defensive as the Solidarity leadership has the the support of the active majority of the Polish proletariat. Thus, the threat of a counterrevolutionary thrust for power is now posed in Poland. That threat must be crushed at all costs and hy any means necessary.

Solidarity Under the Eagle and Cross

It is sheer cynicism that Solidarity's leaders still claim to adhere to the 31 August 1980 Gdansk Agreement, which stated that the new union movement would recognize the "leading role" of the Communist party (Polish United Workers Party, PUWP), would respect Poland's international alliances (i.e., the Warsaw Pact) and would not engage in political activity. Of course, Walesa and his colleagues were strongly opposed to all these conditions but regarded them as tactical concessions for the moment. The notion that the new union movement would not be political was an absurdity. As we stated when the Gdansk Agreement was signed, either the new union movement would become a vehicle for clerical-nationalist reaction or it would have to oppose it in the name of socialist principle. There was and is

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 290

9 October 1981

World Capitalist Economies in Trouble

Wall Street Blues

Blue Monday, 28 September 1981. For a moment everyone feared another Black Thursday, 24 October 1929, the Great Crash which ushered in the world depression. The panicky selling on world stock exchanges followed the sun. The trading day opened in Tokyo on a truly blue note as the Nikkei Dow Jones index plunged 300 points, the largest fall in its history. A two-week slide in the London market turned into a full-scale rout, the third largest decline in its history. Stock prices in Zurich hit a six-year low. The Paris bourse and Frankfurt exchange likewise suffered severe declines. "The markets in the West are like a snowball rolling downhill," said one French broker of the day's dealings (*Wall Street Journal*, 29 September).

Everyone's eyes turned to the giant New York Stock Exchange, which on Friday had closed at a 16-month low. (Prices on the Big Board had fallen almost 200 points since June.) Stock market tipster Joseph Granville was predicting prices would fall right through the floor. And when the Big Board opened, it looked as if Granville was dead on target. Prices fell 14 points in the first hour. "There is panic in the Street. The market looks as if it is having a free fall with no end in sight," exclaimed one broker (*New York Times*, 29 September). But as it turned out the fall was checked and reversed. Late in the trading day the big institutional investors, insurance companies and pension funds, stepped in to buy stocks at now bargain-basement prices. So Blue Monday did not become Black Thursday... this time.

While the panicky selling from Tokyo to New York was something of a chain reaction, investors were also reacting to the specific economic and political conditions of their respective countries. And these conditions are, each in their own way, bad. For months Wall Street has been saying that Reagan's policy of financing a massive arms buildup by *reducing* taxes is just plain crazy. It will ruin the economy. After unsuccessfully trying to bully the moneymen into lowering interest rates, the tough-guy president made an effort to appease them by reducing the budget deficit. On Thursday September 24, Reagan announced an additional $11 billion of budget cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, welfare, food stamps, veteran's benefits, government employee pensions, subsidized housing and student loans. Wall Street's verdict was: not enough! On Friday stock prices fell to a new low and on Monday a crash was averted only at the eleventh hour.

The most depressed of the world's depressed stock markets is naturally

Der Spiegel

Panicky traders on Wall Street. The Big Board has dropped nearly 200 points since June.

London, financial capital of the sick man of the imperialist West. Two years ago Margaret Thatcher came to office as right-wing crusader, much like Reagan, vowing to restore Britain to its place in the sun. The means: tear down the "welfare state," revive the "magic" of free-market capitalism, squeeze the money supply to choke off inflation and

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SL Protests Solidarność Counterrevolution

"State Department Socialists" Provide NYC Office

When Polish Solidarność opened an office in New York's United Federation of Teachers (UFT) headquarters September 24, it was a significant step in their link-up with Western imperialism. That was recognized by all sides, including capitalist propagandists who try to cover this up with their "free world" rhetoric. The inaugural "Solidarity" press conference was jammed with representatives from every NYC newspaper, TV network and major news weekly, plus government mouthpieces like Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, a handful of East European news agencies, and *Workers Vanguard*. But the ominous declaration of intent by pro-imperialist labor fakers was answered. Outside on the street there was a demonstration by the Spartacist League (SL) which proclaimed, "Polish Solidarność Agents of Counterrevolution." The 50 protesters carried placards and chanted "No Rollback! No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!" and "Social Democrats, AFL-CIO Front for CIA in Poland, Too!"

An SL press release pointed out it was no accident the Solidarność office was sponsored by UFT president Albert Shanker, a leader of Social Democrats, USA (SDUSA), a gang of super Cold Warriors. It also noted that Lech Walesa had invited AFL-CIO "European representative" Irving Brown to

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WV Photo

New York, September 24: "Reagan busts American union PATCO, loves Solidarność."

Labor Must Shut Down the Airports!

Militant PATCO Pickets Stop Traffic at S.F. Airport

SAN FRANCISCO, 25 September—Today the largest Bay Area airport demonstration yet in support of the air traffic controllers strike got out of the hands of the AFL-CIO officials who called it. Some 600 to 800 picketers from PATCO (the air controllers' union), the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and a score of other unions surged into the streets, blocking all traffic into San Francisco International Airport for an hour and 20 minutes.

Picketers first surrounded a car which broke down in the passenger pickup lane and began chanting, "On strike! Shut it down!" Then they fanned out across all lanes of traffic, defying orders from California AFL-CIO secretary John Henning and Jeff Pector, head of the AFL-CIO's SF Airport Coalition, to uselessly restrict picketing to the central terminal. TV coverage from helicopters showed freeway traffic backed up for miles around the airport. Many air travelers missed their flights. But had these militant pickets been led in mass picketing of airport *employee* entrances at shift change, there would have been no departing flights to get on. Such a strategy of *solidarity strikes to shut the airports down* would have won the PATCO strike eight weeks ago.

Faced with hundreds of workers in the street, Pector pleaded with the crowd on his bullhorn: "You can all go home now. The demonstration is over." This appeal was met with jeers and the chant, "Hell no, we won't go!" Despite his protest that "it's not my demonstration," Pector was ordered by the cops to clear the street. Wringing his hands, Pector asked a group of IAM stewards for help, but they just laughed at him. The IAMers instead joined with other militants to protect the demonstration from would-be thugs and hit-and-run drivers. One such driver cooled down in a hurry when a burly trade unionist suggested the picketers "flip the fucker on its side." Unfortunately, another hostile driver escaped after ramming a picketer, throwing him across the hood of his car.

Air controllers and Machinists defy bureaucrats, chant "Hell no, we won't go!"

WV Photo

When the IAM stewards refused to do Pector's bidding, Steve Bryant of the small Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) stepped into the breach. "You heard him!" yelled Bryant, unsuccessfully trying to herd demonstrators back to the curb. But no one listened to Bryant either. Such opportunist shenanigans expose the RWL's paper position—plagiarized from *Workers Vanguard*—for labor to "shut down the airports" as so much hot air. According to the RWL, such action should take place only with "international union sanction," i.e., never. The RWL's real program is to tail bureaucrats like Henning who occasionally blow smoke about forming a "labor party." At an earlier SF airport demonstration on August 21, Bryant paid his dues to such fakers by handing out a Central Labor Council leaflet calling on unionists to "write your congressman"! To do what—shut down the airports? When Henning raised the same call to "write your congressman" at today's demonstration he was loudly booed, but not by the likes of Bryant.

Tying up passenger traffic into the airports won't win the PATCO strike. But even such action is too militant for Henning, who fears it will lead to more effective tactics. Those 800 demonstrators who came out today should have been led in mass picketing at the airport worker entrances. As the sign carried by a militant warehouseman said: "Bust Union Buster Reagan! Shut Down the Airports!"

CIA International Terrorism Exposed

How U.S. Arms Afghan Counterrevolutionaries

In the first days of 1980, James Earl Carter fired the opening shots of Cold War II. The American president demagogically whipped up popular anti-Soviet frenzy over Russian interventiop against counterrevolutionary Islamic guerrillas in Afghanistan. And the bulk of the left soon fell into line, from Eurocommunist renegades from Moscow to pseudo-Trotskyists whose "anti-Stalinism" has more in common with Amnesty International than with the founders of the Communist International. While the British IMG initially headlined "Soviet Troops Out of Afghanistan!" its comrades of the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) hesitated to take up the imperialist refrain so blatantly. But now the USec is echoing the imperialists' anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, demanding "End Soviet Occupation of Afghanistan!" The international Spartacist tendency (iSt) has stood alone in defending proletarian internationalism with our battle cry, "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" (see *Spartacist* No. 27-28, Winter 1979-80).

An integral part of the imperialist propaganda barrage has been to cover up massive U.S. military backing for the Afghan reactionaries. Even frequently perceptive leftist observers have been taken in, as for example Fred Halliday who wrote that "the Russian claim about direct foreign interference in Afghanistan is wide of the mark: the fighting against the central government is being done by rebel Afghan tribesmen and there is no serious evidence of direct participation in the fighting by any foreign personnel" (*In These Times*, 16-22 January 1980). Recently, however, investigative reporter Carl Bernstein of Watergate fame has lifted the veil on imperialist intervention in Afghanistan. Bernstein's article for the *New Republic* details the CIA's intricate gunrunning operation, part of a war drive aimed at overturning the historic social gains of the Russian October Revolution:

> "A year and a half after Soviet troops marched into Afghanistan, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency is coordinating a complex, far-flung program, involving five countries and more than $100 million, to provide the Afghan resistance with the weaponry of modern guerrilla warfare. The result is an emerging anti-Soviet alliance—the United States, China, Pakistan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia....
> "Shortly after the invasion of December 1979, there were scattered newspaper reports that the United States intended to supply arms to the Afghan resistance fighters.... In fact, the American role in Afghanistan—as described by senior officials of the Carter and Reagan administrations—is far more extensive than any of those initial reports suggested. For the United States the stakes are especially high. This is the first time that weapons supplied with American help have been used to kill regular troops of the Soviet army ..."
>
> —reprinted in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 9 August

Operation Afghanistan, reports Bernstein, was "personally ordered by President Carter and carried out under the direct supervision of his national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, and his CIA director, Stansfield Turner." So the "captured Soviet AK-47" with which Brzezinski posed at the Khyber Pass, the weapons used to gun down "Communist schoolteachers" who taught young girls to read and write, are supplied by the "free world." But appearances had to be kept up: "Increased American assistance, the President told his aides, should do nothing to disturb the impression that the Afghan struggle was an Islamic struggle." Rather than being run as a straight-out CIA setup, this operation was played through counterpart intelligence agencies of friendly Arab countries. With this cover, the article notes, not a single objection was raised to the secret American gunrunning conspiracy in the Congressional "Oversight Committee" then headed by liberal Democrat Birch Bayh—unlike 1975, when the Senate cut off funds to South African-linked, CIA-backed guerrillas in Angola.

The Afghanistan network was elaborate. Washington coordinated, the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 290 9 October 1981

Silver/City on a Hill

Miller/SF Progress

Reagan's Puppet Tours U.S. for "Negotiations by Death"

S.F. Cops Assault Anti-Duarte Protest

On September 27, club-wielding San Francisco police, on foot and on horseback, repeatedly charged into a picket line of more than 6,000 demonstrators ringing the Jack Tar Hotel where El Salvador's junta president José Napoleón Duarte and National Guard commander Colonel Casanova were being wined and dined by Salvadoran reactionaries. Inside the hotel, members of Hotel Workers Local 2 refused to serve Duarte's banquet; two waitresses joined the picket line. Outside, the cops injured picketers and bystanders alike: 15 were treated on the scene and two were taken to hospitals.

The scene was bloody. About 2:00 p.m. a phalanx of helmeted riot police flooded Van Ness Avenue and charged the crowd, driving protesters away from the hotel. Freely swinging their billy clubs, cops struck, kicked and pulled demonstrators by the hair if they did not retreat fast enough. People waiting at a bus stop were knocked to the ground during the charge. Even as the protesters attempted to depart from the hotel for a rally site at St. Mary's Cathedral, police charged them once more, driving the remaining demonstrators from the scene.

Since Ronald Reagan's inauguration, he has put out the word: his administration stands by it butchers. Duarte was on a shopping trip for arms in the U.S., and he received VIP service in San Francisco: massive police protection and a 55-room wing of the hotel blocked off and guarded for his entourage. Duarte's opponents got the billy club. San Francisco is home to many big coffee company families—among them Hills Brothers and Folgers—but the junta president said he came here "to be near the Salvadoran community." Indeed there are an estimated 50,000 Salvadorans living in the Bay Area, but many of them are refugees from the junta's bloody terror. His claim to popular support was given the lie by thousands of demonstrators chanting "Duarte asesino! Duarte asesino!" A special sense of outrage was provoked by the presence of National Guard chief Casanova, whose troops and death squads have murdered over 20,000 workers and peasants in the last two years.

The largest organized contingent in the demonstration was the 100-plus militants organized by the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) under the banner, "Military Victory to the Leftist Insurgents! Stop All U.S. Aid to the Salvadoran Junta! U.S./OAS Hands Off Central America! Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador!" These demands sharply contrasted with those of the official sponsors, CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), which opposes socialist revolution and calls for a "political solution" with the junta. Many demonstrators picked up SL picket signs and spread our chant up and down the line: "1, 2, 3, 4—Leftist Rebels Win the War! 5, 6, 7, 8—Nothing to Negotiate!" An official CISPES sound truck picked up and broadcast our slogan, "Down with the junta—workers to power!" until a CISPES marshal stopped the announcer.

SF Board of Supervisors member Nancy Walker was at the demonstration and witnessed the brutal cop assault. At a Board of Supervisors meeting the next day, she said the protest turned violent only after police moved to drive out the crowd without warning. In response, deputy police chief George Eimil denied the cops had rioted and blamed it all on left groups:

> "... such as the Revolutionary Communist Party, the Spartacus Group and several others who were there Sunday to cause trouble, and their purpose was to be violent and cause violence."
>
> —*San Francisco Examiner*, 29 September

Two days later, the SF police commission brazenly "declined to watch a miniversion of a videotape of the purported riot at Sunday's demonstration against the visit of the president of El Salvador" (*Examiner*, 1 October). Once again Eimil tried to blame the police brutality on the left. All lies, attempting to turn the liberals' complaints against the *victims* of the cop assault, to scapegoat the Spartacist League.

This was a clear case of unprovoked cop brutality. There was indeed provocation on September 27. But the provocateurs were the ultra-right-wing cult followers of Sun Myung Moon, who staged a pro-Duarte provocation that was protected and given encouragement by the cops. *The real violence came from the San Francisco police.* By raising his false and slanderous accusations, Eimil is trying to get the skull-cracking cops off the hook by blaming the demonstrators themselves for the violence. The repeated charges by mounted police against the demonstration last Sunday were not just aimed at the Spartacist League or Eimil's alleged "agitators." They were above all intended to disperse the protest.

The massive police presence and assaults at the anti-Duarte demonstration occurred because Ronald Reagan did not want his murderous puppet Duarte to be embarrassed. CISPES and the reformists who call for a "negotiated settlement" got a taste of "negotiations" Reagan-style. In San Francisco such dangerous illusions are met with police clubs. In El Salvador they are met with the reactionaries' machetes and bullets. From El Salvador to Angola to Poland, U.S. imperialism is waging an anti-Soviet war drive that threatens all of humanity. Popular fronts, at home and abroad, are a recipe for bloody defeat. The key to victory is the forging of class-struggle workers parties—for the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

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See No Russia, Hear No Russia, Speak No Russia

RWL: Swimming with the Anti-Soviet Stream

The latest addition to the U.S. left press calls itself *Workers Struggle*, heralding the latest incarnation of Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL, formerly RWG/BLT/BLG/CDU/OCC/CLSG) after swallowing Steve Bryant's minuscule Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (SL-DC). Replacing the RWL's previous *Fighting Worker* (known to *WV* readers as the "Flinching Scab" for its vociferous defense of picket-line crossing) and the SL-DC's *Labor News*, this new Sollenberger product bears a curious and deliberate resemblance to *Workers Vanguard*. A banner front-page headline borrows the Spartacist League (SL) slogan "Break with the Democrats and Republicans: Build a Workers Party." The back page on the air controllers strike copies *WV* from the headline, "Shut Down the Airports," to the photo of PATCO leaders in chains. In this case, however, imitation is not meant as the sincerest form of flattery, for every mention of the SL is coupled with the adjective "sectarian," the epithet centrists always reserve for revolutionaries.

There's a difference, all right: *Workers Vanguard* has teeth; the RWL's imitation doesn't. As Leon Trotsky pointed out in "Centrism and the Fourth International," centrists are parasites who borrow their arguments against the Marxists from the reformists and their arguments against the right from the Marxists, "dulling however the sharp edge of criticism, avoiding practical conclusions, thereby rendering their criticism meaningless." This fits the RWL to a T. Look at the air controllers strike. Shut down the airports? At a Bay Area PATCO strike-support meeting in August, the RWL called for a one-day airport shutdown...but *opposed* the demand by union militants and the SL to *set a date*. And last week when angry unionists blocked traffic into San Francisco International Airport for over an hour, labor bureaucrats tried unsuccessfully to herd demonstrators back onto the curb while RWLer (ex-SL-DC) Steve Bryant tagged along shouting, "You heard him." "Keep the airports open" is the RWL's line in practice.

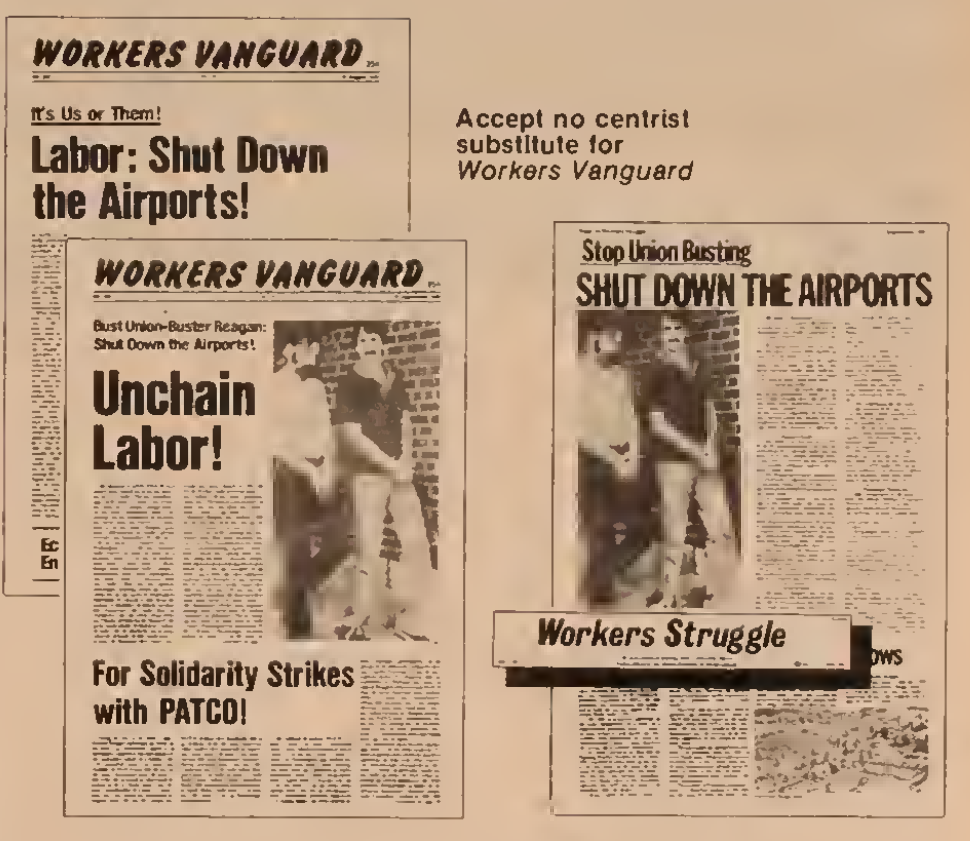
There's an ocean separating the words and deeds of Sollenberger's cult, as we have pointed out before (see "Centrists in Quicksand," *WV* No. 287, 14 August). But there's something missing altogether in the first issue of *Workers Struggle* which gives the measure of this bunch: *any defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism*. The Russian question is the touchstone for any tendency claiming to be Trotskyist, but in the context of Carter/Reagan's Cold War the RWL tries to duck the decisive question of our day. Their lead article directed at the AFL-CIO "Solidarity Day" march, spread over four pages, has not one word about the anti-Soviet war drive, much less anything about which side they're on. In the laundry list of demands at the end there is a vague reference to "war preparations"—against whom? The only mention of the USSR is a non-committal reference to "the rise of the military power of the Soviet Union" as one of the factors that have "undermined the foundations of the 'Pax Americana'."

General Haig could agree with that... or the AFL-CIO executive council, which began its latest statement by saying it was "steadfast in its support for a strong national defense" against "totalitarian expansionism." The RWL talks about breaking the American union movement from the capitalist parties, yet it does not challenge the anti-Sovietism which *defines* the subservience of the labor bureaucracy to U.S. imperialism at least since Cold War I. On September 19 the Reagan administration tried to strike a conciliatory pose by emphasizing as No. 1 among its "areas of agreement" with labor their backing for a "strong defense." In fact, the Meanyite misleaders were superhawks when Ronald Reagan was still making movies. They are in the *forefront* of the bipartisan war drive against the Soviet Union. And the Sollenbergerites are bringing up the rear.

For if there's one thing the RWL won't do, it is swim against the stream of bourgeois public opinion. Poland is where the Russian question is posed pointblank today. *Workers Struggle* says: "As workers of Poland have already done, we must turn solidarity from a word into action." Lane Kirkland says: "As our brothers and sisters in Poland have shown the world, [solidarity] is a quality of the human spirit that can never be defeated." Solidarność leaders have shown what kind of "action" they are interested in by inviting to their congress U.S. imperialism's top anti-Soviet labor lieutenant, Kirkland, and "Mr. AFL-CIA" himself, the sinister Irving Brown, who has been disappearing "reds" and busting unions in West Europe with CIA bucks since the end of World War II. At the San Francisco "Solidarity Day" rally, former Democratic vice president Walter Mondale launched into an anti-Communist diatribe over Poland culminating with "Show me a nation with free unions, and I will show you a nation that is free"—at which point he was shouted down by workers chanting "PATCO, PATCO, PATCO!" But the RWL only echoes the Kirklands and the Mondales.

At least *Workers Struggle* is consistent here. An article on the recent French elections (in which Mitterrand is misspelled throughout) notes that Reagan "said he was surprised by Mitterand's [*sic*] 'resoluteness with regard to the Soviet threat'." And what does the RWL think of this alleged "Soviet threat"? What about the imperialist threat to the Soviet Union? NATO?

continued on page 11



RWL's United Fraud Against Fascism?

Workers Struggle "introduces" itself with the claim that "in all its articles, *Workers Struggle* will do more than just report the facts." The problem is that the RWL paper does considerably *less*. It lies, distorts and slanders.

Consider *Workers Struggle*'s front-page claim of "victory" for its so-called "labor/black united front" against the Nazis in Detroit August 22—a "victory" in which the cops protected the Klan/Nazis, charged the crowd, beat up protesters and arrested nine. The RWL claims the SL "refused to work within the united front."

What are the facts?

Fact: When the SL and worker militants at Ford's River Rouge initiated the 10 November 1979 mobilization of 500 in Detroit's Kennedy Square, in response to the Klan's threat to celebrate its Greensboro massacre there, the RWL (then the RWG) dismissed the mobilization as a "fraud" and "media hype."

Fact: The Spartacist League helped organize a broad, labor-centered mobilization of more than 1,200 which stopped the Nazis from "celebrating Hitler's birthday" in San Francisco on 19 April 1980. Twenty-two unions participated along with leftists and community groups, but the RWL denounced this protest as "sectarian" and chose to participate in a much smaller splinter rally of Democrats and Maoists meant to pressure the City Council while avoiding a "confrontation" with the Nazis.

Question: So why are these larger mobilizations that reach out to labor and blacks—and actually stop the fascists!—"sectarian" while an RWL demonstration where the cops beat up the leftists is a "victory"?

Answer: The RWL is a lot less interested in stopping the fascist terrorists than they are in building a slander campaign against the SL. Regarding the August 22 demonstration, the RWL participated in a "conspiracy of silence" not much different from that of the Detroit City Council, which issued a march permit to the Nazis and kept that fact a secret.

The RWL, which "borrows" SL slogans and pins them to its own strategy of opportunism, did not want the SL involved in the August 22 protest. So it held a secret "united front" meeting with a few other small left organizations and *decided to keep the SL out*, while borrowing the SL's slogans and even the graphics from the San Francisco protest posters. Now *Workers Struggle* claims the SL "refused" to participate. In fact, the RWL leafleted the River Rouge plant (where the RWL even has some supporters) only as a token gesture at the eleventh hour. Was the RWL afraid to raise their demo among workers? Were they politically opposed to appealing for working-class support? Or were they afraid of alerting SL supporters in the plant to the demonstration?

The RWL talks about "labor/black mobilization" but their strategy is no less adventurist and despairing of the possibility of such mobilization than that of the Revolutionary Socialist League, their "united front" partner. But unlike the RSL, the RWL lacks even the necessary strect courage for this "strategy." Nor do these centrists take any responsibility for the protesters that get set up and hurt in the small-group confrontation.

At a recent RWL/RSL conference, the bloc partners' "anti-fascist united front" strategy was exposed when an RSL speaker explained they did not approach the powerful Detroit unions because the workers aren't ready. An SL spokesman who helped build the San Francisco anti-Nazi protest explained the difference between the SL's strategy of "labor/black mobilizations against KKK/Nazi terror" and the RWL's use of the same words. It is the difference between revolutionaries whose program becomes action and centrists whose words are borrowed from the revolutionaries, but whose deeds are those of cowardice and despair. The Spartacist speaker said:

> "We didn't call a little group meeting of little left groups. We went to the unions in San Francisco, to the strength of the labor movement. We went to the ILWU, we went to the UAW, we went to all of the major unions, and we leafleted the plants. We got a united front of the labor movement and that stopped the Nazis. The Nazis were forced to cancel their march. They were unable to show their faces.... Labor marched in San Francisco on Hitler's birthday. Hitler's birthday was no holiday in San Francisco. It was the labor movement that won!"

Hands Off Philip Agee, Covert Action!

Down with CIA Cover-Up Bill!

The Reagan administration has launched a vendetta against anyone daring to expose the crimes of its seeret police and spies. This campaign to refurbish the reputation of imperialism's hated spy/assassination/torture experts in the CIA and elsewhere is part and parcel of the anti-Soviet war drive and is intended to intimidate and silence CIA opponents. In an ominous new esealation of this campaign, the House of Representatives on Scptember 23 passed the "Intelligence Identities Protection Act," which makes it a crime for anyone to reveal the name of any present or former U.S. intelligence agent, whether or not that information is already publicly available. In fact, this "official secrets act" would make it illegal not simply to name names of government provocateurs and infiltrators, but also to reveal anything which *could* identify the spooks. It is intended to put a stop to any and all exposures of the spy agencies' dirty work.

Senator Jeremiah Denton, the Moral Majority of one, said that the purpose of the bill was to shut down *Covert Action*, the Washington-based journal committed to uneovering CIA dirty work around the world. But even the liberals are worried about this one. Major bourgeois papers like the *New York Times* instantly decried the new bill as "going too far"—every working journalist in the country is under threat of criminal penalties if the bill becomes law. Such exposés as the Watergate affair (the original burglars included former CIA agents) or Seymour Hersh's detailed *New York Times* account of the bloody arms-dealing trail of former CIA agents Edwin Wilson and Francis Terpil could be forbidden in the future and their authors imprisoned. Editorials simultaneously expressed pious hopes that the bill could be declared unconstitutional after all, while ostentatiously dissociating themselves as responsible bourgeois patriotic journalists from the "Philip Agecs of the world."

Already legal precedents for censoring critics of the CIA are in place. Even gung-ho pro-CIA Frank Snepp, whosc *Decent Interval* devastatingly exposed CIA incompetence in the last days of the Vietnam War, has been slapped down, foreed to turn over all profits from his book to the CIA and submit to CIA prior censorship. Even more dangerous was a Supreme Court decision on June 29, in "Haig v. Agee," to uphold the State Department's lifting of Philip Agee's passport, overturning the rulings of lower federal courts. The top court held that he is a person deemed likely "to endanger national security." Agee, author of *Inside the Company: A CIA Diary* and a member of *Covert Action*'s advisory board, has been a thorn in the side of the vindictive spooks of Langley, Virginia, who have hounded him out of country after country. Now they've got the Supreme Court on their side: any U.S. citizen can have his passport taken away without *any* criminal charges against him, simply by administrative deeree. Anybody Haig or Reagan thinks is against them (and that's a lot of people, these days) is now an open target for McCarthyite harassment.

The Reaganauts hope these new laws will put an end to the "Pentagon Papers/Watergate era" of widespread disgust with the CIA's Murder, Ine. and intimidate more active exposers like *Covert Action*. Of course the CIA, FBI, NSA et al. intend to "refurbish" themselves in any case, with or without the benefit of protective legislation, as

CIA nemesis Philip Agee.

Reagan seeks to clear the decks in preparation for World War III. But what the secret police and spies of imperialism need most in order to carry out their deadly work is...secrecy. What is most sinister about the new bill is the general climate of repression and intimidation it is designed to enforce, in which the U.S. government and its hitmen can literally get away with murder without anyone daring to raise a voice in protest.

This campaign to smear and silence critics of the bloody American state and its secretive, deadly agents must be stopped! Hands off *Covert Action*! Give back Philip Agee's passport! Down with the new witchhunters! It'll take proletarian revolution to put the CIA out of business! ■

L.A. Black Football Star Beaten to Death by Cops

LOS ANGELES—Chanting "Police kill in Signal Hill" and "Justice for Ron Settles," several hundred mainly blaek students from California State University at Long Beach demonstrated September 12 at the Signal Hill eivic centcr. More than 100 armed sheriffs in full riot gear manned barricades to prevent the demonstrators from marching on the poliee station, instead bottling them up in nearby Hinshaw Park. Meanwhile SWAT team sharpshooters stood on rooftops, police helicopters circled overhead and undercover officers mingled in the crowd. No representative of the police department would accept a list of ten demands from the demonstrators, who called for arrest of the cops who refused to testify before an inquest on charges of murder.

Ron Settles, a 21-year-old black running back at Cal State Long Beach, was killed this summer in his jail cell in Signal Hill, a small town bordering Long Beach. On June 2, Settles was stopped by the local eops, supposedly for speeding. He was handeuffed, brutally clubbed on the legs and head and hauled off to jail. Two hours later he was dead. The cops said Settles hanged himself in his cell. They then proceeded to destroy all radio tapes and written records of the arrest to cover up their crime. Settles' parents refuted the eop lie that their son was "suicidally depressed"—the star athlete had already been contacted by the Dallas Cowboys and Seattle Seahawks in his junior year. On September 3, a coroner's jury ruled it was murder; subsequently a grand jury investigation has been convened. The only real question was whether the police choked Settles to death or strung him up alive.

Cop terror and murder are commonplace in this deeply racist country, not least in the Los Angeles area where paramilitary police run roughshod over a large minority population including an estimated one million "illegal aliens" who have no legal rights at all. The tiny 30-man police force in the mean little town of Signal Hill is a miniature model of the nationally infamous LAPD. The officer who arrested Settles, Jerry Lee Brown, had been fired by the LAPD on misconduct and drug charges—and was then hired by Signal Hill. Six years ago he arrested one Ruben Carrillo, who was so savagely beaten with repeated blows to the head that he eollapsed in a coma from severe brain damage two hours after being arrested. Carrillo remained comatose for two years, then died. Again, just one week after the Settles murder a seeond man, Jaek Brown, was found dead in the Signal Hill jail. And in neighboring Long Beaeh eops removed Keith Kouba from a common eell and put him in solitary eonfinement where he, too, died "from hanging" on August 25.

After this spree by kill-crazy eops, and with Reagan racism in the White House, the Settles murder has sparked outrage in the Los Angeles/Long Beaeh black community. One thousand demonstrated July 11, 300-plus on September 12, and further protests have been announced. The bourgeois press has made the case front-page news as they hail the coroner's jury verdict and grand-jury investigation as proof that "the system works." Of course, the inquest verdiet is not binding on the district attorney, who is closely tied to the police department, and the DA announced some cops involved would be granted immunity in exchange for grand-jury testimony. Meanwhile, none of the police are being prosecuted. Nevertheless, the ever-so-respectable NAACP urged Long Beaeh State students to be "cautious" with their protests and wary of "outsider provocations." According to the *Long Beach Press Herald* (9 September), local NAACP president Frank Berry sent a letter to the Signal Hill mayor and city council calling only for the cops' temporary suspension (!) "until the case is considered closed by the Los Angeles County District Attorney's office and the Central District of California, U.S. Attorney's office."

Such faith in the workings of racist, eapitalist American justice is dangerous. Ron Settles' murder is no isolated ineident. One only has to recall the acquittal of the LA cop killers of black gas station attendant Cornelius Tatums and black housewife Eulia Love. ACLU figures reported to a Congressional investigating eommittee last year showed that 123 people were killed by Los Angeles police in a three-year period, yet not one eop was convicted. The futility of attempts to "reform" the raee-terrorists in blue was shown in the famous LAPD shredding affair in which the department destroyed four and one-half tons of citizens' complaints under the guise of disposing of "miscellaneous records"! The official thugs of the capitalist state are only doing their job when they terrorize blaek ghettos and break workers' strikes. The LA-area cops are particularly vieious because

Jail killer cops of Ron Settles!

Los Angeles is an open-shop town, a transplanted Southern industrial city. A strong, militant labor movement and this paramilitary police force could not long coexist.

Race terror and union busting are mounting ominously in Reagan's America. Like the anti-black, anti-labor budget cuts—passed by a Democrat-controlled House of Representatives—these are the domestic face of the bipartisan anti-Soviet war drive. And Los Angeles already has its black Demoeratic mayor. Demands for more investigations, calls for eivilian review boards, relianee on the liberals and the eourts cannot fight this climate of generalized reaction. What's neeessary is to mobilize the power of labor, the soeial foree which has the strength and interest to sweep away raeist capitalist "law and order," leading the black masses and all of the oppressed in a struggle for socialist revolution. That is the only road to justice for the countless thousands of victims of cop terror. Jail the killers of Ron Settles! ■

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Film: "Last Grave at Dimbaza"
Speaker & Discussion

Saturday, Oct. 10, 7:30 p.m.
Antioch School of Law
Room 200
2633 16th Street N.W.
(between Euclid and Fuller, 1 block south of Columbia Road)
For more information (212) 267-1025

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Wall Street Journal Loves Poland's Company Union

Western imperialism figures it has an unprecedented opening in Poland, a chance to strike a blow against the USSR deep in its own sphere. From the Pentagon to the Common Market Commission to the Vatican, the forces of reaction are egging on Solidarność in its recent call for "free trade unions" throughout Eastern Europe. In the mouths of these certified labor-haters, the call for "free trade unions," long the fighting slogan of Cold War anti-Communism, really means "free enterprise": the restoration of capitalist exploitation through bloody counterrevolution.

It is no surprise that the anti-Communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, forged in the 1950s McCarthy period when "reds" and militants were forcibly purged from the labor movement, is deeply involved in this enterprise. With a zeal which recalls their ultra-hawk stance for U.S. imperialism's dirty war against Vietnam, the American union tops are up to their necks in the U.S. government's schemes to manipulate the Polish crisis as a spearhead of the imperialist drive to "roll back" Communism throughout the world.

In this context, the opening of a Solidarność office in New York at the headquarters of Albert Shanker's teachers' union on September 24 was a graphic symbol of Polish Solidarity's application for membership in the "free world." And outside the press conference which celebrated this event, the Trotskyists of the Spartacist League demonstrated against Solidarność' counterrevolutionary course, demanding "No 'Rollback'!—No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!" Appealing to the socialist and internationalist traditions of the Polish workers movement of Rosa Luxemburg, the protesters exposed the "solidarity" between Solidarność and the AFL-CIO tops as brokered by the CIA. For example, Lech Walesa extended AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland an invitation to visit Poland in the company of the notorious Irving Brown, long-time creature of the CIA whose credentials as "AFL-CIO European representative" furnish the "labor" cover for his decades-long career of provocation and gangsterism against the European labor movement. The Spartacist demonstrators carried placards like "Reagan smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarność" and chanted "Kirkland/Shanker/Brown—CIA Stooges."

The protest was covered by a couple of local TV stations but was blacked out by the networks and the newspapers. Then the *Wall Street Journal* devoted the lead editorial in its 29 September issue to a sharp attack on those who dare to expose the common thread linking the American labor bureaucracy's political and financial support to Solidarność with the U.S. State Department/CIA appetites for counterrevolution in Poland. After several paragraphs dismissing an exposé of CIA involvement in AFL-CIO "aid" to unions internationally which appeared in *CounterSpy* magazine more than six months ago, the editorial says:

> "Counterspy was not the last source to strike this theme. Just a little while ago, broadcasts from the Soviet Union could be heard denouncing Solidarity's American connection and cutely referring to Lane Kirkland as among the 'chief stockholders' in the Polish dissident movement. Over on this side of the ocean, when Solidarity recently opened an office in New York, a respectably-sized group of demonstrators was organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialism it allegedly represented."

The *Wall Street Journal* editorial which attacks our demonstration is more than a political statement. What this mouthpiece of the American ruling class has in mind is not an exchange of polemics on Poland, but a government assault on the right of communists in the labor movement to challenge the pro-capitalist line of the American labor bureaucracy. The article ends with an unmistakable threat: "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" the AFL-CIO's crusade for "political freedom" "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching."

The threat is no less ominous because it leaves implicit the mechanisms of repression envisioned by the editors. Is the editorial's title, "Communists and the AFL-CIO," intended to evoke an intensification of McCarthyite witch-hunting against communists in the trade unions? Nor should anyone miss the sinister import of the *Wall Street Journal*'s suggestion that our demonstration was inspired by the Russian Stalinists. The notion of Trotskyists as some kind of Russian agents may be ludicrous, but you can be sure the social democrats will not be far behind the *Wall Street Journal* in painting us as sinister Stalinist spies, the better to cement their own united front with the CIA.

What is perhaps most interesting about the editorial is that it makes no attempt to claim that the accusations about the "AFL-CIA" are anything but true. "How easy it is," says the *Wall Street Journal*, "to make lists of the CIA connections: the parallel aims, the instances of collaboration, the communications and shared acquaintanceships." And how easy it is! Irving Brown was American imperialism's main man in Western Europe after World War II, where he used CIA dollars to plant agents, buy officials and hire goons to split, smash and subdue combative unions. And talk about "parallel aims"—Albert Shanker's outfit, "Social Democrats, USA," was an unashamed Vietnam hawk after even Nixon gave it up as a lost cause; Shanker now joins with Kirkland in the right-wing militarist "Committee on the Present Danger," whose program is a nuclear first-strike against the USSR.

Simply put, the *Wall Street Journal*'s line is: CIA? Sure, but so what? Albert Shanker, in his "Where We Stand" column in the October 4 Sunday *New York Times* "Week in Review" section, takes the same tack. Shanker quotes Radio Moscow's charge that Shanker's union "annually receives $100,000 from the CIA for international contacts and activities." "Totally false," says Shanker, who goes on to boast of the money he gets from the Agency for International

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1981

Communists and the AFL-CIO

Poland's Solidarity movement is holding the second stage of its national convention in Gdansk without the presence of one of its best known invited guests: Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO. Mr. Kirkland had prepared a speech to deliver to the Solidarity meeting, but at the last minute the Communist government of Poland refused to grant visas to him and his AFL-CIO delegation. This is no big surprise, really; American labor's support for Solidarity has gravely embarrassed Warsaw, and the Polish government keeps trying to discredit the effort. It is also sadly unsurprising that the Polish Communists are getting help here in the U.S.

You can get an idea of how the anti-AFL campaign is working by taking a look at a recent issue of Counterspy, a Washington-based magazine that proclaims itself devoted to exposing the nefarious work of the CIA and its agents of American imperialism wherever they roam in the world. An article in the magazine is straightforwardly titled "AFL-CIO: Trojan Horse in Polish Unions." A special editorial introduction to the article put the thesis just as straightforwardly: In country after country, "AFL-CIO aid has invariably had the ulterior motive of establishing, securing and expanding U.S. corporate and strategic interests."

How do we know this is true? For one thing, says Counterspy, we have before us the record of American labor's reactionary efforts in Latin America. In Guatemala, George Meany worked with CIA-connected organizations to undermine the properly progressive, truly "labor-oriented" forces in the country. In the Dominican Republic, the AFL-CIO set up an organization that "ran propaganda units as well as goon squads against the legitimate unions."

And, comrades, this is no accident. Counterspy tells us that AFL-CIO officials have always denied working with the CIA or taking CIA money for their activities, but these denials "ring hollow." After all, do we not have the testimony of a former CIA official who says he actually handed over bucks to an AFL representative? Do we not know that the CIA read the mail of high labor personnel "in order to monitor their handling of CIA money"?

So when we see American labor at work in Poland, we should know that we're not viewing anything like an expression of genuine solidarity among the working classes. Instead, what we've got is just another variation on a decades-old American capitalist plot.

Counterspy was not the last source to strike this theme. Just a little while ago, broadcasts from the Soviet Union could be heard denouncing Solidarity's American connection and cutely referring to Lane Kirkland as among the "chief stockholders" in the Polish dissident movement. Over on this side of the ocean, when Solidarity recently opened an office in New York, a respectably-sized group of demonstrators was organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialism it allegedly represented.

American labor is indeed aiding the Solidarity movement, openly and unashamedly. It has a long history of fighting Communist domination of labor movements. It learned early in the game that Communist parties and free unions are natural mortal enemies, more violently so because free unions, more than any other free institution, threaten Communist claims to legitimacy. When American labor goes head to head with Communists, the obvious counterattack for the Communists is to claim that American labor is an arm of the American government, manipulated by the CIA. How easy it is to make lists of the CIA connections: the parallel aims, the instances of collaboration, the communications and shared acquaintanceships. How easy to use the list to try to discredit the AFL-CIO enterprise in Poland, and more important, to try to expunge the colossal embarrassment Solidarity represents to world-wide communism.

This is a very dirty business we are dealing with. American labor has been active on the international scene in order to further its own perfectly legitimate purposes. One result of its activities has been to expose, time after time, the gulf between Communist interests and worker interests. This exposure has often worked to the benefit of an activist U.S. foreign policy, and opponents of such a policy have reason to want to tarnish the whole connection.

But they should not be allowed to do so easily. While the American labor movement has at times in recent years identified itself too closely with political parties and administrations for our liking, on the whole it remains a free and independent force pitting its weight against state power both in the U.S. and abroad. Its efforts on behalf of political freedom are thus significant. Anyone seeking to delegitimize its performance in this realm should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching.

WV Photo

"State Department socialists" flank zipped-lip Solidarność spokesman.

SL Protests Solidarność...

(continued from page 1)

attend his congress in Gdansk.' "It is well-documented that Brown is a notorious CIA operator who has disrupted militant European unions with gangsterism and corruption since the 1940s," said the release, adding:

> "The Spartacist League warned that Solidarność is making a bid for power in Poland and offering itself as an agent of counterrevolution throughout East Europe on the Cold War platform of 'free elections' and 'free trade unions.' These are standard CIA propaganda ploys under the guise of which the U.S. has crushed labor unions and overthrown leftist governments from Chile to Indonesia."

The Spartacist demonstration caused a stir among journalists arriving at UFT headquarters. A *Time* magazine reporter shouted, "Long live the counterrevolution!" as she went in the door. Upstairs a group of Poles was buzzing about "Trotskyists."

This was a demo with a sharp, angular message: "Polish Solidarność—Running Dog of Imperialism" and "Reagan, Haig: Hands Off Poland!" Two slogans directed against Polish nationalism received particular attention: "Death to Pilsudskiite Anti-Semites!" and "600,000 Red Army Soldiers Fell Liberating Poland from the German Nazis!" Walesa & Co. would have *opposed* that historic Soviet victory, which laid the basis for tremendous social and economic progress in post-war Poland, as anti-Communists did at the time. Polish reporters noted the sign, "Long Live the Party of Luxemburg, Jogiches, Warski, Walecki & Wera Kostrzewa!" Luxemburg and Jogiches, Polish internationalist leaders of the Communist Party in Germany, were murdered by the Social Democratic government in the "Spartacus uprising" of 1919; the "three W's" were the founders of the Communist Party of Poland, later dissolved (and its leaders shot) by Stalin on charges of Trotskyism. Another placard read, "Waryński, Not Wojtyla"—for the father of the first Polish socialist party, Proletariat, not the present anti-Communist Polish pope. A sign in Polish said, "Reagan Smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarność." Another in Russian proclaimed: "For Military Defense of the Soviet Bloc Against Imperialism!"

At the press conference, Solidarność American representative Zgmunt Przetakiewicz quickly managed to alienate virtually the entire NYC press corps by refusing to answer any substantive questions. *WV* asked for a comment on the fact that:

> *WV*: American socialists are demonstrating and saying that Solidarity is counterrevolutionary.... How do you explain Solidarity's close ties with known CIA men in the labor movement like Irving Brown?
> *Przetakiewicz*: I would like just a question concerning the opening of the office.
> *WV*: Reagan is attempting to break the American air controllers union PATCO...for striking against the government. Why has Solidarity been silent on this?
> *Przetakiewicz*: I don't know, but I might ask, in your name, if you like.

When another reporter asked about PATCO, he too was rebuffed. And when they did ask about the opening of the office, Przetakiewicz said it did *not* represent Solidarność, he himself was *not* a spokesman for Solidarność, that he could make *no* comment on the Polish situation, nor could he talk about the U.S.

The Solidarność non-representative had good reason to be cagey, it turns out. According to his statement, the NYC office will be a "wholly independent" "self-governing" non-profit corporation called "The Friends of Poland's Independent Trade Union, 'Solidarity,' Inc." with Przetakiewicz as president. On its board are Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, and Tadeusz Waldendowski of the Poland Watch Center in Washington, D.C. Rustin has long been a spokesman for Freedom House, a CIA-associated propaganda outlet for anti-Soviet liberals. As for the shadowy "Poland Watch," nobody seems to know which nest of "captive nations" Polish emigrés it is associated with. To repeated questions about where the money for his office was coming from, Przetakiewicz talked of the cheap $290-a-month rent from the UFT, made vague references to "student contributions" and spoke of a "start-up loan" from the AFL-CIO. But as Peter Kihss noted in the *New York Times* (25 September), the Solidarność operation here will cost about $15,000 to $18,000 a month just for the telex communications. All from "subscriptions"?

Przetakiewicz made a special point of thanking a number of people for their "support and help and advice during these first difficult days in America." He singled out:

> "Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO and his assistant, Tom Kahn; Albert Shanker, president of the UFT, and his wife Edie and secretary Yetta Barsh; Susan Glass, UFT director of public relations; Bayard Rustin...."

It sounded like a "Who's Who" of the social-democratic Meanyite Cold War brain trust. If you don't know the players without a scorecard, Kirkland is also a member of the anti-Soviet militarist Committee on the Present Danger; Kahn is a top leader of SDUSA and editor of the *AFL-CIO Free Trade Union News*; and Yetta Barsh is the widow of Max Shachtman, who broke with the Trotskyist movement in 1940 refusing to defend the Soviet degenerated workers state against imperialism and ended up in the morass of "State Department socialism." In the end, Przetakiewicz needed a good deal of help from his "AFL-CIA" friends. Silver-tongued Rustin tried to smooth over the rough spots ("what Ziggy meant to say...") and chairman Sue Glass repeatedly tried to end the fiasco, finally warning her Polish protégé, "don't you dare" take another question.

As reporters streamed out of the non-conference there was commotion on the sidewalk. Here was something to report about: socialists, in fact Trotskyists, protesting Polish "Solidarity." The Shachtmanite ladies of the UFT apparatus with their Solidarność buttons stomped around complaining about the press attention being given to the SL demonstration. Several TV channels shot film clips and statements were given to the *New York Times*, the *Post*, *Daily News*, UPI, Reuters and other agencies, and several radio stations. But from all this, virtually nothing about the demonstration came out in print or on the air. Outside the U.S. it was news: the Toronto *Globe and Mail* printed two paragraphs; the London *Daily Mail* also carried it. Inside the U.S., however, there were only a couple of lines in *Newsday*, a brief interview on a small independent NYC television channel. They obviously didn't get the word, because this story was spiked.

U.S. imperialism has gone all out to build up Solidarność as a "democratic" opposition to Stalinism. With its "press" offices, its U.S. dollars funneled through the AFL-CIO, its echoing of Cold War propaganda; Polish "Solidarity" has become an instrument of the capitalists' crusade, more than six decades old, to overturn the social and economic achievements won by the Russian October Revolution. And they don't want any Western socialists fouling up the works by exposing the counterrevolutionary danger for what it is. Newsmen reported that, on more than one occasion, references to the Spartacist demonstration in stories on the opening of the NYC Solidarność office were cut out by the editors. This was a blackout. That is, until five days later, when the *Wall Street Journal* published its threatening editorial, "Communists and the AFL-CIO." They made it clear who the American friends of Polish Solidarność are. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist slogans (some in Polish and Russian) at September 24 demonstration:

No Rollback! No Capitalist Restoration in Eastern Europe!
Polish Solidarność—Agents of Counterrevolution
Social Democrats and the AFL-CIO Front for CIA in Poland, Too!
Reagan Smashes PATCO American Union, Loves Solidarność!
Reagan and Haig: Hands Off Poland!
For Class Struggle Workers Parties—in Poland and America!
Don't Sell Poland to the German Bankers!
Polish Solidarność—Running Dog of Imperialism
600,000 Red Army Soldiers Fell Liberating Poland from the German Nazis
For Military Defense of the Soviet Bloc against Imperialism!
Death to Pilsudskiite Anti-Semites!
Waryński, Not Wojtyla!
Long Live the Party of Luxemburg, Jogiches, Warski, Walecki & Wera Kostrzewa!
Stalinism Undermines the Workers States—For Trotskyist Workers Parties to Power!
For Rebirth of the Trotskyist Fourth International!

WV Photo

The demonstration the bourgeois press blacked out.

Wall Street...

(continued from page 1)

break the power of the trade unions. The result: a collapse in industrial production *worse* than the Great Depression of the 1930s. Last summer this hated Tory government was shaken as thousands of jobless youth, black and white, battled with cops and set impoverished neighborhoods aflame in almost every major city in England. Retreating into a bunker mentality, Thatcher has since purged her cabinet of the so-called "wets," who want to relax the economic austerity and pump a little money into the blighted neighborhoods. She is now setting out for a decisive showdown with the labor movement and her legion of enemies among the British people. Britain's capitalists are deeply pessimistic, not only fearing that Thatcher's unrelenting monetarism will further depress production, but that it will trigger a social conflagration of which the burning of Liverpool 8 was but a small prelude.

Across the Channel the Paris bourse was reacting to a very different sort of government. Years of economic austerity and ever-mounting unemployment under the *haut bourgeois* Giscard produced a landslide victory last May for social democrat Francois Mitterrand, who promised Keynesian measures to stimulate the economy and an ambitious program of nationalizations and other economic and social reforms. While no one questions Mitterrand's commitment to capitalist rule and to NATO anti-Sovietism (he's building nuclear weapons like a small-time Reagan), the French bourgeoisie believe his economic policies are highly inflationary and are displeased at the extent of the nationalizations. Thus, French capitalists are quite capable of going on strike, i.e., not investing, under a government they regard as too radical. Shades of Allende's Chile.

While capitalists are for different reasons unhappy with the right-wing crusaders Reagan/Thatcher and the reformist Socialist Mitterrand, neither are they happy with the Bonn government, long considered the most stable, pragmatic and effective government in the Western world. For the past twelve years the coalition led by Brandt/Schmidt's Social Democrats (SPD) has overseen the rise of West Germany as the dominant country in capitalist Europe. But now a severe and prolonged recession threatens to rip the coalition apart. The small bourgeois-liberal Free Democratic Party wants to slash West Germany's relatively high social-welfare benefits à la Reagan/Thatcher, while the SPD wants to increase public spending to reduce unemployment, even if this means raising taxes. The West German press is full of anticipatory obituaries for the Schmidt/Genscher regime and speculations that the FDP will switch partners to form a new government with the right-wing Christian Democrats on a program of economic austerity.

The respected bourgeois economist Edward Bernstein, one of the men who in 1944 designed the Bretton Woods international monetary accords, saw in the panicky selling on the world stock markets "renewed fears of a worldwide depression" (*New York Times*, 29 September). Bernstein is surely right about that. The basic conditions which produced Blue Monday will not go away—two years or so of stagflation and declining profit rates in West Europe and the U.S. with no recovery in sight, record-high interest rates devastating long-term capital investment, Washington's unrestrained military expenditure destabilizing the entire world economy. The capitalists are in trouble.

"Highest Interest Rates Since Jesus Christ"

Reagan promised to restore military superiority over the Russians, to cut income taxes by 30 percent, to do nothing to hurt "the truly needy," to achieve full employment, to reduce inflation to a trickle and still balance the budget by 1984. How was this miracle of the loaves and the fishes to be accomplished? Some call it voodoo economics; Reagan calls it "supply-side" economics. Cut taxes enough, he claimed, and this would stimulate such a vast outpouring of work effort and capital investment that national income would increase enough to restore the old total tax revenue, even more.

John Branch
San Antonio Express-News

Of course, no banker in the world believed this patent nonsense and (even as they were praising the new "pro-business" president) interest rates on Wall Street shot up anticipating the great "Reagan inflation" to come. These record-high interest rates sucked in speculative capital (e.g., Arab oil money) from financial markets throughout the world. Thus, Reaganomics produced an excruciating dilemma for West European governments, one aggravated by recessionary conditions on the continent. If they do not raise interest rates correspondingly, they will suffer massive capital flight, enormous balance-of-payments deficits and a rapidly depreciating currency which will generate domestic inflation. If they do raise interest rates to New York levels more or less, this will choke off new investment, none too robust in any case.

This dilemma is especially acute in West Germany, which has a relatively low rate of inflation by international standards (about 6 percent over the past year). If the Bundesbank jacks up interest rates high enough to prevent a capital outflow to New York, West German industrialists and consumers will be paying an extraordinary *real cost* (interest rates minus the rate of inflation) on borrowed funds. We now have "the highest rates of interest in Germany since the birth of Christ, as far as real interest rates are concerned," exclaimed Helmut Schmidt in one of his numerous tirades against Reagan's policies (*New York Times*, 21 July).

The one-sided "interest rate war" quite dominated the international economic summit in Ottawa last July. Reagan smiled prettily and basically told his European critics they would have to eat it. The ritual summit declaration conceded that "interest rates in one country can make stabilization policies more difficult in other countries," but didn't indicate the U.S. would do a damn thing about it. While Reagan could tell Thatcher, "I love you, Maggie" (and Schmidt, I don't love you, Helmut), back home Wall Street could neither be charmed, bullied nor ignored.

The Wrath of Wall Street

One thing bankers understand very well is that there is no such thing as a free lunch. As one of Reagan's more acerbic Wall Street critics, Sam Nakagama, put it: "When you are trying to have a massive rearmament program and are facing Social Security entitlements for an aging population, someone has to pay for this" (*World Business Weekly*, 21 September). Nakagama and his colleagues would be quite happy to see the MX missiles and B-1 bombers paid for by black school children going without their lunches, but alas the ghetto poor don't have enough money to be soaked. So America's capitalists understand that one way or another they're going to have to pay for part of this.

If the Federal Reserve keeps its foot hard on the monetary brake, the massive government borrowing will certainly "crowd out" corporate bond offerings, not to speak of mortgage loans. Reputable and profitable businesses will have to pay interest rates traditionally associated with Mafia loan sharks. If, on the other hand, the Fed reverses its tight money policy (and the betting is that it will), then the rate of inflation will once more spiral up toward Latin American banana-republic levels, devaluing money capital. Small wonder the financial community has proved to be the strongest obstacle to Reagan's economic policies.

The Wall Street vs. White House feud has some of the stuff of political satire. Right-wing Republicans now sound like William Jennings Bryan-style populists as they denounce Wall Street cabals and threaten the big moneymen with punitive taxation. In turn, Democratic Party national chairman Charles Mannatt invites the country's bankers and stock brokers as the latest oppressed group to join the grand anti-Reagan coalition: "The nation's financial community has joined women, minority members, labor, and conservationists in being jolted to the full implications of an unrestrained Reagan administration" (*New York Times*, 11 September)!

In their glee at finding Wall Street denouncing their arch-enemy, Reagan, many liberals (and even reformists) overlook the "small point" that the financiers are opposing the right-wing president *from the right*. In general, America's bankers and industrialists have no quarrel with Reagan's drive toward nuclear first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union, only with how it is to be financed. Chemical Bank vice president Thomas Johnson, for example, is calling for cuts in Social Security programs to balance the budget. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that without further cuts, Reagan will run a $160 billion deficit by 1984. Wall Street is talking in terms of trimming military expenditure around $30 billion. To balance the budget then will require cutbacks in social-welfare programs approximately *three times* the savage cuts Reagan has already made!

In just eight months Reagan has managed to enrage everyone from the Kremlin to the West German Social Democracy to the AFL-CIO to Wall Street and the National Association of Home Builders. Not even Adolf Hitler antagonized so many centers of power, domestic and foreign, in his first months in office.

A Return to the Gold Standard?

No one believes Reagan will balance the budget ever, and everyone thinks the U.S. and world economy is set for a new surge of inflation. But cultists and con men are used to dealing with a loss of public credibility. The "supply-side" quacks, like Arthur Laffer, are now peddling a return to the gold standard as the latest cure-all for the capitalist world's economic ills. Reportedly Reagan, who seemingly learned his economics in Disneyland, is sympathetic to a return to gold.

What would the restoration of the gold standard, if it were possible (which it isn't), mean? The *primary condition* for the pre-World War I gold standard was a labor movement *too weak* to resist periodic cuts in money wages. In the nineteenth century if Britain or France ran a balance-of-payments deficit, the central bank lost gold. The central bank would then automatically call in loans, contract the money supply, raise interest rates, etc. Some firms would have to cut back production, others would go bankrupt. In the absence of strong trade unions, increasing unemployment or even the threat of it forced workers to accept a cut in money (and real) wages, in this way restoring the country's international competitiveness and gold. That is how the gold standard worked.

World War I basically destroyed the gold standard not only because all the combatants financed the unprecedented military expenditure by running the printing presses, but also because their working classes, in part inspired by the Russian Revolution, emerged as a contender for power. Traditional deflationary wage slashing became too politically difficult and dangerous. Enumerating the main changes in the world economy in the post-World War I period the liberal American economist Charles Kindleberger singles out "an increased reluctance by labor to accept wage decreases after about 1921, making for an irreversibility of wage and price increases" (*The World in Depression 1929-1939* [1973]). Since the 1920s and especially since World War II capitalists have generally intensified the rate of exploitation by holding money wage increases *below the inflation rate*. This, incidentally, is a key element in the so-called Keynesian revolution in bourgeois economic thinking.

A return to the gold standard could work only if it produced a depression so deep and prolonged the trade unions would not resist a large cut in money wages, thus allowing a lower price level. The gold standard is one form—an extreme form—of deflationary monetarism. This is clearly understood by the high priest of right-wing monetarism, Milton Friedman, who dismisses the gold standard as irrelevant in the real world:

> "It may well be that in order to stabilize prices you will have to go through a recession. That has been the experience of most countries that have stopped inflation. *If it is not politically possible to accept that cure* without a gold standard, it will not be politically possible to do it with a gold standard." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Business Week*, 21 September

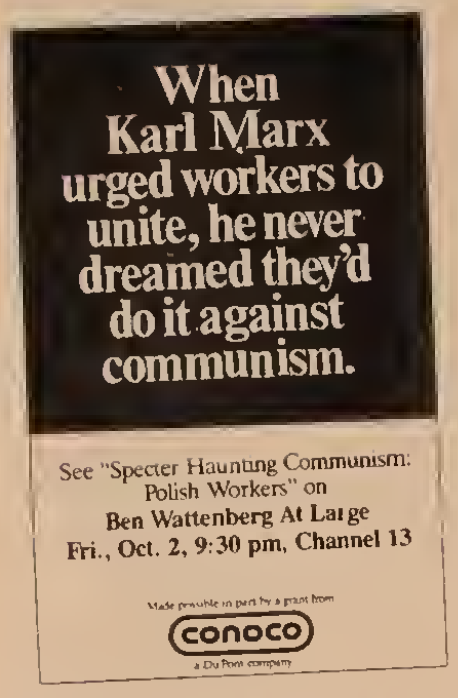
Milton Friedman's "Cure": Pinochet's Chile, Thatcher's Britain

We can see what political conditions he's talking about in that first living laboratory of Friedmanite economics, General Pinochet's Chile. Not long after the 1973 coup in which 30,000 workers and leftists were massacred and the labor movement beheaded, Friedman

Poland's Company Union...

(continued from page 6)

Development, frequently a conduit for CIA "counterinsurgency" which has financed operations from Guatemala to Thailand. For Shanker, there's nothing unholy about an alliance between the American labor tops and the American



Counterrevolutionary friends of Solidarność.

government; it's a legitimate anti-Communist united front stretching from the UFT office to Langley, Virginia and blessed by the *Wall Street Journal* to boot.

American social democracy stands in the front line of a broad counterrevolutionary chorus of Solidarność fans. An intimate of Shanker's Social Democrats, USA, one Ben Wattenberg, hosted an October 2 public television special titled "Specter Haunting Communism: Polish Workers." The ad for the program in the October 2 *New York Times* gloated: "When Karl Marx urged workers to unite, he never dreamed they'd do it against communism." And who paid for the TV show? DuPont's Conoco oil company, product of the world's biggest capitalist merger. This friend of Solidarność is, among other things, one of America's big coal companies. A comparison of its safety record with that of the Polish coal mines should explode any idea that Solidarność and its American patrons are supporters of workers' rights!

The spectacle of the *Wall Street Journal*, a main ideological voice of the U.S. bourgeoisie, posturing as a partisan of a "free and independent" American labor movement is certainly obscene. But no more obscene than a Polish "union" which looks for salvation to the U.S. imperialist-led "free world," the pope...and now even the International Monetary Fund! Is there a union leader anywhere else in the world who would dare to so openly make common cause with the international bankers' cartel? If the IMF ever gets a chance to implement its program for Poland, it will surely begin by starving most of the Polish population. American workers may not understand the toll in human suffering and death contained beneath those initials, but workers all over the globe know what the IMF means. Pinochet's bloody coup in Chile was for the purpose of making the country "safe" for the IMF. If Conoco and the IMF ever get their hands on Poland, Polish miners will be lucky to live long enough to get black lung. Lech Walesa's affection for the IMF is the clearest possible demonstration of Solidarność' real role as a *company union* for the CIA and the bankers.

The Spartacist League's defense of the workers movement demands the most vigorous protest against the pro-capitalist American labor tops' witting collusion in Solidarność' imperialist-backed counterrevolutionary enterprise. Our aim is not merely to expose the unholy alliance between the U.S. government and the American labor officialdom, but to break that alliance through the forging of a class-struggle union leadership which will militantly oppose U.S. imperialism's sinister schemes to export counterrevolution. ■

U.S. Arms Afghans...

(continued from page 2)

U.S. and Saudi Arabia did most of the bankrolling. "The Egyptians have provided training for the Afghan guerrilla fighters and serve as the major source of arms—supplying weapons obtained from the Soviet Union during the years of Egyptian-Soviet friendship, and tons of replicated Soviet armaments, turned out in factories on the outskirts of Cairo." Pakistan, with the personal approval of President Zia, allowed the weapons to be transshipped into Afghanistan. The role of China, in particular, was hushed up. When Carter's war secretary Harold Brown visited Peking, writes Bernstein, "the secret part of his agenda dealt primarily with Afghanistan.... 'We let it be known we were going to do certain things. They let it be known they were going to do certain things. There was an implicit agreement'.... The Chinese agreed to permit overflights of their territory for planes carrying arms bound eventually for Afghanistan. The Chinese also would help supply the SAM-7s [anti-aircraft missiles] and RPG anti-tank rockets."

"The Reagan administration has since reviewed the clandestine operation and ordered it expanded," the article reports. But no matter how fanatical the nuclear sabre-rattling of the Republicans, they inherited this operation from the previous *Democratic* administration. Carter/Brzezinski's role as a bridge between post-Vietnam imperialist paralysis and Reagan/Haig's wild anti-Soviet warmongering was most clearly exposed in Afghanistan like El Salvador, points where the Cold War is running hottest. The Kremlin bureaucracy, meanwhile, which still clings to illusions in "détente" with "peace-loving" imperialists, is reaping the rewards of past betrayals. Arms squandered upon capitalist Egypt to buy Anwar Sadat's favor are now being used to kill Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. And the Chinese, similarly following the nationalist logic of Stalinism, have thrown themselves into an increasingly overt anti-Soviet military alliance with Washington. This counterrevolutionary axis, which threatens the existence of the Chinese deformed workers state as well, is engaging in provocations which could plunge the world into nuclear holocaust.

Today, General Haig again demands a Soviet pullout from this region vital to the defense of the USSR as the price for a "working relationship" with the West. In a recent speech he alleges that, "The Soviet Union still prefers to promote a bizarre theme: that the United States is unwilling to negotiate about questions of critical international concern; that the U.S. wants a return to the Cold War; that the U.S. is the source of the trouble in Afghanistan" (*New York Times*, 12 August). Bizarre indeed! Slipping Kalashnikovs across mountain passes to mullah-led feudal clericalists in Afghanistan is only part of the imperialists' drive to "roll back" social revolutions that have wrenched a third of the world from the grip of capitalist exploitation. While the bulk of the left marched to Carter's tune, the iSt proclaimed that in the military confrontation pitting Soviet soldiers backing the left-nationalist regime in Kabul against imperialist-backed counterrevolutionaries, Marxists side with the Russian tanks. Now more than ever: Hail Red Army in Afghanistan! Smash Carter/Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive! ■

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himself visited Chile to explain his economic "shock treatment" to its new leaders. Friedman counseled Pinochet to harden his heart to humanitarian concern:

> "Don't worry about your international image any more, Mr. President. Just make sure that the international corporations find it profitable here, and nothing more."

Here is how the *New York Times* (21 March 1976) described the Chilean economy after more than two years under Friedman's cure:

> "Last year the gross national product declined by more than 12 percent.... Unemployment, which is climbing above 16 percent, has reached its most dramatic level in three decades. Malnutrition is widespread in the urban slums."

Even *Business Week* (12 January 1976), scarcely a voice of liberal protest, recognized that only a brutal military dictatorship could fully impose the Friedmanite economic model: "Countries that try the cold-turkey approach to inflation therefore tend, like Brazil and Chile, to be regimes that use police power to contain the social fallout of these economic policies."

And what of the second living laboratory of Friedmanite economics, Thatcher's Britain? As in Chile, there is a collapse in industrial production and mass unemployment. In the past two years manufacturing output has fallen 17 percent, a *steeper fall* than in the worst period of the 1930s. Over a million manufacturing jobs have been lost, almost one in seven of those employed and more than all the jobs lost in the previous twenty years. What of the declared goal of Thatcher's great depression, to squeeze the inflationary pressure out of the economy? When Thatcher took office in May 1979 consumer prices had risen 14 percent over the previous year. Today, despite the enormous unemployed productive capacity, despite the bankrupting of hundreds of firms, despite the impoverishment of whole sections of the population, the inflation rate is effectively unchanged at 12 percent (*Economist*, 26 September).

But unlike Chile, the British trade unions have not been broken through mass terror. Unlike fellow Friedmanite Pinochet, Thatcher (and Reagan) cannot supplement monetary policy with the executioner's bullet and the torturer's electric shock, much as they might like to. Here then is the critical difference between the right-wing regime in Chile and Britain or the U.S. Those British workers who have held their jobs have kept their money wage increases roughly in line with inflation. At the shop floor level militants have prevented speed-up, attacks on safety rules and other means of intensifying the rate of exploitation. Between Thatcher's relentless monetarism and a still-strong labor movement Britain's capitalists are in a sorry condition indeed. Excluding North Sea oil, the rate of return on British industrial and commercial capital has been halved, from an anemic 6 percent in 1978 to a marginal 3 percent in 1980 (*Economist*, 4 July). Given this pitiful rate of return, Britain's industrialists would just as well spend their money at the race track (as many do).

Socialism or Barbarism

Thatcher's Britain and Reagan's America represent the dramatic decay of the capitalist system, which has nothing to offer the working people except impoverishment, oppression and war. The British working class hates Thatcher, as increasingly the American working class hates Reagan. These despised and isolated right-wing regimes can and must be brought down. But this will prove no real victory for the working masses if they are only replaced by the same Labourite social democracy and Democratic Party liberalism which paved the way for the right-wing fanatics.

As capitalists throughout the world talk of a second Great Depression and the imperialist powers, led by the United States, drive toward nuclear war against the Soviet Union, the words of Leon Trotsky in 1938 retain all of their force: "Without a socialist revolution, in the next period at that, a catastrophe threatens the whole culture of mankind." What is needed for the victory of that socialist revolution is the leadership of a Leninist vanguard. Under revolutionary leadership the international working class can sweep away the Reagans, Thatchers and Pinochets forever. ■

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(Signed)
Jan Norden,
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Fremont GM Militants Say:

"We Need a Sitdown!"

We reprint below a September 24 leaflet distributed by the Militant Caucus and other members of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364 calling for a sit-down strike to prevent the loss of 1,500 truck production jobs at the Fremont, California General Motors plant.

In response to the massive permanent layoff, Local 1364 officials organized two "informational" meetings to prepare members for training in "new careers" at local junior colleges. Over 600 turned out in an angry mood for the first of these sessions (see "Maoists Pimp Off Unemployment" on this page). At the September 16 meeting, members in attendance applauded and solidarized with the call by a Militant Caucus member to "hold the plant hostage for our jobs!" The Fremont *Argus* (17 September) reporting on the meeting said "union leaders were more receptive" to a petition by the Maoists' Concerned Autoworkers Movement (CAM) "urging GM to establish an 'inverse seniority' clause." This anti-union proposal would allow the company to rip up the hard-won seniority system which provides a minimum of protection against arbitrary management victimization.

But union officials presented a solid front against a sitdown at the "careers" meetings and effectively convinced the frustrated members that their union would do nothing to defend their jobs. A Local 1364 meeting three days before the layoff went into effect drew only 50 or 60 members, with most of the shop committee and executive board boycotting the meeting. Of the officials present, some said vote Democrat, others said sitdowns were illegal, and *all* opposed a real fight against the layoffs. This time the Peking Stalinists rushed to their aid with a substitute proposal to "fight" the layoffs by holding a demonstration... *after* the layoffs were to take place! You might call it the CAM-shaft.

While the organized efforts of Local 1364 leaders and their Maoist junior partners succeeded in shepherding union members out of the plant without a fight, the program raised by the sitdown militants remains the only way to fight layoffs and plant shutdowns in auto.

* * * * *

GM intends to throw 1,500 more UAW members out on the street October 2. Truck second shift was already laid off two years ago. Now GM says it's going to rip out the entire truck line and ship it to St. Louis! If we let this happen it will be a *disaster*, not only for the 1,500 facing permanent unemployment now, but for the remaining 3,900 in passenger and skilled trades. We had better understand that without truck production, Fremont becomes solely dependent on passenger car sales. That means *total plant closure* becomes a real possibility. Fifteen years seniority will mean nothing. There are no jobs out there, especially for banged up ex-autoworkers. Shop Committee Chairman George Nano admitted this to the Fremont *Argus* (September 17), "If they don't sell cars, I think they're going to close the plant."

So what is the union leadership proposing to do about this? NOTHING! All we've gotten is bullshit about "retraining" for "new careers" and how the "flow" will go from truck to passenger. Their position is whatever GM wants, GM gets. So since GM's announcement August 26 the "stunned" union officials have simply been acting in open collusion with the company. As the September 3 "retraining" meeting was only a week later, it's hard to believe the union had no prior knowledge of the shutdown. With the local leadership groveling, GM is reported to be demanding contractual take-aways on PPH's [paid personal holidays], 63B transfers, absentee control, line speed and revisions of guidelines and forced layoffs for skilled trades. But all we're being told is "tough luck"—learn basket weaving or go on welfare.

We have a union and we should use it to fight for our jobs. We need a sitdown strike demanding that THE TRUCK LINE STAYS IN FREMONT! The UAW was built by sitdown strikes during the depression in 1936-37. Properly organized it has proved to be the most effective strike tactic ever devised. Because the strikers are on the *inside* occupying the plant and the management and other usual strikebreakers are on the outside. Big stockpiles and low sales can weaken a regular strike but not a sitdown. With the strikers holding GM's sacred property hostage, all production, including passenger startup, comes to a halt. With no production and the ensuing publicity we could force GM to reverse its decision. They get their plant back when we get our jobs back.

The brothers and sisters on layoff now facing loss of their jobs would support the sitdown. They and the families of all union members could organize mass picket lines outside the plant to defend and support the sitdown. The sitdown would inspire the support of thousands of UAW members industry-wide across the country who are themselves facing layoffs or already on the street.

The Local 1364 officials have already said such a strike would be "illegal" and they *oppose* it. Let them say that to our faces at the Union meeting. They don't have the right to give our jobs away. From [UAW president Doug] Fraser down to [Local 1364 leaders] Mays, Scrempos, Nano, Martinez, Gus Billy, and the rest, *all* accept GM's "right" to make a profit by laying us off. International President Fraser sits on the Chrysler Board of Directors and enforces wage cuts and speedup for Chrysler. Their job is to *prevent* union action and keep the membership "in line."

The clearest expression of this pro-company policy was revealed by the remarks of ex-vice president Sam Marsh at the September 16 "flow" meeting. When people applauded the idea of a sitdown strike he said, "It might sound good, but it's not going to work." Instead, he said, we should "launch a voter registration drive and work through political channels." In other words, don't strike to save your jobs—*wait four more years* and vote to put the Democrats back in. That means to hell with our jobs now! The Democrats as well as the Republicans are strikebreakers and unionbusters. This policy of sacrificing the jobs and working conditions of autoworkers to the interests of the political parties of the auto companies is what has crippled the UAW and led to thousands of layoffs without a fight.

We better fight now or we will be facing the same grim future as the UAW brothers and sisters from the shut down GM Parts plant: lost homes, ruined lives, minimum wages, welfare or worse. If we *don't* fight it's guaranteed we lose. But many UAW members learned the hard way what did *not* work in the fight to save the Parts plant: politicians didn't work; concerned citizens didn't work; Fraser didn't work and the leadership of Local 1364 didn't work. The one thing that *will* work to stop the truck line from leaving GMAD Fremont is a sitdown strike.

It is urgent that every member of Local 1364 show up at the Union meeting 12:00 noon, September 27. Call every member you know, working or laid off, tell them about the sitdown strike and make sure they show up. We know the Local leadership is opposed to strike action, but they are not the union, the membership is. If the membership decides to take action, no sabotage by the officers can stop it. Be there!

UAW Militant Caucus

Maoists Pimp Off Unemployment

OAKLAND—A few years ago pro-Peking Stalinist Liz Stanley used to repeat a Maoist saying, "The future is bright." She must have meant her own. She now heads a joint United Auto Workers/community college committee as well as the UAW Local 1364 (Fremont GM) Education Committee and makes a career out of "educating" her fellow union members to go look for new "careers." "Your future in the auto industry isn't the best," chirped Stanley to 600 auto workers at a union meeting, called to shepherd them out of the plant and onto the unemployment lines. But as an article, "Angry Auto Workers Confront Union Leaders," in Oakland's *East Bay Today* (4 September) reported, black auto workers among the 1,300 facing permanent layoffs didn't much like Stanley's advice to find a new job: "Why weren't we notified?" about the shutdown of the truck assembly line, asked five-year GM employee Danny Jackson at the meeting.

> "'The company would not give us your addresses,' Stanley replied. 'The union has our addresses!' Jackson shouted. 'What are you talking about?' Others joined him, accusing the union of collusion with the company."

WV readers may recall some of the exploits of Liz Stanley, Charlotte Casey and supporters of the CP-ML/*Call* at the Fremont GM plant. They were endlessly willing to sell out for a post on a union committee, a spot on a bureaucratic slate or a column in the local union newsletter. First they joined one longstanding faction in the Local 1364 bureaucracy (the Brotherhood) and later the other (United Independents). Then in 1977 when these same bureaucrats led a richly justified local strike for the first time ever, and GM fired them for it, Stanley said they should stay fired! When GM workers were threatened with mass layoffs, the Maoists' answer was the seniority-busting 1974 women's lawsuit against the union. When militants in the plant agitated for a sitdown that same year, Stanley and her friends opposed a sitdown strike and perversely dubbed themselves the Stand Up caucus.

No doubt, for someone who has defended Stalin's anti-Bolshevik purges and murders, Pol Pot's genocide in Cambodia and China's invasion of Vietnam, it is no sweat to stand before American auto workers and defend the UAW's refusal to fight layoffs. Liz Stanley may feel she's got hers, but black auto workers know what "future" awaits them in Reagan's America where minority youth unemployment is more than 50 percent. "Bullshit" was the response of the angry Fremont UAW members to their careerist misleaders, who have proved themselves capable of doing just about anything *except* what's needed: hard class struggle.

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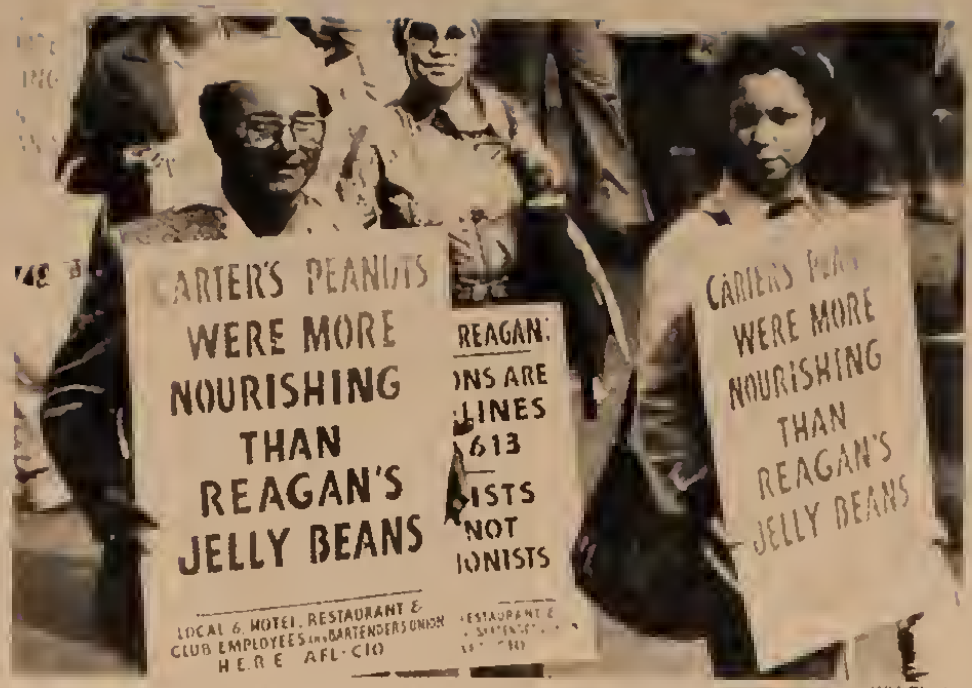
All-Peoples Circus...

(continued from page 12)

against feminists over abortion; gays against Chicanos in SF's Castro district. Now Reagan has killed sectoralism: he hates *everybody*. What's needed is certainly not a new sectoralist federation but a Leninist vanguard party of the working class, a tribune of the people leading the struggles of the oppressed.

The Cobo Hall confab is being run as a typical Stalinist front group. For the uninitiated it seems like a grab-bag of welfare rights groups, community organizations, etc. One local union official said he was assured that "no communist groups" would be involved. But lo and behold, at the center of it all is Marcy's WWP, which has developed a veritable waterfall of cascading fronts (YAWF/PAM/APC). Heaven forbid that anyone should openly espouse communist politics here instead of this elaborate con game. And now Marcy has a problem: Poland. It isn't going to be so easy to tail the Kremlin bureaucrats, as he has done for the past quarter-century, and also chase after virulently anti-Soviet American liberals and union misleaders. So the WWP tries to keep the Cold War out of its hot appetites. El Salvador? Nothing to do with Cuba or the USSR. Budget cuts? Nothing to do with the anti-Soviet war drive. Poland? Marcy admits that Solidarność is counterrevolutionary, but don't expect it to come up in Detroit.

Then there are the tagalongs—reformists and centrists like the CWP, RSL, RWL who tried to cash in on the



WV Photo

Solidarity Day, September 19: APC feeds illusions in the Democrats.

fleeting popularity of Marcy's would-be popular front. The CWP complained that El Salvador had been dropped as a focus and "national minorities" were slighted. (This is a cheap shot that the cynically "Third Worldist" Marcyites richly deserve.) The RWL complains about the lack of "democratic structures and bylaws" so that they can fully participate in this popular-frontist scam. Perhaps there will be others preaching slightly more militant policies to prettify the WWP's sucker bait for the Democratic Party, like the social-democratic IS used to do in the NPAC Vietnam antiwar pop front a decade ago. But the Trotskyists say no to treacherous popular-frontism: not class collaboration but class struggle!

Marcy & Co. have reportedly secured some union endorsements, particularly from Michigan AFSCME locals. But what does the "All-Peoples Congress" offer labor? Among the Democratic Party endorsers (John Conyers, Bella Abzug, Ron Dellums, etc.) is that of Irma Henderson, president of the Detroit City Council and close ally of Mayor Young. Coleman Young, in turn, is the black Democratic bosom buddy of Henry Ford II who welcomed Reagan's Republican Party convention to town last year by busting an AFSCME city workers' strike. Some "ally"! Or take the crucial PATCO strike. The Spartacist League called on labor to *shut down the airports* to beat Reagan's union busting. The WWP *refused* to call for solidarity strikes with the air controllers; their program was the bureaucrats' September 19, as a first step...and the APC. Lots of good that will do PATCO strikers! This circus is an attempt to tie labor to the class enemy, not to win workers' struggles. Any unions that have endorsed the anti-peoples circus should withdraw *now*!

Reagan has declared war on all fronts. Along the way he has antagonized other elements of the ruling class, from the Democratic Party to sections of the Pentagon. Now the Marcyites (and other reformists) want to build a popular front extending from welfare mothers to Wall Street. The Marcyites' first attempt at an anti-Reagan pop front was the May 3 El Salvador march on the Pentagon. With Democrats Abzug and O'Dwyer on the platform they appealed for a "political solution," brokered by the Kennedy liberals, with Reagan's blood-drenched junta. Meanwhile they used PAM "marshals" to keep marchers from attending an Anti-Imperialist rally, sponsored by the Spartacist League, which called for military victory to Salvadoran leftists. Then on June 6, when the SL demonstrated against Marcy's bloc with Bella and Teddy, the WWP chose to seal its alliance with the bourgeoisie in blood... and got beat.

If you are for solidarity strikes with PATCO to shut down the airports; if you call for a break with the Democrats and Republicans, to build a workers party; if you fight to oust the labor lieutenants of capital, for a class-struggle leadership of the unions; if you oppose the bi-partisan anti-Soviet war drive and want to fight for socialist revolution—the Marcyites' anti-peoples circus is no place for you. The Spartacist League says *bring down Reagan through labor action!*■

South Africa...

(continued from page 12)

massive rearmament of U.S. imperialism and the Cold War drive that paved the way for Reagan/Haig and the U.S./South Africa axis. It is only to retain a little "human rights" hypocrisy that representatives of the party of Jimmy Carter, Mayor Koch and KKKer Tom Metzger are sponsoring this conference.

The conference call states:

> "We know that billions of dollars invested by U.S. multinational corporations like IBM and General Motors in the apartheid economy would be better spent on improving the lives of U.S. citizens than on enhancing white privilege and reinforcing black oppression in Southern Africa."

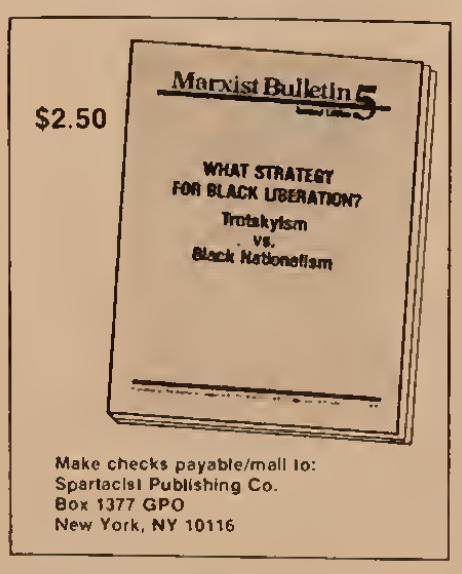
Capitalism works for profits, not philanthropy. Black workers in Detroit thrown onto the streets through plant closures know that. Who really believes that IBM profits made selling computer systems to the Pentagon will be spent on "improving the lives of U.S. citizens" except for those who own a piece of the Fortune 500? This patriotic appeal to U.S. finance capital to "improve lives" here is just as ludicrous as pretending it could have a "democratic" mission in Africa.

Rather than pushing "divestment" schemes and appealing to the corporations' "conscience," SL/SYL supporters have fought, especially in the unions, for labor action against apartheid terror and to force multinationals to grant full union rights to black workers in South Africa. Labor and its allies must be mobilized to give concrete aid to the South African black proletariat, the motor force for liberation in southern Africa, to organize themselves to expropriate the tremendous wealth that *they*, not the imperialists, have created.

Just as the CP yearns for "people's unity" with liberal bourgeois politicians at home to "ban the Klan," internationally their program is for alliances with "progressive" Third World capitalist regimes and "peace-loving" imperialists—the global popular front. But these days the reformists are hard-pressed to find any Democrats willing even to pay lip service to "détente" with the USSR. For the U.S./South Africa racist axis, like Reagan's onslaught against leftist rebels in El Salvador, is part of the anti-Soviet war drive. And while some liberal politicians may protest Reagan's open embracing of the despised Botha regime, *all* support the global imperialist offensive to "roll back" Soviet power, beginning in Poland. This question can't be ducked.

When threatened by imperialism, Moscow will sometimes fight the forces of social reaction (Afghanistan, Vietnam). But in maneuvering to protect its privileged position, the bureaucracy is also capable of supporting genocide by tinpot dictators in Ethiopia or backing reactionary strongmen like the late Sadat of Egypt, who later turned to U.S. imperialism and now supply Russian arms to Afghan mullahs who use them to kill Soviet soldiers. The only way to protect the gains of the October Revolution, liberate the black masses of southern Africa and put an end to race terror in the U.S. is through powerful class struggle.

Republicans and Democrats alike are enemies of workers and oppressed peoples of the world: Reagan must be brought down by labor action! South African black workers: fight for proletarian revolution through smashing apartheid! Russian workers must oust the bureaucracy, to restore Lenin's soviet democracy so that the Soviet Union can once again become a beacon for socialism! This is the program of the Trotskyists who fight for the rebirth of the Fourth International, the party of the Russian October and world socialist revolution.■



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RWL...

(continued from page 4)

They never heard of it. The article is also very resolute in not telling workers what they should have done in the French presidential elections. But their international mentors, who brokered the RWL/SL-DC fusion, Alan Thornett's British Workers Socialist League (WSL), called for a vote to Mitterrand's anti-Soviet popular-front candidacy in the May elections. And shortly after, the WSL shut down its paper to go underground in the social-democratic Labour Party, where they support anti-nuke pacifists (who attack "both superpowers") without ever raising defense of the Soviet bloc.

The RWL's silence on the Russian question in *Workers Struggle* is no oversight. When Jimmy Carter launched a Cold War blitz over Afghanistan, the then-RWG couldn't decide if it was for or against Soviet intervention to crush CIA-armed Islamic reactionaries. (The SL proclaimed "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!") Last fall the RWG co-sponsored a forum on Poland with Shachtmanite groups who hold that the Soviet bloc countries are "state capitalist." Sollenberger refused to uphold Trotsky's unconditional defense of the deformed workers states against counterrevolution (see "Bloc for Anti-Soviet Propaganda in Detroit," *WV* No. 264, 19 September 1980). Over the May 3 El Salvador march in Washington, the Bryants' *Labor News* attacked the SL as "sectarian" for our slogan: "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!" And to announce their fusion, last May the RWL and SL-DC held a joint forum with a WSL speaker under the "Third Camp" title, "The Fight Against Imperialism and Stalinism." Again they refused to take on the Russian question, even when repeatedly challenged by SL supporters.

As Reagan/Haig threaten to plunge humanity into a nuclear holocaust in order to wipe out the social gains of the October Revolution, Trotskyists insist that the call for workers political revolution to oust the Stalinist usurpers is part of our program to unconditionally defend and extend those revolutionary conquests. Today the Russian question is the central issue dividing revolutionaries from reformists. The RWL has long tried to present itself as a blurred carbon copy of the SL, but as they come out into the open they are rapidly defining themselves as left social democrats over the Soviet Union. It is no accident that on the eve of Reagan's inauguration, the long-since ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) should repudiate *any* support to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. And it is no coincidence that the RWL, which seeks to carve out a niche between the deeply reformist SWP and the Trotskyist Spartacist League, takes the fifth amendment on the Russian question.■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Smash Apartheid! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan's Cold War Axis in South Africa

For the first time ever the Springboks—the rugby ambassadors for South African apartheid—recently toured the U.S. The tour came on the heels of the murderous South African invasion of Angola and was followed by the Senate's repeal of the Clark Amendment, intended to unleash the CIA again in Angola (and elsewhere). Apartheid South Africa is becoming a central part of the "free world." Reagan/Haig want a bloody showdown by proxy with the Soviet Union in Southern Africa, in the first place Angola. Here the South African army is to play the role of surrogate for direct U.S. military intervention. The Springboks' tour was intended to build support for Washington's Cold War alliance with the Pretoria racists.

The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League actively participated in anti-apartheid protests against the Springboks tour, demanding "Drive Springboks Out! Military Victory for SWAPO! Independence for Namibia! Smash U.S./South Africa Cold War Axis!" In contrast, various liberals and reformist lefts including the Communist Party (CP) responded with the demand, "Wire Reagan: Cancel Springboks Visas." The only visas Reagan is going to cancel are those for Soviet scientists and artists, Salvadoran refugees fleeing junta terror, Haitians fleeing Baby Doc's savage repression and ravaged economy. And the only reason racist politicians like New York mayor Koch and Chicago's mayor Byrne canceled Springboks games was their fear of militant protests.

WV Photo

Chicago, September 12—SL/SYL said: Drive Springboks Out! Reformists asked Reagan to cancel their visas.

The CP, together with these same liberal forces and Democratic Party politicians, is sponsoring a "Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa" in New York this weekend. The stated purpose of this conference is to "intensify pressure on the U.S. government and the corporate sector to end their relations with the apartheid regime." This is reminiscent of the CP's support to the demand raised at a National Anti-Klan Network conference that Reagan "declare a state of emergency concerning the rise of Klan and racist violence." To call on the racist, warmongering Reagan, elected with KKK endorsement, to act against the South African apartheid racists or to stop American race terrorists is as grotesque as calling on Hitler to save the Jews from Holocaust!

The sponsors of this conference are attempting to create the illusion that the blood-drenched racist U.S. government can be "pressured" to be a "democratic" imperialism that fights racism at home and abroad. That was the motivation behind the liberals' and reformists' appeals to Jimmy Carter's "Human Rights" campaign. But under that hypocritical slogan the U.S. brokered the bloody Duarte junta in El Salvador, launched the CIA intervention in Afghanistan, imposed a boycott on the Moscow Olympics and began the

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Sam Marcy Tries to Fool All the Peoples All the Time

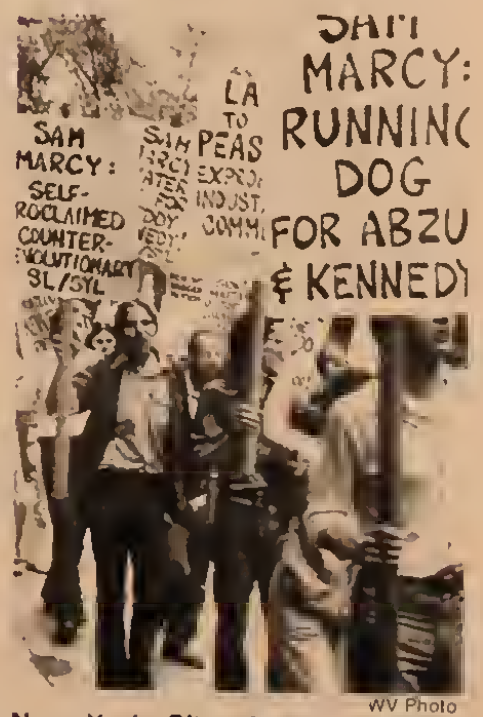
All-Peoples Circus: Front for the Democrats

The "All-Peoples Congress" to be held this month in Detroit will be a three-ring circus of class collaboration. Every conceivable constituency and single-issue group is supposed to be represented. Various left groups will vie for a say in running the show, which is controlled from behind the scenes by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP). Above all, this "anti-peoples circus" is a Democratic Party trap—an attempt to sucker radicals, labor and black militants into bringing in a new Jimmy Carter. But the last Jimmy Carter set the stage for Ronald Reagan, through the Cold War drive against the Soviets, dismantling the busing program, and economic policies which gutted workers' paychecks. Who needs another one?

With a nakedly big business administration in Washington that viciously busts unions and tells ghetto school children, "Let'em eat ketchup," mass hatred of Reagan is escalating daily. Up to half a million, mainly unionists, demonstrated in Washington September 19 to express their outrage. But like the sellout union tops, Marcy & Co. want to channel this anger back into the Democratic Party of war and racism. This is a program for defeat. The hundreds of thousands who marched through the streets of the capital have the power to bring the capitalist government to its knees. To use it they must break from the phony "friend of labor" Democrats, dump the pro-capitalist bureaucrats, and build a workers party. If the unions shut down the airports to support the PATCO strike, where would the Conyers and the Kennedys be then? Or, for that matter, the Marcys?

The program of the Marcyites' "congress" is summed up in its slogan, "fight Reaganism." "Overturn the Reagan Program of Cutbacks, Racism, & War!" says their brochure. What this translates into in practice is "make the Democrats fight." But the Carters and Kennedys are no less strikebreakers, budget-cut killers and anti-Soviet warmongers. The real program of the "APC" was stated in an official September 19 placard: "Carter's Peanuts Were More Nourishing Than Reagan's Jelly Beans." No way. *Capitalism* is the problem.

This "all-peoples" get-together is a lame attempt to amalgamate a hundred different sectors on the level of traditional (bourgeois) constituency politics. There's supposed to be something-for



WV Photo

New York City, June 6—Marcy's class treason in El Salvador civil war exposed.

everyone. "The Congress is for women who don't want their lives endangered by anti-abortion laws," for undocumented foreign workers, for Viet vets, for anti-nuke and anti-draft activists, for everyone from Dykes Against Racism Everywhere to the Grey Panthers. In the '70s, the heyday of sectoralism, it was black nationalists

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 291 23 October 1981

Near East Cold War Axis Threatened

Imperialist Murderers Weep for Sadat

It was not only Anwar Sadat who got blown away in Cairo two weeks ago: the American imperialists fear that their anti-Soviet "strategic consensus" in the Near East may also lie in rubble amid the overturned chairs on that reviewing stand. To be sure, Washington wants to bank on Sadat's appointed successor, Hosni Mubarak, to enforce the *Pax Americana* embodied in the 1979 Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. But Reagan clearly wouldn't stake his life on it. For the funeral he sent ex-presidents Nixon, Ford and Carter, who surely would not have been missed if something went wrong in post-Sadat Cairo.

At the funeral, "dignitaries" like mad bomber Menachem Begin and the late shah of Iran's son Riza Pahlevi mourned for their lost brother. The Egyptian population, physically barred from the funeral, conspicuously did not mourn. In the southern town of Asyut more than a hundred "Muslim fundamentalists" were killed by police after defying a government ban on demonstrations outside mosques. The political situation in Egypt was captured in an anecdote reported in the *Wall Street Journal* (16 October). A fortuneteller is asked, "What do you see in your heart for the future of Egypt?" "Not now," she replies, "there are security men everywhere."

With strongman Sadat gone the U.S. is making a desperate effort to strengthen its control over this linchpin of the Near East in the most naked manner. With much fanfare new arms shipments are being speeded to Mubarak. The controversial AWACS radar plane—flying out of Cairo West Airport, already buzzing with American aircraft—is now patrolling Egypt's western border. And next month U.S. and Egyptian troops are scheduled to take part in highly publicized land/sea/air joint war games called Operation Bright Star. Asked about this militarist display, U.S. vice president George Bush replied that if this is a "provocation," so be it. Meanwhile, Washington is trying to whip Egypt and its sole regional ally, the Sudan, into a war with the No. 1 U.S. Near East target of the moment,

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Karim/Al Akhbar

U.S. imperialist lackey Anwar Sadat caught with his security guard down. Almost anyone in the Near East could have pulled the trigger.

Mullahs' Blood Frenzy

After two and a half years of the "Islamic revolution" in Iran, the reactionary Khomeini regime is coming apart. The stalemated war with Iraq, which has dragged on since September 1980, and fighting by Kurdish rebels, who control large parts of a couple of provinces, are not even the most serious of the mullahs' problems. The ruling clerical Islamic Republican Party (IRP) has been decapitated by deadly accurate bombings, state administration is in chaos, the economy in shambles, and there are reports of unrest in the military. Now Khomeini's Pasdaran (militiamen) are having frequent shootouts with Islamic guerrillas who've turned against their "imam" of yesterday. Besieged on all sides, Khomeini's clerics are staking their survival on mass killings. Since June over 1,800 have been executed—more executions in Iran in four months than were reported in the entire world during 1980. The mullahs' *jihad* is aimed primarily at the Muslim-populist Mujahedeen-e-Khalq (People's Crusaders), closely allied with former president Bani-Sadr in exile.

Exhorted by Khomeini to "exterminate the heathens," the blood-crazed Pasdaran shoot on the spot anyone wounded or captured in street fighting. According to Mujahedeen leader Masoud Rajavi, now in exile outside Paris with Bani-Sadr, some 200 schoolchildren jailed for pro-Mujahedeen activities have been executed. Khomeini even

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Karim/Al Akhbar

More executions in Khomeini's Iran than in the entire world last year.

SL Protests S.F. Cop Smear

A press conference was called October 15 by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) to protest the vicious San Francisco police attack on the September 27 Bay Area demonstration against Salvadoran junta chief Duarte. At the conference several victims gave the lie to the cops' story that the violence came from the demonstrators, including the Spartacist League (SL). Witnesses vividly described the cops' brutal dispersal of the demonstration and the unprovoked clubbing of fleeing protesters and passengers waiting at a bus stop. Eleven of the victims, including a mother and her 15-month-old baby, filed a million-dollar claim against the city for their injuries; other victims are pursuing individual legal suits.

In response to baiting queries from reporters, CISPES spokesman Tina Courtland and other speakers testified again and again that the violence on September 27 came exclusively from the police. However, at a small picket line the next day in front of a luncheon for the Salvadoran ambassador, a few CISPES supporters, among them members of the Communist Party (CP) and Socialist Workers Party (SWP), attempted to exclude the Spartacist League and said they were "spreading the word in the El Salvadoran community" that the SL supposedly provoked police into attacking the anti-Duarte demo. How? By chanting our slogans for military victory to leftist rebels in El Salvador! Thus, to cover their political vulnerability on their left flank, the reformists echo the same cop slander which they have publicly denounced as a pack of lies!

CISPES is clearly feeling the pressure from many of their supporters who can't understand why they refuse to call for a leftist victory in the Salvadoran civil war. Quite a few independents at the anti-Duarte demonstration, in fact, picked up and carried the SL's signs for military victory. But the popular-frontists of CISPES, appealing for support from imperialist liberals whose aim is to preserve "reformed" capitalist rule in the region, spread fatal illusions about a "political solution" with the bloody junta that is waging a war of extermination against the combative workers and peasants. With their despicable whisper campaign they resort to the same lie Reagan and Haig use against Salvadoran guerrilla fighters: that the rightist violence is "provoked" by the left. These slanders are an insult to the tens of thousands murdered by the junta. And the cynical liars who push them are inviting further cop assaults against the entire left.

Ringman/SF Chronicle

San Francisco cops riot against anti-Duarte protesters on September 27.

We reprint below a letter from the Bay Area Spartacist League to the San Francisco *Examiner* protesting the cop slanders which appeared in that paper.

October 13, 1981

San Francisco, CA

To the Editor:

The September 29, 1981 *Examiner* contained an article entitled "Police deny they turned Salvador protest into riot." In the article Deputy Chief of Police George Eimil tries to defuse the widespread outrage against the brutal police assaults on the September 27 anti-Duarte demonstrators by making false and damaging charges against the demonstrators themselves, including the Spartacist League and its youth section, the Spartacus Youth League. This effort to blame the victims for the brutality of the racist police will not wash.

Eimil claims the September 27 anti-Duarte protest "was turned violent by a few familiar groups of trouble makers." Referring to us as the "Spartacus Group" he says we were among those "who were there Sunday to cause trouble, [and] their purpose was to be violent and to cause violence." According to the October 1, 1981 *Examiner* Eimil escalated his charges at a meeting of the San Francisco Police Commission, saying there was no trouble until groups from the Spartacus (sic) League and others started it. The Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League were certainly present at the demonstration to voice our protest against Reagan's right-wing butcher Duarte.

In fact there was indeed provocation and violence on September 27. The provocateurs were the ultra right-wing cult followers of Reverend Moon who staged a pro-Duarte provocation. They were protected and given encouragement by the police. *The real violence came from the San Francisco police.* By raising his charges Eimil hopes to justify and excuse the police riot that occurred. But there is another equally sinister aspect to his accusations.

By falsely labeling the Spartacist League as a group which shows up at demonstrations to "cause violence" Eimil brands us as outlaws, and targets us for harassment and violence. Moreover his lurid account of small groups of agitators, well prepared and intending to use weapons, is murderous in its implications.

The efforts of the Spartacist League in California and elsewhere are to organize a workers party to struggle for the immediate and ultimate interests of the working class. We have a right to organize. We have the right to advance our views on El Salvador, to call for military victory for the leftist insurgents. We have the right to denounce Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

The massive police presence at the anti-Duarte demonstration occurred because Ronald Reagan did not want his murderous ally and puppet Duarte to be embarrassed. The repeated charges by mounted police against the demonstration that Sunday were not just aimed at the Spartacist League or Eimil's alleged "agitators." Above all the police attacks were intended to disperse the protest.

Eimil is trying to start a witchhunt. The people of California should beware of those who aim to deny the right of assembly and to muzzle free speech by creating an atmosphere of anti-communist hysteria and intimidation.

Al Nelson
For the Spartacist League

Too Many Peoples' Congress

Well, we told you so. We said the "All Peoples Congress" which inhabited Detroit last weekend would be a "three-ring circus of class collaboration," a grab bag of sectoralist groups at each others' throats and, above all, "sucker bait for the Democratic Party." While various left groups would vie for a say in running the show, this would-be popular-front zoo would be run from behind the scenes by Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP). Its purpose: to bring in a new Jimmy Carter (see "All Peoples Circus: Front for the Democrats," *WV* No. 290, 9 October). And that's the way it was.

Front for the Democrats: After months of huckstering, the Marcyites managed to herd some 1,300 people into Cobo Hall. "They came to fight Reaganism," was the *Detroit Free Press* (17 October) headline, reflecting the APC's program of backhanded support to the Democrats. WWP mouthpiece Larry Holmes called for "surrounding Congress" until the Democratic House majority votes down the Reagan cutbacks. APC endorser Paul O'Dwyer, formerly Democratic NYC City Council president, spoke from the podium. And another backer, Detroit black Democratic Congressman John Conyers, put forward a motion to "impeach Reagan." *Marxists* call to bring Reagan down through labor action.

Weekend of the Living Dead: The political zoo at Cobo Hall included everything from New Leftovers like the "Red Balloon" to RCPers in Maosuits with their photos of "Chairman Bob" Avakian, to "pyramid tower" mystics to the "Disabled Peoples Liberation Front." We predicted that this potpourri of competing sectors and single-issue groups had to explode. Sure enough. "Right-to-life" reactionaries screamed at abortion-rights speakers. A speaker who said he was "black, gay and a man" was booed. At the high point the chairman called for a plebiscite on the WWP gimmick/program: "All stand who support the National Days of Resistance!" The room exploded with shouts of "Discrimination! People in wheelchairs can't stand up!"

The worst example was when a right-wing black nationalist speaker attacked those who "sleep with people of their own sex." As many in the room protested this attack on homosexuals, the chair bureaucratically cut off the microphone and threw the offender out of the meeting. The next day the black nationalist bigots returned, lined up by the podium and demanded an open mike. The chant was then taken up by the various left groups. Workers World slithered out of the situation only by ending the confab on the spot and marshaling everybody out the door!

Anti-Communist Front Groupism: They held themselves hostage in their own pop front. Pretending that "there's nobody here but us APCers" in order to entice stray liberals and union bureaucrats, the Marcyites excluded themselves politically. Not once did the WWP speak in its own name at the conference; they even forced *Workers World* salesmen out onto the sidewalk with the "Sparts" to maintain the appearance of "evenhanded" anti-communist exclusion of the left press! But SL salesmen dominated, selling some 350 copies of *WV*, *Young Spartacus* and hot-off-the-press pamphlets on *Solidarność: Polish Company Union for CIA and Bankers*. Last June 6 in New York, WWP goons were repelled when they tried to keep the Spartacist League from protesting outside Marcy's "Fight Reagan" pop front rally. Here they could only grimace and bear it, in order not to blow their "respectable" cover.

We also predicted that there will be "others preaching slightly more militant policies" to prettify the WWP's front for the Democrats. So there were, particularly the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL). The RWL acts like they want to imitate Trotsky's description of centrism word for word. On Friday night they only had copies of their months' old, now defunct paper known to our readers as the "*Flinching Scab*" and were pushing their leaflet, "A Program of Action for PAM" (the WWP's predecessor front group to the APC) which called on the APC to make it a "real 'National Days of Resistance'." Only after considerable Spartacist heckling was the RWL shamed enough on the second day to bring out the current issue of its newspaper, which contains a few criticisms of the Marcyite operation. Just as predictably, Workers World did not sell the last issue of *its* paper either, the one which admitted Polish Solidarność is counterrevolutionary. The liberals might not like that, you see.

"Against War and Fascism"? For years the main Marcyite front has called

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Trotskyists Say: "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

Nationalist "Peace" Movement in West Germany

FRANKFURT—Three hundred thousand protesters took part in a national peace march October 10 in the West German capital of Bonn. It was the largest demonstration in the history of the federal republic, far more than originally expected by the two small church-related organizations which initiated the protest. The huge size was a clear indication of the widespread fear of war aroused by Washington's massive arms build-up and global provocations against the Soviet Union. In particular, opposition has been set off by the planned introduction of neutron bombs and installation of a new generation of medium-range ballistic missiles in West Germany by 1983. With "détente" gone, "mutual deterrence" now out of fashion and the Pentagon talking of a "limited nuclear confrontation" in Central Europe, even sectors of the bourgeoisie are worrying that Reagan intends to fight out a nuclear World War III on and over German soil. Meanwhile, most of the left is acting as the best builders of this social-democratic-dominated movement.

West Germany is currently caught up in a pacifist/nationalist mood captured by the popular slogan "Ohne uns!" (Leave us out of it). This sentiment was shown at a Lutheran church synod in Hamburg last June when up to 100,000 demonstrators poured into the streets with Christian-pacifist slogans for "peace without weapons." A more militant expression came in September when Reagan's Dr. Strangelove, General Alexander Haig, received a "warm reception" on his arrival in West Berlin. Instead of thousands of anti-Communists welcoming him to the "showcase of the West," Haig had to be hidden all day long from 80,000 demonstrators while angry youth tried to store city hall protesting this visit by the NATO warmonger. While most of the "peace movement" demands are directed at the West (a common graffiti is "To Be or NATO Be") there is also a strong dose of "anti-superpowers" German nationalism. At the Haig demonstration, both a U.S. and a Soviet flag were burned.

In West German ruling circles, nervousness was expressed over the mushrooming "peace movement." Social Democratic (SPD) chancellor Helmut Schmidt talked of the infiltration of "sinister elements" while opposition Christian Democratic (CDU) leader Helmut Kohl warned against a "popular front" between left Social Democrats and Communists. However, ex-chancellor and long-time SPD chairman Willy Brandt pleaded for "understanding" of the motives of the youthful protesters. He had seen a lot worse things, Brandt remarked, than Germans demonstrating for peace. Moreover, the Bonn demonstration was firmly under the control of "respectable" personages. On the podium sat Lutheran pastors, two ex-NATO generals, several top Social Democrats, a leader of the Free Democrats (FDP) and even a "peace researcher" from Franz-Josef Strauss' CDU. There were no incidents on October 10, and the arch-conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine* commented that it seemed more like a church convention than a protest.

There was good reason for the bourgeoisie not to be alarmed. The Bonn peace crawl, sponsored by nearly 1,000 organizations and a quarter of the SPD Bundestag (parliament) fraction, called simply for curbing the arms race, East and West, and for "serious" disarmament discussions. The slogans were harmless pacifist jingles, like "Everyone should get Hollanditis" and "Petting not Pershing" missiles. Even most of the self-proclaimed leftist groups present explicitly or implicitly accepted the framework of the Western imperialist alliance. The pro-Moscow Communist Party (DKP), for example, is a prime mover of the so-called Krefeld Appeal which calls on the federal government (i.e., the capitalist state) to

Spartakist

Social democrats denounce "the super powers," TLD declares the main enemy is at home.

"take a position within the alliance" (i.e., NATO) against the nuclear weapons race. The only revolutionary opposition to the imperialist warmongers came from the 70-strong contingent of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—German section of the international Spartacist tendency), which marched under a red banner proclaiming, "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

Social Democracy Calls the Shots

While the Lutheran church got the ball rolling and the DKP acted as waterboy, the main protagonist in the Bonn demonstration was the Social Democratic left wing. Most prominent was Erhard Eppler, the former minister of economic cooperation and loyal member of the SPD presidium. Eppler—a Christian-leftist intellectual, half-pacifist and half-ecologist—is 100 percent pro-NATO. He only objects to "land-based" Pershing missiles, while more militant "left" SPDers call for "reducing" the West German war budget by a billion D-marks. And in case there were any lingering doubts about his anti-Soviet credentials, Eppler proclaimed:

> "The Europeanization begins not only on the Vistula, but also on the Rhine. In other words, a Soviet intervention in Poland would concern us all."

Another theme of the speeches was German nationalism. Trying to sound like a "Third World" demagogue, Eppler railed against the "world powers" (imperialist West Germany isn't one?!) and noted: "Naturally it's in American interests to threaten the centers of European Russia from European soil...." Another SPD "left," former Berlin mayor and now Lutheran pastor Heinrich Albertz, sounded this call even more sharply, saying that under present conditions Germany would be the "target range of the superpowers...and this in conditions of total dependence, without full sovereignty, without a peace treaty, in a divided country." It is this element which gives the "peace movement" a strong echo in the bourgeois parties as well. The SPD's yearning for "détente" reflects the interests of German capital, which is still interested in economically undermining the Soviet bloc (loans to Poland, the giant Siberian natural gas pipeline deal) rather than direct military confrontation. Thus Christian Democratic comments on the Bonn march were notably mild, and CDU top Helmut Kohl recently remarked, "We don't only have conflicting interests with the Soviets, we also have common interests."

The well-publicized divisions within the SPD are in good part a division of labor. While Schmidt tries to soothe Washington's complaints about growing anti-Americanism and neutralism in West Germany, Brandt acts as an elder statesman extending a hand to the youth and Eppler seeks the leadership of a large petty-bourgeois pacifist/ecologist milieu which has up to now been estranged from the SPD. With its reputation as a reform party tarnished after 14 years in bourgeois coalition governments, the economy going badly, the population jittery over Reagan's war drive and SPD votes threatened by "green" and "alternative" slates—the Social Democracy could use some cover on its left flank. In fact, Eppler is doing just what a bourgeois workers party is supposed to do. As Leon Trotsky wrote 50 years ago:

> "The most influential pacifist force is the Social Democracy. In a period of peace it's not stingy with cheap tirades against war. But it remains tied to 'national defense.' That is decisive. Every war, however it may begin, menaces each of the warring nations. The imperialists know in advance that the pacifism of the Social Democracy at the first roar of cannon will be transformed into the most servile patriotism and become the most important reserve for militarism. That is why a most intransigent struggle against pacifism, unmasking its treacherous character, is the very first step on the road toward a revolutionary struggle against war."
>
> —"Declaration to the Antiwar Conference at Amsterdam," *Writings [1932]*

For Class War Against Imperialist War!

Today the "Russian question" is at the center of world politics, from Afghanistan to El Salvador, as Reagan revs up his anti-Soviet war drive. Trotskyists, who stand on the historic achievements of the Russian October Revolution of 1917, and all class-conscious workers must unconditionally defend the social and economic conquests of the Soviet bloc states where capitalism has been overthrown. Thus when former NATO European commander Haig used West Berlin as a platform to launch an anti-Soviet slander campaign, the TLD demonstrated under the banner "Defense of the Soviet Union Begins in Berlin." On October 10, against the imperialist cheers for Solidarność (which has now taken up Radio Free Europe propaganda themes, acting as a company union for the bosses by calling for the International Monetary Fund to control the Polish economy), the TLD carried signs in German and Polish proclaiming, "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" and "Poland Must Not Go Capitalist!"

In contrast, the pseudo-Trotskyist Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM—German section of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat") capitulates to the West German bourgeoisie and its Social-Democratic lieutenants all down the line. In Bonn on October 10, the GIM limited itself to doing donkey work for the Epplers and Albertz, not even raising their own banners. And in the latest issue of their paper (*Was Tun*, 3 October) they perfectly echo the SPD "lefts" counterrevolutionary line on Poland: "The workers movement in the West cannot oppose the reactionary

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Not NBIPP/NBUF But Class Struggle Against Reagan Racism!

Dashiki Democrats: Part of the Problem...

Ben Chavis peddles same old liberal reformism.

WV Photos

"American Dream a Nightmare for Black People," read a sign at the September 19 AFL-CIO mareh in Washington, D.C. And in Reagan's America the nightmare is more and more a living reality. Black unemployment soars higher than ever (two and a half times the rate for whites) and joblessness among minority youth is now over 50 percent. Meanwhile they've closed down CETA jobs programs and eut off unemployment benefits after 26 weeks. They even deliberately set out to reduce the nutritional level of school lunches for ghetto kids by one third (declaring ketchup a vegetable!). And at the 1981 NAACP convention Reagan contemptuously invited blacks to "emancipate" themselves from the "bondage" of big government—by joining in wrecking every social program that ever gave a dime to the poor. It's not just the killer cuts. From Greensboro to Detroit, the race-terrorists are riding in the streets in broad daylight. Reagan's war on blacks, like his war on the labor movement, is the domestic face of the Democratic/Republican anti-Soviet war drive.

While Reagan strikes at the heart of black Americe, black people are leaderless as never before. This was symbolized in last year's elections when NAACP leaders sang "We Shall Overcome" arm in arm with Jimmy "ethnic purity" Carter, and SCLC head Ralph Abernathy embraced KKK-endorsed Ronald Reagan. In the face of Reagan's attacks and Klan terror, the black misleaders sought to channel black anger into harmless apolitical expressions of liberal concern, like wearing green ribbons. They didn't even mobilize for the September 19 "Solidarity Day" march, although one hundred thousand black unionists came anyway. (In 1963 the Meanyite union officialdom, reflecting the racism and job-trusting mentality of a narrow labor aristocracy, turned its back on the civil rights march on Washington.) The official black leadership has led nothing since they led the 1960s mass civil rights movement to a dead end. Thanks to this misleadership, a mass militant movement for black freedom was channeled into reformist pressure for token legal equality and prevented from confronting capitalism.

Their whole strategy has been to tie black struggles to the Democratic Party. But the Democrats long ago bowed to the racist mobs and killed busing as they paved the way for the victory of Reagan racism. Seeing the bankruptcy of traditional black leadership, some newcomers want to try their hand. Currently, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) led by Rev. Ben Chavis (of the Wilmington 10) and the National Black United Front (NBUF) of Rev. Herbert Daughtry are seeking to fill the vacuum. But they aren't so new after all: it turns out that NBIPP was started by those "black elected officials" (BEOs) who were supposed to keep the lid on the inner cities after the '60s explosions and are still trudging down the electoral road (with fewer and fewer posts every year). Daughtry and his NBUF are born-again "community control" hucksters now oriented toward street action as their poverty programs are cut out from under them. Both of these "militant" black pressure groups are nothing but shell games: they lead no struggles, no masses, and don't even have a program. What's needed to liberate oppressed blacks is not phony nationalist rhetoric but united class struggle.

NBIPP: Black Unelected Officials

The National Black Independent Political Party held its "First National Conference" in Chicago, August 21-23. Some 600-plus attended, far smaller than the turnout in Philadelphia last November for what was billed as the NBIPP's "Founding Convention." That meeting broke down in squabbling over a charter, so election of officers and ratification of the document had to be put off to this summer. The Chicago confcrence was hailed by various opportunist leftists, notably the Soeialist Workers Party (SWP), whose *Militant* (4 September) cheered "Black Party Meeting: New Step on Freedom Road," and which is printing the NBIPP charter in installments. The statement does have some radical-sounding verbiage: its preamble opposes "racism, imperialism, sexual oppression and capitalist exploitation." It excoriates the Democrats and Republicans: "Both major parties have betrayed us because their interests conflict with ours." But when it comes to concretes, their attitude toward the Democrats is quite different.

NBIPP is the offspring of the National Black Political Assembly (NBPA), whose 1972 founding convention in Gary, Indiana drew 8,000 participants, featuring Gary mayor Richard Hatcher, Detroit Congressman Charles Diggs and Newark's Imamu Baraka. Its purpose was to eleet black Democrats. Ron Daniels, longtime NBPA leader, made this explieit at the Philadelphia NBIPP convention last year:

> "We tried to lean towards progressive elements in the Democratic Party, such as [Detroit Congressman] Conyers and [California Congressman] Ron Dellums. We have in the past and will always have close working relations with them."
>
> —"Black Party Hoax: No Answer to Reagan Racism," *WV* No. 270, 12 December 1980

Aecording to the *Los Angeles Sentinel* (10 September), Daniels, who was elected NBIPP co-chairman at Chicago, "stressed, however, that the NBIPP is not about the business of eleeting blaeks to public office at this time." If so, it's only for lack of opportunity. This new "indcpendent" party is really a bunch of black *unelected* officials looking for a new game. NBIPP's line was summed up by its banner at the September 19 march, which listed its goals as "Community Organizing, Institutional Development, Electoral Politics."

While various reformist pseudo-socialists are crazy about NBIPP, the feeling's not mutual. The organizers of the faltering black party may have trouble agreeing on a program, but they have unity on one item: "reds" will be tolerated only so long as they don't step out of line. In Philadelphia NBIPP leaders railed against "disrupters" and talked of a loyalty oath to exclude leftists. In Chicago they put up an antired clause which forbade holding elected position in NBIPP while belonging to another politieal party. The motion failed, primarily beeause it wasn't needed—most NBIPPers wouldn't be caught dead voting for a leftist, as Communist Workers Party (CWP) leader Nelson Johnson found out. He ran for national coordinator and was barraged with jeers, demands for his resignation from the CWP and obscene redbaiting about his supposed "bad history"—a referenee to the bloody KKK/Nazi November 1979 massaere of five of his comrades in Greensboro. Johnson finally withdrew. A CWP woman from New York stood a good chance of winning a post until the black nationalist witchhunters asked her, "was she now or had she ever been...."

Of course, none of this stopped the SWP from praising the NBIPP conference as a "historic" event, even while mildly noting that the matter of support to "progressive" Democrats was "left open." A *Militant* (16 October) centerfold, "National Blaek Party, Emerging Leadership in the Struggle for Liberation," by SWPer Mac Warren, enthuses over NBIPP's "radical politics," declaring today's politieal climate "more favorable" and NBIPP leaders "politically more advanced" than the Lowndes County Freedom Organization or the Black Panther Party in the 1960s. What nonsense! In thc first place, NBIPP founders are longtime black *bourgeois* politicians—pork barrel pols with no pork left to dish out. Both the Lowndes

UPI

Sloan/Newsweek

Some choice for black people! 1980 NAACP conference welcomes Jimmy Carter (left); SCLC's Ralph Abernathy jumps on Reagan bandwagon.

County, Alabama group started by SNCC and the Panthers were expressions of radical grassroots discontent going beyond the limits of the liberal civil rights movement. In fact, the SWP's main attack on the Black Panthers was for "ultraleft errors." Nobody could ever accuse NBIPP of *that*. This is an outfit where a candidate for office could cite as a character witness the "honorable" Ron Karenga, whose right-wing cultural nationalist U.S. organization was riddled with FBI provocateurs responsible for the murder of L.A. Black Panthers.

The SWP's burrowing into NBIPP recalls their ill-fated entry into the feminist NOW a few years back. After submerging themselves in that pro-capitalist organization led by Democrat Betty Friedan, they were surprised when all their "loyal building" (and behind-the-scenes maneuvering) only earned them an orgy of redbaiting. The latest fake-lefts to go this route are the centrists of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), who are pushing a "Workers Caucus" and calling on NBIPP to break from the Democrats and Republicans. Given its origins, leadership and program, this black nationalist pressure group can't be anything *but* pro-capitalist. And if the SWP didn't make a squeak against the anti-red clause at the Chicago convention, the RWL went them one better. RWLers at a Detroit regional NBIPP meeting August 7-8 solidarized with the anti-communist exclusion of Spartacist League supporters selling *WV*, during which our comrades were threatened with physical violence.

NBUF: Ocean Hill-Brownsville 12 Years Later

If NBIPP is having trouble getting off the ground, black electoral prospects being none too bright under Reagan, NBUF figures its strong card is to take to the streets. But Daughtry isn't doing much better: the NBUF second national convention, held in Brooklyn July 2-5, attracted 400-500 people, about half what they pulled the year before. The *Guardian* (15 July) praised Daughtry's "electrifying" plenary speech, and the opportunist left usually praises NBUF in the same breath as lauding the NBIPP, in order to cover all their bets. BUF leaders sometimes talk radical, more so than NBIPP: their focus is on a "Unity Against Genocide" campaign, support to "socialist Grenada" and other "Third World" movements. But Daughtry's goal is to be a broker for the Democrats, trading off numbers in the streets for clout in government committees. This was made clear in the NBUF workshop on electoral politics. Even the SWP had to chide them for arguing that "black interest groups or factions should be formed within the Democratic Party" (*Militant*, 24 July).

Daughtry means to be where the action is—and the action can be anything from sitting in to protest the racist closing of Harlem hospitals, to empty speechifying in the smouldering rubble of Miami's Liberty City, to leading reactionary anti-Jewish pogromist marches on synagogues in Brooklyn's Crown Heights. In his home base of New York, Daughtry is looking to put together a bloc of maverick Brooklyn Democrats like state assemblymen Al Vann and Roger Green with establishment black figures like ex-Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton, ex-deputy mayor Basil Paterson and Harlem Congressman Charles Rangel. The latter are frustrated not so much by the cutbacks, which date back to the previous NYC administration when they still had influence, as by the fact that Mayor Ed Koch—a little Reagan on the Hudson—won't even talk to them, much less give them a few crumbs to spread around.

What the BUF is really about is the politics of late-'60s "community control" updated for the '80s. This is the crowd that cut their political teeth helping liberal mayor Lindsay and the Ford Foundation try to bust the 1968 New York teachers strike. Vann, BUF's No. 1 legislative ally today and head of the NY State Assembly's Black and Puerto Rican Caucus, was then a leader of the Afro-American Teachers Organization at Ocean Hill-Brownsville's JHS 271. Vann's cohort was Les Campbell, now known as Jitu Weusi, chief of operations of BUF. Vann and Campbell organized black teachers to cross the picket lines of a crucial strike against an assault on NYC municipal union power (specifically growing out of the forced transfer of United Federation of Teachers stewards by Rhody McCoy's "community" school board). What should have been understood as a simple union-busting drive was clouded for many blacks by nationalist illusions in community control and by UFT leader Albert Shanker's criminal indifference to the needs of the oppressed black population (not to mention the scabbing by various ostensibly "socialist" groups).

Black nationalist demagogue Herbert Daughtry.

Just what were the results for black people of the "community control" hoax? Mainly it paid the salaries of a few upwardly mobile petty-bourgeois administrators like McCoy. Al Vann, who still lets loose a mouthful of demagogy now and then (threatening "it's either ballots or bullets" in the debate over racist NYC city council gerrymandering), is today head of the Assembly committee on child care. And the Daughtry gang is still up to their old games: this September BUF was rallying in front of the Board of Education demanding that Jitu Weusi be appointed principal of Boys and Girls High. But while the capitalists got what they wanted out of the 1968 confrontation between blacks and labor, for ghetto children in Ocean Hill, Brownsville, Bushwick, East New York, etc., the schools and everthing else are *worse* than they were a dozen years ago.

The '68 New York teachers strike brought to a head racial antagonisms which alienated sections of the black population from the labor movement for years. But while the anti-union nationalist demagogues claimed to speak for the "black community," there have always been tens of thousands of black workers who are militant unionists, who recognize in the unions their only defense against capitalist exploitation. One of the striking aspects of the September 19 AFL-CIO march on Washington, perhaps the largest and most integrated demonstration in U.S. history, is that it gave these black workers a chance to show their deep-felt hatred for their racist rulers. But the black misleaders, new and old, and the pro-capitalist labor fakers only seek to divert this anger into the dead ends of liberalism, pseudo-nationalism and reformism.

For Revolutionary Integrationism!

A recent poll reported that blacks are "pessimistic" and "gloomy" about their future in Reagan's America. Big surprise! But what way out are they offered? The people who in '68 were fanning the anti-union flames for Lindsay and the Ford Foundation now bring you NBUF. The gang who wanted to run Newark for Prudential Insurance and Gary for U.S. Steel today offer NBIPP. (And all that the perennial propagandist for "black capitalism," Jesse Jackson, could suggest was that blacks should "go down like a bear and

continued on page 10

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive Success

This year's figures don't tell the story of the 1981 *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. We went over the top with 5114 points nationally, more than 600 more than last year, but for some locals meeting the high quotas was hard. Sub drives of course are always hard work—thousands of hours, lots of miles. But this year was harder, reflecting unprecedented harassment of our canvassers on campus by petty administration bureaucrats as well as some shift in the mood on campus, including avowed Reaganism among a certain number of students. Such a shift was most marked at "backwater" campuses where we had done quite well in previous years. In California, the University of California system was the most fruitful for us, particularly UC Santa Cruz (156 points) as well as Davis (94), San Diego (81) and Berkeley (74). Sonoma State College produced 97 points and Stanford 89. Elsewhere too, the big state schools and some elite private colleges were the best, led by the University of Massachusetts at Amherst (199 points), Rutgers (124), Yale (95) and Michigan State (89).

The sub drive work on campus is important to us as it introduces the Spartacus Youth League to students at the beginning of the semester. But this year, especially given the openness to socialist politics among working people worried about Reagan, we sold a lot of subs through door-to-door sales in working-class and petty-bourgeois communities, lit tables outside supermarkets and so forth. Detroit and Los Angeles actually sold more than half their points off campus this year. Detroit sold 47 points at Ford's River Rouge auto plant, while LA sold 48 at AFL-CIO "Solidarity Day." Chicago sold 105 points door-to-door and 41 from lit tables on the streets. The SF-area locals sold 106 points to trade unionists and 103 on the streets.

We also used the drive to blitz cities where the Spartacist League does not now have an organized presence—e.g., Philadelphia (103 points), Pittsburgh (33) and Washington, D.C. (48). More trail-blazing trips are planned for later this year.

Many of the "at-large" points were subs to SL/U.S. publications sold by the comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada, now in the middle of its *Spartacist/Canada* sub drive.

This year's individual winner was New York's Debbie H. with 78 points. Runner-up was Richie B. (SF) with 77. Honorable mention to Steve R. (Chicago), Jerry A. (NYC), Jeff K. (Berkeley/Oakland), Tom D. (Boston), Gayle (NYC), Janis (NYC) and Mark K. (Chicago) with more than 60 points apiece. Not surprisingly, the comrades involved in the production of *WV* were among the most active in the New York sub drive, despite the heavy demands of periodical production and the new SL pamphlet on Poland.

We welcome our new readers.

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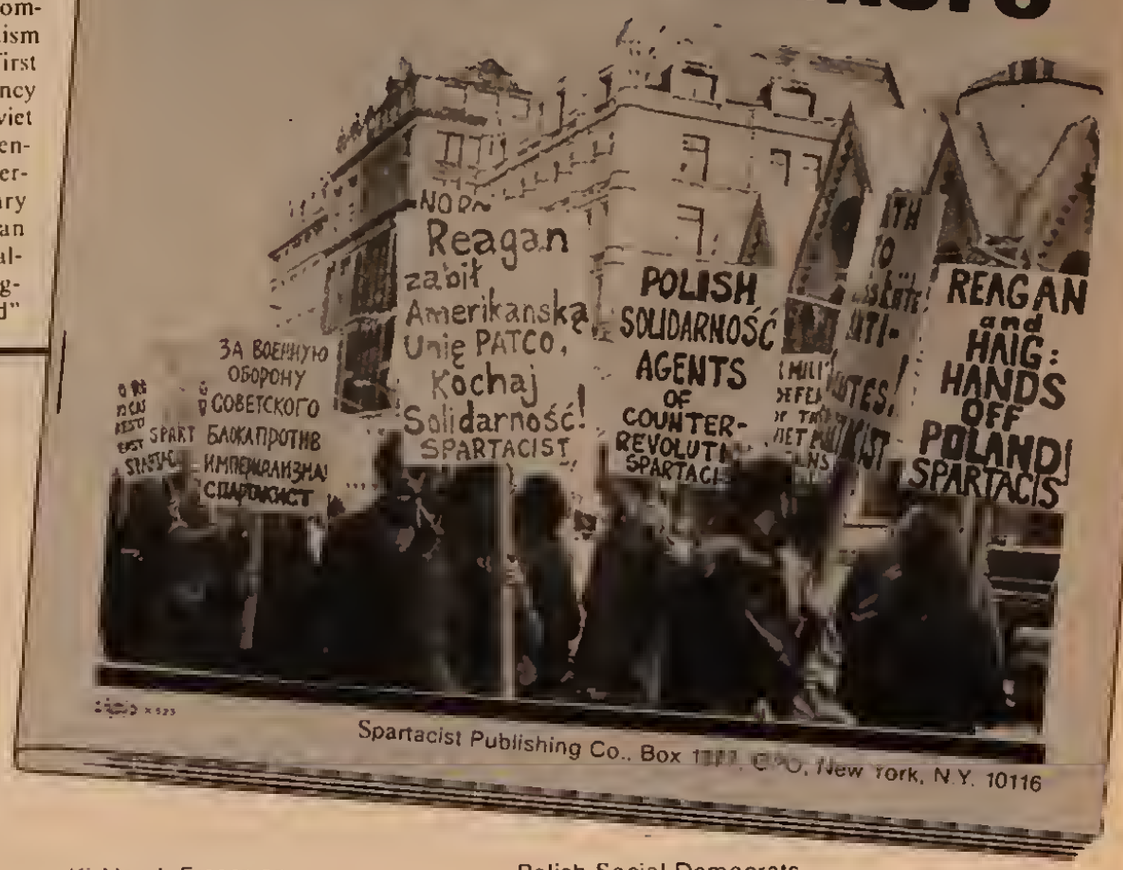

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From the Introduction to the English Edition

As Lech Walesa struts before the Solidarność conference displaying his Madonna lapel pin and boasting how he could easily have secured 90 pereent of the vote, the U.S. imperialists see their revanchist appetites for capitalist restoration in Eastern Europe coming closer and eloser to fruition. And the "crisis of proletarian leadership" described by Trotsky nearly a half-century ago is starkly illuminated in the response of those in Poland and abroad who claim the right to lead the working class.

Stalinism has squandered the socialist and internationalist historic legacy of the Polish workers movement, demoralizing the working class in the face of resurgent Pilsudskiite reaction. The Polish Stalinist bureaucracy, having already mortgaged Poland to the German bankers in the futile hope of buying off its own working elass, now seems paralyzed by Solidarność' bid to sell the country to the imperialists outright. There has emerged in Poland no socialist opposition worthy of the name. And internationally the fake-lefts see in this mortal danger to socialized property in Poland a chance to earn their stars and stripes as a left cover for the social democrats and the pro-capitalist "labor statesmen" who long ago enlisted as junior partners in imperialism's war drive against the Soviet Union. In this the virulently anti-Communist chieftains of the American AFL-CIO show themselves not so different from the ruling Stalinist bureauerats from Moscow to Peking, sellout heads of workers institutions which they are incapable of effectively defending against the class enemy.

Certainly it is not our job to apologize for the Stalinist rulers who have disorganized the Polish economy, capitulated to the church and the smallholding peasantry, lorded it over the working class with bureaucratic privileges which mimic the invidious inequities of capitalist society, alienated the intelligentsia and youth, fostered nationalism and every kind of baekward ideology, not least anti-Semitism, and turned "Communism" into a curse word. There is a blood line—the blood of revolutionaries from Indochina to Spain—which separates us Trotskyists from Stalinism, that "greal organizer of defeats." But it is very much our job to seek to rally the working class in Poland and internationally behind the defensc of historically progressive socialized property in Poland, all the more so since the discredited Stalinists manifestly cannot. The call for "communist unity against imperialism through political revolution," first raised by the Spartacist tendency at the time of the Sino-Soviet split, acquires even greater urgency as the Polish crisis underlines the nced for revolutionary unity of the Polish and Russian workers to defeat U.S. imperialism's bloody designs for bringing Poland into the "free world" as a club against the USSR, military/industrial powerhouse of the deformed workers states.

This pamphlet documents the Spartacist analysis of the unfolding events in Poland. Beginning in [August 1980], we recognized in the Polish upheavals both an opening for revolutionary agitation and an awesome potential for reactionary mobilization based on the Catholic church, the peasant "free market," a "dissident" movement which looks to the capitalist West to "democratize" Eastern Europe. As Solidarność consolidated around an anti-socialist program culminating in the adoption of the slogan of "free trade unions," one of the war cries of Cold War anti-Communism, we counterposed the call for trade unions independent of bureaucratic control and based on a program of defending socialized property. The demands raised in the articles in this pamphlet—for the strict separation of church and state, for the collectivization of agriculture, for the cancellation of Poland's debt to the imperialist bankers, for the military defense of the USSR against imperialism—constitute the programmatic core of the international vanguard party necessary to the revolutionary defense of the working masses of Poland against imperialism and capitalist restoration through political revolution in the deformed workers states and proletarian revolution throughout the capitalist world.

* * * * *

We include as an appendix to this pamphlet extracts from *The Hungarian Revolution*, published by a forerunner of our tendency in 1959. The author, Shane Mage, was one of several left-Shachtmanite youth who became Trotskyists and fused with the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in 1958. "The YSL Right Wing and the 'Crisis of World Stalinism'," included in the 1959 pamphlet, was originally a factional document within the Young Socialist League (YSL), youth group of the tendency headed by Max Shachtman which had split in 1940 from the then-revolutionary SWP to reject the fundamental Trotskyist principle of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism. The Shachtmanite majority's advocacy of "general democratic aims" in the 1956 Hungarian Revolution was an important step toward their liquidation into official American social democracy. It was the Shachtmanites' course toward unification with Norman Thomas' "Cold War socialist" party (which they soon came to dominate) which pushed the YSL left wing of Mage, James Robertson, the wretched Wohlforth and others toward Trotskyism and the SWP.

These young Trotskyists, who were an important section of the founding cadres of the SWP youth group, found themselves again in a rapidly rightward-moving party. Mage was among the comrades who emerged as the SWP's left opposition, were expelled in 1964 and formed the Spartacist League. The Spartacist tendency embodies the Trotskyist program abandoned by the SWP, now a wretchedly reformist formation. Mage himself left revolutionary politics in the 1960s.

Analyzing the potential social bases for counterrevolution in Eastern Europe, Mage observes in "The YSL Right Wing..." that counterrevolutionary parties need not call for nor immediately effect the denationalization of statified industry. Rather, they would subordinate the nationalized industry to the interests of the domestic petty bourgeoisie and international capital. In this Mage was not expressing some idiosyncratic view but was following Trotsky who wrote in 1937: "Should a bourgeois counterrevolution succeed in the USSR, the new government for a lengthy period would have to base itself upon the nationalized economy" ("Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?")

At the same time, Mage insisted that counterrevolution was not what was occurring in Hungary in October-November 1956. The effective organs of power were workers councils which expressed a confused *socialist* consciousness, albeit with syndicalist deviations and "neutralist" illusions, while the clerical-reactionary forces around Cardinal Mindszenty were relatively weak and counterposed. These were crucial considerations for revolutionists in mandating an orientation toward the 1956 Hungarian events as moving in the direction of proletarian political revolution. Mage's polemic thus sharply highlights the Spartacist tendency's line in the present Polish crisis, where the constellation of counterrevolutionary forces which were in Hungary a distinctly subordinate element today wield the upper hand behind the Solidarność "union." That the analytical framework and programmatic criteria advanced by Mage for Hungary 1956 retain their validity in necessitating very different conclusions for Poland today illustrates the power of Trotskyism as the contemporary Leninist guide to revolutionary action.

Mage's writings on Hungary are not without weaknesses. As a subjective revolutionist in transition from Shachtmanism, he at this point retained a softness toward undifferentiated "anti-Stalinism" and the "neutralism" espoused by some of the Hungarian dissidents. Moreover in ruling out support to a Russian intervention no matter what, Mage impermissihly elevated the bourgeois-democratic right of national self-determination above the class question of defense of proletarian state power against capitalist-imperialism.

We include in the appendix a shorter excerpt from "'Truth' and Hungary," Mage's reply to American Stalinist Herbert Aptheker, also taken from the 1959 pamphlet.

8 October 1981

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SL protests Solidarność's NYC office, September 24.

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8 October 1981

WV Photo

Solidarność's NYC office, September 24.

Trotskyists Confront Walesa in Paris

Solidarność Walks Out on the "Internationale"

PARIS, October 20—Polish Solidarność leader Lech Walesa came to Paris last week with something for everyone. For Christians he had a madonna lapel pin and praise for the Virgin Mary. For trade unionists, talk of "self-management" of the factories. For the Stalinists, empty assurances that Warsaw will not leave the Warsaw Pact. And most important, for the bourgeoisie a promise of a free hand in the Polish economy. Already upon his arrival at Charles de Gaulle airport, Walesa declared that Solidarność would act as a "guarantor" of "foreign credit"—that is, for capitalist encroachment and austerity measures demanded by the imperialist bankers. The Mitterrand government, meanwhile, "Socialist" Cold Warriors *par excellence*, is angling to become a privileged intermediary for Solidarność. Foreign minister Cheysson is just back from consultations in Warsaw and Walesa is scheduled to meet here with Prime Minister Mauroy.

On October 14, over 200 journalists crowded into the press office of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to ask Walesa fawning questions and build his image as a globetrotting superstar. Outside, the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF—sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency), was present to protest Polish Solidarity's role as a company union for the CIA and the bankers. But within seconds, even before all our signs were out, French police swooped down to disperse the demonstration. Inside, a reporter for *Le Bolchévik*, newspaper of the LTF, asked what Walesa thought of the attempted demonstration by socialists who say that Solidarność is threatening Poland with a capitalist counterrevolution. Walesa's response was, "I have my opinion, an opinion of love, of course."

Asked again by our reporter about reports in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* (5 October) that Soviet leaders had proposed in secret talks with the Polish church and Solidarność that the Kremlin could be satisfied with a political status for Poland "very close to that of Finland" in return for "internal stability and upholding Poland's alliances," Walesa denied knowledge of such proposals. The third question put by the journalist from *Le Bolchévik* concerned the call by the Solidarność congress for Poland to join the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which imposes draconian austerity conditions, as in Chile. Walesa replied vaguely that Solidarność "accepts everything that could be useful." Another member of the Solidarność delegation was more explicit: "What seems most important to us is control by an international organism. In any case, we are aware that to escape from the crisis, given the current situation in Poland, will mean major sacrifices." Not by the imperialist banks, though.

The Parisian daily press was rather perturbed at the sharp questioning of Walesa by the LTF. *Le Monde* commented the next day that "some of our colleagues seemed determined to make them [Solidarność] admit a secret penchant for capitalism" (bringing in the IMF is a secret?!). But the "far-left" *Libération* was the most acerbic:

> "Meanwhile, outside a little squad of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (international Spartacist tendency) demonstrated against 'Solidarity,' terming it 'an instrument of imperialism' and, without cracking a smile, denouncing its 'Cold War program' of 'free elections' and 'free unions' before calling just as seriously for 'Trotskyist parties' to come to power. May Walesa's god save us from them."

Don't count on it.

Perhaps most revealing was the Solidarność leader's response to a question about democracy. Walesa proclaimed repeatedly that "We are 36 years late in establishing a real democracy." Presumably, then, he would have preferred to have Poland liberated in 1945 not by the Red Army, but by Eisenhower, so that Solidarność could enjoy the "free trade union" status which Reagan accords the American air controllers! Or does Walesa perhaps think that the Polish working class was better off under Nazi occupation or the Pilsudski dictatorship than today? Walesa's hatred for the Soviet Union, and his disdain for the 600,000 Red Army soldiers who died freeing Poland from the murderous Nazi occupation, knows no bounds.

While in France, Lech Walesa has also been visiting the various trade-union federations. For the social-democratic CFDT, "self-management" fans from way back, the Solidarność leader is a hero. However, an incident at a CFDT rally for Walesa caused them considerable embarrassment. According to *Libération*, which the day before had appealed to Walesa's god, at the end of the meeting when the audience began singing the "Internationale," the Polish union delegation objected. A CFDT official hurried over to explain that this was traditional, but to no avail. So in the middle of the international workers anthem, the Solidarność invitees stalked off the platform to general astonishment!

Walesa's visit put the CGT federation, led by the Communist Party (PCF), in a quandary. They well know of the sinister activities of one Irving Brown, for instance, the "AFL-CIO European representative" invited to the Solidarność congress, who after World War II used CIA money to split the then-unitary French labor movement. But now the PCF is part of Mitterrand's popular-front cabinet and the CGT has to toe the line. It was interesting, therefore, to observe their reaction to an LTF leaflet entitled "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" distributed at a CGT reception for Walesa. A Stalinist goon squad was given instructions to drive away the Trotskyists, "gently, don't rough them up." When the goon squad approached the LTF comrades, they got involved in a political discussion, which ended with the leader saying, "Well, I might even agree with you about Poland, but I've got my orders." And so the leafleters were removed, but not before each of the goons took one of our leaflets. ■

W. Germany...

(continued from page 3)

policy of the Soviet bureaucracy by supporting NATO's rearmament drive against the Soviet Union, but only by unconditionally and effectively supporting the struggle of the Polish workers today." Thus the GtM looks to the DGB union federation and SPD, which for years have served as conduits for CIA activities in East Europe, to aid the Solidarność of Lech Walesa, who looks to the pope and the IMF to help establish "free trade unions" in Poland.

In Germany the national question plays an important part in the growing pacifist sentiment. Left Social Democrats, who look to East Germany as a "natural constituency," have indicated interest in reviving Stalin's old proposal for a reunified, bloc-free (non-aligned) no-nuke Germany. That such pipe dreams have influence even in the DDR was shown by a recent open letter to Brezhnev signed by physicist Robert Havemann and 26 other East German dissidents along with some 150 prominent West Germans (mainly SPDers), calling for withdrawal of Russian and American troops from both German states. But any "neutralist" road for Germany is simply a cover for a call to bourgeois counterrevolution in the DDR. The TLD calls instead for *revolutionary reunification* of Germany, through social revolution against capitalism in the West and workers political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy in the East.

The border between the degenerated/deformed workers states and imperialism which runs through Germany is once again becoming a trip-wire for World War III. With more nuclear warheads per square kilometer stored on its territory than anywhere else in the world, with vivid memories of the destruction of the last world war and the certainty that it would be the main "theater" of a Wagnerian nuclear Götterdämmerung, it is no wonder there is a burgeoning "peace" movement in Germany. The Marxists are the only ones with a genuine program to bring about a world without war—not through pacifist illusions in disarmament, but through class struggle against the imperialists. The TLD fights today for the peace program of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg—"The Main Enemy Is At Home"—and for the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution. ■

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Sadat...

(continued from page 1)

Qaddafi's Libya, deemed to be the Near Eastern "surrogate" for the Soviet Union. Recall all the flag-waving militarism two months ago when U.S. Navy fighters shot down two of Qaddafi's Soviet-made planes over Libyan-claimed air spaee: it was as if the U.S. had just won a major battle in World War III.

Why Sadat Won the Nobel "Peace" Prize

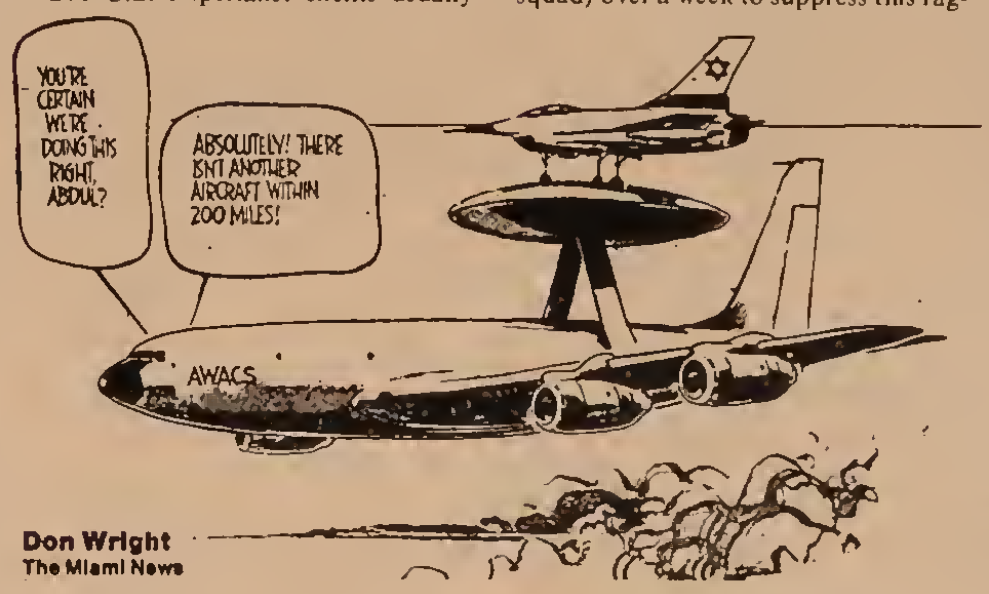
Throughout the Arab world Sadat's assassination was greeted with public jubilation. In Beirut, Palestinians and Lebanese leftists fired their weapons in the air to celebrate his death. "We shake the hand that fired the bullets," proclaimed an aide to PLO head Yasir Arafat. The Palestinians' only regret is that they couldn't go to Egypt to dance on Sadat's grave. By contrast the Western imperialist media are portraying Sadat's assassination as "the tragedy of a peacemaker"—shades of Mahatma Gandhi and the Rev. Martin Luther King. The Zionists lament that the man they considered the only "good Arab" is now a dead Arab. As Alexander Cockburn wrote in his penetrating "Death on the Nile" piece in the *Village Voice* (14-20 October), it would have been more appropriate for Sadat to be buried in Arlington Cemetery. And there is good reason why this consummate imperialist lackey was hated by his own people.

In 1952, then acting as "Nasser's poodle," Sadat gave a newspaper interview in which he praised Adolf Hitler as a great patriot who worked for the good of his people! And after succeding the *rais* (boss) he did a pretty good job of emulating his early idol: jailing leftists, shooting protesting workers, squeezing Egypt's impoverished masses as collateral for IMF loans. In 1977 the workers and poor in Egypt's cities rose up in violent protests against food price increases demanded by the international bankers and imposed by Sadat. "Hero of the crossing," they shouted, referring to Sadat's 1973 foray against the Israelis across the Suez Canal, "where is our breakfast?"

Long before Khomeini came to power in Iran, Sadat tried to put the Koran into the constitution and courts and "Islamify" the universities. He wanted to use the Muslim Brotherhood to intimidate the left. He inflamed sectarian violence between Muslims and Coptic Christians, and recently used that violence as an excuse to round up more than 1,500 opponents. After throwing out 20,000 Soviet military advisers in 1972 in order to fully embrace U.S. imperialism, he rolled out the red carpet for the most hated reactionaries around the globe—from Richard Nixon to the shah of Iran. Although it was apparently Islamic fundamentalists who finally did him in, almost everyone in the Near East would have had a good reason to pull the trigger.

In line with their attempt to revive the short-lived "American century" of the 1950s, Reagan/Haig are trying to put together in the Near East a new version of CENTO, the earlier anti-Soviet alliance which was swept away by the 1958 Iraqi revolution. Sadat's Egypt was to be the pivotal element in the new anti-Soviet "strategic consensus." Sadat did much more than sign a separate peace treaty with Israel in 1979—that merely laid the basis for military cooperation by the U.S. with both Egypt and Israel. Sadat also provided the Pentagon with a much-needed staging base for its Rapid Deployment Force at Ras Banas on the Red Sea. This, together with overflight rights for U.S. war planes, provided the U.S. with invaluable military maneuverability to take over the Persian Gulf region and the strategic oil fields of Saudi Arabia. And Sadat funneled weapons for the Americans to Muslim fanatics fighting the Soviet army and left nationalists in Afghanistan.

But U.S. imperialist clients usually suffer, like Sadat, the enmity of their own people. What now disturbs Pentagon planners is that nobody in Egypt appears strong enough to risk being America's friend. As William Hyland, a top National Security Council official under Nixon and Ford, complained to *Business Week* (19 October): "I'm inclined to be gloomy. I have this feeling that Sadat held Egypt together. Without him, I don't see where the pressure will come from [in Egypt] to stay on the course he set."



Don Wright
The Miami News

From Gunboats to AWACS

So if the pressure can't come from within, it will come from without. Through the "human rights" crusade targeted against the Soviet Union Jimmy Carter sought to overcome the so-called "Vietnam syndrome" against direct U.S. military intervention. Reagan is carrying forward this campaign—every tinpot dictator, the more unpopular and repressive the better, is assured American ships, planes and troops if only he joins the anti-Soviet war drive. In January 1980 Carter asserted that the U.S. would use "any means necessary, including military force" to maintain control over the Persian Gulf region. Reagan has added that he will not permit the feudal monarchy of Saudi Arabia "to be another Iran." The regime of King Khalid will be backed by the full might of the Pentagon against any internal or external threat. U.S. sales of military hardware to the Bedouin sheiks who run Arabia have totaled $34 billion since 1973 and Reagan is now pushing another $8.5 billion arms deal, including the controversial AWACS planes.

The U.S. imperialists once again openly declare that their military forces will go anywhere and bomb anyone to preserve and expand their empire. Thus, it is certainly fitting that Vietnam war criminal Richard Nixon has emerged from the shadows of ignominy to become one of Reagan's top emissaries in the Near East, shuttling from Sadat's funeral to meetings with the Saudi princes and the king of Jordan. And a bipartisan collection of ghosts from the Vietnam War era comes forward to endorse the sale of AWACS to the House of Saud—Melvin Laird, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, Walt Rostow, Henry Kissinger, General Lyman Lemnitzer *et al.* It's rally-round-the-flag time for the "bomb'em back to the stone age" approach to world politics.

Whether or not the Airborne Warning and Control Systems planes are really high-powered military hardware—they didn't report the Israelis' sneak attack on Iraq's nuclear reactor—Reagan/Haig have turned the sale into a symbol of their determination to back to the hilt all their anti-Soviet allies. Yet the ruling-class dispute over AWACS exposes the weaknesses of the U.S. imperialist game plan in the Near East. Everyone knows that the House of Saud has as deep a social base as the late shah of Iran—namely, none. Remember in 1979 a couple dozen Islamic fundamentalists seized the Grand Mosque in Mecca, no less, and it took the Saudi army (aided by a French commando squad) over a week to suppress this rag-tag force! Significant sections of the American ruling class fear that the sophisticated weaponry supplied to Washington's friends in the Near East today will tomorrow fall into the hands of Khomeini's counterparts or, even worse, left nationalists with ties to the Soviet Union. So even Cold War liberal senators like John Glenn have opposed the sale until they get assurances of American control over the planes.

But Haig has been unable to come up with any concrete promises for fear of injuring Saudi pride. Basically imperialism remains stuck with its fragile allies of seedy landlords, second-generation kingdoms, Bedouin sheiks, strutting generals, Muslim mullahs, rabbinical sects and all the other riffraff which prop up the decadent imperialist world order. Complicating this problem is the fact that the various reactionary Near East regimes hate each other. In particular, Israel is supposed to be another important leg of U.S. imperialism's "strategic consensus" in the region. Following Begin's visit to the U.S. in September, Israeli territory is being projected as a "forward facility" for the American Rapid Deployment Force. But, needless to say, U.S. arming of Saudi Arabia does not sit well with Zionist terrorist Begin, who routinely bombs defenseless Palestinians in Lebanon and recently enraged the entire Arab world by bombing an Iraqi nuclear reactor in Baghdad.

U.S. imperialists would like to dismiss the decades-long bloody Arab/Israeli conflict as a petty neighborhood quarrel that can be patched up. But for the Zionists, arms to Saudi Arabia is no joking matter. The American Israel lobby has been working overtime to block the AWACS sale and its clout is very considerable indeed. An unleashed Nixon complained that "if it were not for the intense opposition" of Begin and "parts of the American Jewish community, the sale would go through." Naturally, the Zionist cry babies cried "anti-Semitism." (In Nixon's case they have a point: "Aren't the Chicago Seven all Jews?" he asked about prominent antiwar radicals in 1971.) Nixon's present attack on the Israel lobby, however, expresses far more than personal anti-Semitic prejudices. Significant sections of the American ruling class are prepared to fuel the anti-Semitism of the Moral Majority to push through the AWACS sales and otherwise strengthen their military ties to various Arab regimes.

Down with Reagan's Anti-Soviet War Drive!

It is indeed no easy task to forge an alliance uniting a fanatical Zionist religious government, a tribalist Islamic monarchy, a now shaky pro-Western military dictatorship and the Cold War zealots who run Washington. And this is not the 1950s when the United States was undisputed master of the capitalist world with practically unlimited resources at its disposal. U.S. capitalism's economic decline was signaled by the 1971 abandonment of the gold convertibility of the dollar, yet today Reagan is making financial and military commitments which would have staggered John Foster Dulles. In the Near East alone in addition to the billions going to Egypt, Israel and Saudi Arabia, Reagan is sending millions more to the petty despots of the Sudan and North Yemen.

The Near East today resembles the Balkans before World War I with its complex and ever-changing tangle of nationalist conflicts abetted by the imperialist powers. And in its own way the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union helps preserve the region as a hot bed of reactionary nationalisms—for example, by its criminal support to the murderous Khomeiniite fanatics in Iran. Moscow's "progressive anti-imperialist" clients, such as Ba'athist Syria and the madman Qaddafi, are just as fragile and just as unpopular as Washington's "moderate" clients. Remember it wasn't that long ago that Anwar Sadat himself was the Kremlin's most important ally in the Near East. The weapons Brezhnev & Co. gave to him then are now being used to kill Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan.

But the Stalinists never learn. And Moscow is actually appealing to Sadat's hand-picked successor, Mubarak, to return to the fold. Only implacable class struggle against *all* the capitalist regimes in the region, "progressive" as well as openly reactionary, can liberate the toiling masses. Only a revolutionary Leninist-Trotskyist party, rooted in the working classes of the region, can cut through the nationalist antagonisms to fight for a socialist federation of the Near East.

The conflicts in the Near East today, like those in the Balkans in 1914, can easily trigger a world war. This time, however, it would not be a war between rival imperialist powers, but between U.S. imperialism and the Soviet Union. As the drum roll for World War III grows palpably louder, the workers and oppressed of the world must take a side—the defense of the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state against capitalist-imperialism. World War III can be prevented only by a proletarian revolution which sweeps away the imperialist system, breaks the Soviet Union out of its decades-long isolation and establishes the basis for a worldwide socialist order. ■

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Mullahs...

(continued from page 1)

gives his blessing to the execution of girls as young as nine. "Islam is revived through this bloodshed," says the fanatic. The Mujahedeen report that 12,000 of their followers have been jailed since June, when the IRP brushed aside Bani-Sadr. Significantly, the mullahs' victims are tortured and mutilated by the very same SAVAK sadists who butchered for the shah (80 percent of SAVAKis have reportedly been "rehabilitated"). If the Bastille was torn down in the French bourgeois revolution, Teheran's looming Evin Prison—whose dungeons once swallowed up the shah's political prisoners—has come to symbolize the ayatollahs' "Islamic revolution."

So now many of those who had hailed Khomeini as some kind of "progressive" cry "Betrayal!" It must not be forgotten that the Islamic Mujahedeen, along with petty-bourgeois leftists like the Fedayeen, *helped put Khomeini in power.* They tailed the clerics as Kurdish villages were bombed to rubble, "immodest" women stoned to death, striking workers terrorized at gunpoint, leftists reviled, beaten and killed. It was the international Spartacist tendency that warned, even before Khomeini came to power, that the "Islamic revolution" promised by the mullahs would be just as reactionary as the hated police state of the U.S.-backed shah. But we were alone in raising what for Marxists should have been an obvious slogan: "Down with the shah—Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!" The Mujahedeen and anti-Khomeini left in Iran are now paying a terrible price for bloody repression that in part is of their own making.

But the mullahs are getting badly mauled too. A wave of spectacular assassinations has decimated the upper levels of the IRP. On September 29 five military top brass were killed in an airplane crash. And now the Pasdaran are meeting a hail of lead from the Mujahedeen. For example, on September 27, 150 Mujahedeen assembled near Teheran University and for the next seven hours battled Pasdaran in street-to-street fighting with submachine guns and rocket-propelled grenades. The mullah regime's fate hasn't yet been decided.

Obviously, the key factor is the military. Where the armed forces would fall if the regime went under isn't clear yet. Among the officer corps are many unreconstructed monarchists. Whoever was responsible for the bombings of the IRP headquarters and the prime minister's office was able to pull off an inside job. Bani-Sadr, who took the position of commander in chief to prosecute the war with Iraq, reactionary and chauvinist on both sides, claims to have the allegiance of the military. The Mujahedeen, meanwhile, are reported to have considerable support among the younger officers.

"Ties vs. Turbans"

Bani-Sadr and Rajavi are busy giving interviews predicting Khomeini's downfall in a month and presenting themselves as the sole alternative. Rajavi, as head of the National Council of Resistance, is taking pains to disabuse the media of the notion that the Mujahedeen are leftists in any sense. "We are not Marxists, we are true Muslims." In fact the Mujahedeen are not part of the left. They are a petty-bourgeois populist movement whose founding cadres were drawn from Islamic theological seminaries. Their politics are based on the Koran, they revered the late Ayatollah Taleghani. The Mujahedeen already had their reckoning with would-be "Marxists" in the mid-'70s when they drove out the tendency that went on to form the eclectic-Stalinist Peykar (Struggle) group.

Bani-Sadr and the Mujahedeen speak of a "derailed revolution." While the actual rule of the ayatollahs was certainly not anticipated by the Mujahedeen, their own vision of "Islamic revolution" has nothing in common with socialism and the liberation of the toiling masses. They have been variously (and inaccurately) described as "Islamic Marxists," "liberals" and "leftists." In reality, the Mujahedeen are the consummate political expression of a stratum of Iran's educated petty bourgeoisie and might be characterized as modernizing nationalists, but certainly not radical democrats like Sun Yat-sen or even Atatürk. Their ideology is imbued with religious obscurantism as strong as Khomeini's.

Practically every educated Iranian youth was hostile to the shah's rule, *not* because the workers and peasants were exploited, but because he turned the upper echelons of society—the directors of the nationalized oil company, the diplomatic corps, officer corps, etc.—into his personal clique, whose members rose and fell at the Pahlavis' whim. In most countries of the region petty-bourgeois opposition to a nouveau riche monarchy like the shah's would have found expression in a nationalist-republican military coup, such as that which overthrew Egypt's King Farouk in 1952 and Iraq's Hashemite monarchy in 1958. But through vicious police surveillance and frequent purges the shah managed to prevent successful conspiracy in the military. The would-be Nassers and Kassems in the shah's army were lucky to escape the SAVAK's torture chambers. Thus, the petty-bourgeois opposition to the shah's rule—both modernist and traditionalist—had to go outside the governmental apparatus and mobilize the masses. Here the Shi'ite clergy achieved hegemony, using the established organizational structure of the mosque for mobilizing the backward masses of town and country.

Once the shah fell, the conflict of interest between the modernist and traditionalist sectors of the petty bourgeoisie was bound to come to a head. There was no place in Khomeini's backward-looking theocracy for those with graduate degrees in oil technology, accounting and European languages. In their own way, Western bourgeois journalists recognized the social roots of the conflict between Bani-Sadr's supporters and the fanatical fundamentalists of the IRP when they dubbed it "the ties vs. turbans." In mobilizing their forces behind Bani-Sadr the Mujahedeen are not opportunistically betraying their principles. They see in Bani-Sadr the means of achieving an Iran open to men of their talents—that is, a strong, modernizing, capitalist state, the kind the shah tried, but failed, to build.

So naturally Rajavi stresses that "we must accept—we have accepted—a national bourgeoisie" and that their regime would be "independent" (*International Herald Tribune*, 18 September). This appeal to Western imperialism, particularly the U.S., has not been lost on perceptive bourgeois policy makers, such as former Undersecretary of State George Ball. In an article in the *Washington Post* (19 August) Ball chides the "sloppy" press description of the Mujahedeen as leftists, pointing out that their intention is to "replace the current backward Islamic regime with a modernized Shiite Islam." The military, he adds, "might at almost any time turn against their Islamic masters either to support the Mujahedin or to launch a right-wing coup." Considering the former more likely, Ball argues that "It would be a diplomatic mistake to assume that Moscow could effectively manipulate the group...."

Fedayeen for Bani-Sadr

Of those Iranian pseudo-leftists who supported Khomeini in the beginning, the Fedayeen have been the most dramatically shaken by the course of the "Islamic revolution." The Fedayeen Majority today lines up with the murderous mullahs against the Mujahedeen, while the Fedayeen Minority chants "Death to the Islamic Republic." As for Bani-Sadr, the Minority denounces him as "no better than the Islamic Republican Party" (*Kar* No. 63).

As Khomeini fanatics execute a hundred leftists a day, idiot Stalinist CWP says things couldn't be better.

But despite its present verbal denunciations, when it comes to action the Fedayeen Minority *supports* Bani-Sadr. They took part in the mass rallies called by the Mujahedeen in Teheran last June, whose main slogan was "Muslims arise, Bani-Sadr we support you." In Europe and the U.S., Minority supporters have co-sponsored numerous anti-Khomeini protests together with the Mujahedeen and against other demos which also opposed Bani-Sadr. It wouldn't be surprising for the Minority leadership, having abandoned "the ayatollah that failed," to openly embrace his disciple Bani-Sadr.

Meanwhile, various American left groups have gone off the deep end over Iran. Jerry Tung's eclectic Maoist cult, the Communist Workers Party (CWP), just published a back-page article with the raving banner headline, "Prospects Excellent for Iran's Left" (*Workers Viewpoint*, 23-29 September). And this at a time when Khomeini's executioners are killing 50 to 100 Mujahedeen, Fedayeen Minority and Peykar supporters a day, surpassing even the Salvadoran junta's death squads in ferocity! Moreover, right up in the second paragraph of this crazed article, the CWP feels constrained to polemicize with the SL:

> "The Spartacist League, a Trotskyite sect, 'predicted' the Iranian government backlash. The SL's conclusion, that it was inevitable, is simple enough: this logic basically means the Iranian people should never have stood up to challenge the Shah and U.S. imperialism."

Tung, of course, knows well that in opposing both the butcher shah and the clerical reactionary Khomeini we have repeatedly called for *workers revolution* in Iran. But according to the CWP's warped Stalinist "logic," if you don't tail the mullahs there's nothing to be done. Only for head-in-the-sand cynics to whom communism equals betrayal.

But if the Stalinists find themselves forced to polemicize against Trotskyism in order to defend their treacherous support to Khomeini and Bani-Sadr, they certainly won't find it in the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SWP's *Militant* (11 September) recently ran an editorial denouncing "Terrorism Against Iranian People." But they're not referring to the thousands being mowed down by the mullahs' thugs and executioners; instead they are defending the bloodthirsty clerical killers who met a richly deserved fate, at whoever's hands! While their British comrades of the IMG took a rather different line, declaring that "White Terror Sweeps Iran" (*Socialist Challenge*, 20 August), the SWP-allied Iranian HKE essentially takes the same line as Khomeini, calling the Mujahedeen's acts "indistinguishable" from terrorist attacks by monarchists and "other counterrevolutionary forces tied to imperialism." Though the Mujahedeen could be the shock troops for a military coup, in the present context it is necessary to defend the Mujahedeen against Khomeini's terror.

The common denominator uniting the fake-lefts who still tail Khomeini (Tudeh, Fedayeen Majority, HKE/HVK) and those which now denounce the mullahs (Fedayeen Minority, Peykar) is their slavish adherence to the Menshevik/Stalinist "two-stage" dogma. These groups look to the colonial bourgeoisie as the liberator from imperialism, to which it owes its existence as a class. Of those who have given up on the clerical-reactionary Khomeini, most have linked themselves to Bani-Sadr—who was the transitional figure for the consolidation of the theocratic dictatorship, and who could play a similar role for a pro-imperialist coup. Peykar, which is the most vociferously opposed to its own ruling classes over the Iran/Iraq war, is also the most intransigent exponent of Mao's (and Khomeini's) line on "Soviet imperialism."

Iran provides an emphatic demonstration in the negative of the historic lesson of the Russian Revolution of 1917 for the colonial and ex-colonial countries. This is summed up in Trotsky's program of permanent revolution: achieving democracy and breaking the shackles of imperialist domination is only possible through the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the leader of the subjugated nation, above all its peasant masses. Only a Trotskyist party—fighting for the political independence of the working class, for defense of the social gains of the Russian October and their extension, as in neighboring Afghanistan—can liberate the oppressed Iranian masses. ■

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Don't Let Phone Company Fire Mindy Sankel!

"I Don't Fink on Fellow Workers!"

According to the phone company, you can be suspended, fired and even jailed for refusing to be a stool pigeon for the bosses. Consider the example of Mindy Sankel, a communications technician who was removed from the New York AT&T Long Lines installation where she works and threatened with arrest. The company brought in four burly armed cops to take 4-foot, 11-inch Mindy out of the building. Her "crime"? She wouldn't rat on co-workers.

Sankel belongs to Local 1150 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA). Union leaders advised her to do the fink work "under protest." But 26 of her co-workers, including 12 union stewards, came to her defense with a leaflet that asked, "Would you feel safer working alongside Mindy or someone who finks and 'grieves it'?" *Workers Vanguard* recently interviewed Mindy Sankel:

* * * * *

WV: You were suspended for two weeks by the phone company. Why?

Sankel: I refused to inform and fink on my fellow union members. And because I refused to do it they called in the New York City police to escort me out of the building with the threat of being arrested for criminal trespass!

In September I was put on a job that entailed "flagging" technicians' mistakes for the supervisors. I made clear in the very beginning that I wouldn't do that part of the job. I was told by supervisors throughout the week that I didn't have to do that part of the job. But on Friday, they gave me two choices: either I was going to fink or they were going to get me off the floor. But union members should never turn in other union members. So on Monday, September 21, 50 co-workers escorted me onto the floor. Later I was taken out by a supervisor, three city cops and the head of AT&T security.

WV: How did the union respond to this atrocity?

Sankel: My steward and the chief steward of the building I work in wanted to call a special union meeting so that people would know what happened and to hear from me why I was suspended. But the union officials invoked bylaws—which they've rarely done before—that say 4 percent of the membership of Local 1150 had to sign a petition to get a special union meeting. So the stewards went around, along with other people, and they got 290 signatures, twice as many as they needed.

The meeting took place on October 1. There was no quorum, but there were twice as many people as I've seen come to a union meeting, except for the strike vote meeting last summer. And people wanted to hear what happened to me. They were supportive of my case. But the union officials came out and said that essentially I and every other union member has to do this fink work, and *then* grieve it!

Then there was a regularly scheduled union meeting the following week where a motion was passed in a straw vote (for lack of a quorum) which said, "No union member will do any work that can lead to disciplinary action of any other union member, and Local 1150 will... take action to defend Mindy or any member victimized for refusing to inform on fellow union members." And in addition it was pointed out at this union meeting that there was a circular on union bulletin boards put out by a Cleveland CWA local president which stated that no union member has to do any kind of work that will jeopardize or lead to disciplinary action against any other union member. But the Local 1150 officials decided to ignore this. They basically said that if I get fired they will do nothing except put in a grievance for me.

Cops take Mindy Sankel from NYC telephone offices for refusing to be a company stool pigeon.

Jerry Amato

WV: What happened when your two-week suspension was over?

Sankel: I came back to work, and I got a notice that any further acts of "misconduct" would lead to my dismissal from the company. There was a grievance meeting on my floor that Wednesday. I asked my steward and the chief steward of the building if I could go, and they defended my right to be there. But the plant vice president of the union refused my right to be in my own grievance hearing! Then when the grievance meeting started I saw all the supervisors standing in front of the door like they were waiting for combat—and all I wanted was to go in and hear my own grievance!

In the hearing my steward and the building coordinator came under heavy fire from the company. The company accused my steward of instigating the whole situation and said that everything that happened was his fault. He had also refused to do this same fink work. The O.M. [Operations Manager] told him he didn't have to do it. Technicians don't have to do that kind of work! But in the grievance meeting the supervisors lied about everything, and tried to put the blame mostly on my steward. Now the union officials have basically put *him* in receivership.

WV: You're on final warning now?

Sankel: Yes, any time the company chooses they might fire me. I found out my second liner [supervisor] and his boss put in for my dismissal, but it was vetoed by Labor Relations, probably because they thought I'd win my job back in arbitration. So they put me back on the same job to try to provoke a situation where they could fire me and make it stick.

It seems clear that the union officials don't want to touch this. They don't want to really defend me. But it's not just my job on the line. The phone company wants a precedent that any union member can be forced to fink and inform on other union members and help get them disciplined or fired.

I think it's time for the CWA to get off its knees and fight for its membership. We need a real union. ■

Dashiki Democrats...

(continued from page 5)

not like a rabbit"!) These poverty pimps and dashiki Democrats have no answers to the needs of the black masses. The major issues were barely touched at the NBIPP/NBUF conferences. A real fight for black education begins with defense of busing to desegregate big city schools, North and South. But busing was defeated in the streets of Boston and Louisville by white racist mobs, with the *approval* of the black nationalists who oppose integration because it would cut off their patronage. "Community control" is just another way of saying "separate but equal," and in racist capitalist America "separate" is never "equal."

And what about the fight against racist terror and the Reagan cuts? The reformists talk a lot about "fighting Reaganomics," in order to "stiffen the backbone" of the Democrats. But such pressure tactics won't stop the cutbacks, because they are part of a *bipartisan* program to mobilize the U.S. for war against the Soviet Union. Keeping blacks and workers "in their place" is also part of this drive, and in this climate racist/fascist terror is escalating. NBIPP talks about rooting out racial violence, but says nothing about how to do it; NBUF talks about "community defense." The CP and many black liberals, in turn, still look to the federal government, even under racist Reagan, to "protect" minorities and "ban the Klan." What's needed is not dangerous reliance on the capitalist state, which protects the fascists, nor isolated struggles in the ghettos but a fight to mobilize the strength of the unions in labor/black defense against KKK/Nazi terror. It's not just a question of common enemies, for in America today the unions are the main organizations of black social power.

The interrelation of labor and blacks is key to the American revolution. It can be seen most clearly in Detroit, where black Democratic mayor Coleman Young was recently awarded the NAACP's Springarn Medal after breaking a black city workers strike in order to host the 1980 Republican convention. In 1979, when fascists wanted to "celebrate" their bloody Greensboro massacre, Young tried to ban a protest demo called to stop the race-terrorists' provocation. But the Spartacist League and class-struggle militants in Detroit auto plants organized the successful November 10 Kennedy Square rally where 500 protesters, mainly black, vowed "The Klan Won't Ride in the Motor City!" This was no one-shot deal. A month earlier, the same labor militants at Ford's giant River Rouge plant mobilized the union ranks to drive two KKK-hooded foremen from the plant.

The Rouge Militant Caucus, which grew out of this struggle, is fighting to oust the bureaucrats and replace them with a class-struggle leadership. An RMC slate for UAW Local 600 president and vice president this last spring received 8-10 percent of the total vote. Their program included: sitdowns against plant shutdowns, union/black mobilization to crush Klan/Nazi terror, a workers party to fight for a workers government. And last month Spartacist candidates for city council received 1,700-2,000 votes running on a program of a "Socialist Fight to Defend Labor/Black Detroit." The SL used this platform not to preach phony electoral solutions but to call for "some old-fashioned class struggle, the kind that built the unions in this city." "Let them dare try to close an auto plant when tens of thousands of workers and blacks are massed outside. And the same kind of mass actions can defend our schools, welfare centers, hospitals. A working-class fight to defend Detroit would be felt from here to Washington. And you can bet there won't be any more Klansmen burning crosses in our backyards."

Not illusory "control" of powerless inner-city slums, or a few black faces in high places, but a struggle by black and white workers alike for equal rights, for the massive creation of jobs, for the liberation of the oppressed through socialist revolution—this is the program of revolutionary integrationism. As we wrote in the introduction to our collection of SL documents on the black question, "What Strategy for Black Liberation? Trotskyism vs. Black Nationalism" (*Marxist Bulletin* No. 5 [Revised]):

> "Unlike chattel slavery, wage slavery has placed in the hands of black workers the objective conditions for successful revolt. But this revolt will be successful only if it takes as its target the system of class exploitation, the common enemy of black and white workers. The struggle to win black activists to a proletarian perspective is intimately linked to the fight for a new, multiracial class-struggle leadership of organized labor which can transform the trade unions into a key weapon in the battle against racial oppression.
>
> "Such a leadership must break the grip of the Democratic Party upon both organized labor and the black masses through the fight for working class political independence. As black workers, the most combative element within the U.S. working class, are won to the cause and party of proletarian revolution, they will be in the front ranks of this class-struggle leadership. And it will be these black proletarian fighters who will write the finest pages of 'black history'—the struggle to smash racist, imperialist America and open the road to real freedom for all mankind." ■

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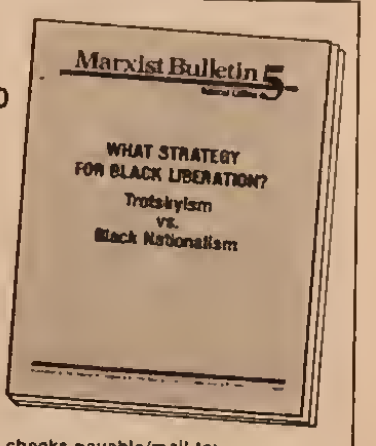

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NYC Transit...

(continued from page 12)

has dubbed the subway system. Editorials shout for more discipline and less pay to "goldbricking" transit workers, who are charged with responsibility for the mess. But the blame rests with Reagan/Koch, whose program calls for smashing the power of the unions *and* letting mass transit go to hell. This not-so-benign neglect has led to a subway system that is not just boiling in summer, freezing in winter, and dirty, crowded and uncomfortable all the time. Riding the subways has become a daily brush with disaster. Collisions and derailments have doubled just in the past year.

So far the primary victims have been transit workers. In July two Local 100 members were killed in subway accidents resulting from TA negligence and "deferred maintenance." When TA boss Simpson tried to blame dead motorman Jesse Cole for a crash caused by faulty signal lights, outraged TWU members quickly circulated a leaflet, signed by more than 150 unionists, saying, "We won't pay for the bosses' transit crisis with our lives! 30,000 TWU brothers and sisters should be at Jesse's funeral." Such a protest walkout would have done more for subway safety than a hundred government investigations. Yet militant action is treated like the plague by the sellout leaders of Local 100. After Jesse Cole's death, the Lawe bureaucracy devoted all its efforts to *preventing* a strong protest.

And a few days after Reagan's wholesale firing of the 12,000 striking air controllers, the Local 100 chief came forward with an offer to abandon the traditional TWU position of "no contract, no work," in favor of binding arbitration. This well-tested lobster trap for labor is the union bureaucrats' recipe for class peace. But this phony peace won't even stall Koch's takeaway offensive. Only militant class struggle can open the way to a decent standard of living and safety conditions for transit workers. The right to strike is indispensable simply to prevent further deterioration of the abominable mess.

For a Class-Struggle Leadership!

However neither of the major slates running against Lawe in the upcoming Local 100 election is capable of or willing to lead a militant fight. The "dissidents" had their chance during the 1980 strike, when they held a majority on the executive board. Besides offering *pro forma* opposition to the sellout, not one of them lifted a finger to prevent Lawe from ramming through the takeaway contract and ending the strike in defeat. Black "dissident" bureaucrats Arnold Cherry and Henry Lewis later took the union to court; their suit supposedly fought Lawe's bureaucratic methods, which they did so little to stop when it counted. Another "reformer," Mike Warren, boasts of "various court cases against the TA and TWU." Whatever the reason, dragging a union into the capitalist courts is a betrayal, union busting pure and simple.

Now Cherry and Lewis are running for Local 100 president and vice president on the Unity Team ticket; Warren heads up a United Reform Slate. Cherry and Warren make the standard promises to do better than the incumbents, but neither says how. Cherry in particular is desperately trying to dissociate himself from any hint of strikes. At the TWU International convention in San Francisco last month, Cherry's Cars and Shops Team voted *for* a resolution to "establish procedures for impartial resolution of collective bargaining" (a/k/a binding arbitration) and to "eliminate" the policy of "no contract, no work." Thus on the main question facing NYC transit workers—the need for militant labor action—Cherry agrees with Lawe. And when it comes to political action against union buster Koch, Cherry and Lawe also see eye to eye on supporting "real Democrat" Frank Barbaro. Barbaro's program to "save" New York is to force unions to sink even more of their pension funds into MAC bonds!

Two TWU members are running in the upcoming elections who say, "What we need is a militant class-struggle leadership that will mobilize the power of this union...." These candidates, Ed Kartsen for president and Dave Brewer for executive board, were among the militants who launched the call for a mass protest over the death of Jesse Cole. After Lawe's proposal to abandon strikes, Kartsen and Brewer fought for the TWU to shut down Koch's showpiece "Train to the Plane" in solidarity with PATCO and in defense of the right to strike.

Kartsen and Brewer's program condemns suing the union: "We'll clean our own house, keep the 'Taylor Law' judges out." They point out that binding arbitration is slow death for the union, and the TWU has the power to smash no-strike laws on the picket lines. "Racist strikebreaking Koch is trying to kick city worker unions to the back of the bus," says their campaign brochure; the "TWU must lead black and white to smash the Reagan/Koch cuts." Unlike Lawe and Cherry, who have endorsed Barbaro for mayor, Kartsen and Brewer call for a "workers party" and for "labor action to bring Reagan to his knees!"

For once TWU members have a clear-cut choice between capitulation and class struggle. The time is long overdue to dump the labor fakers and put the powerhouse of New York unions on the road to winning back instead of giving back. Transit workers have the power: Use it! ■

Smash the Taylor Law!

The widely reprinted photo of a shackled air traffic controller last August served as a dramatic reminder that, in this land of so-called "free trade unions," public workers strikes—and many other labor actions—are illegal. New York City transit workers know this well. After their 1980 strike they each lost about eight days' pay in fines under the no-strike Taylor Law; now the survival of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 is being undermined by a state labor board ruling to deprive it of its dues checkoff.

You don't have to be a Marxist to understand that the outcome of such class struggles is determined by *power*. As the leader of the air controllers, Robert Poli, put it, "The only illegal strike is a strike that fails." And in a letter to the *New York Times* (25 August), one Edward Connell pointed out that public employee strikes like the 1966 New York transit strike are effective when the services denied can't be replaced:

> "Mayor Koch whistled and chirped his way through a few days of the most recent transportation strike before capitulating [sic] to John Lawe because he knew that corporate headquarters would pack off their computers and water coolers and move to the bucolic surroundings of Stamford and Greenwich if their secretaries and stock boys couldn't make it to Manhattan from Queens and Brooklyn every weekday.
> "The right to stop working at one's job needs no defense, and this right can be exercised by a single worker or by an organized group. The air traffic controllers had a basic right to quit the towers. The only mistake made by Patco's Robert Poli and his legal advisers and by the majority of Patco members in an emotional election was one of failing to realize that the F.A.A. had *anticipated* the strike and had *prepared* for the strike for nearly a full year and was able to replace the strikers an instant after the walkout took place....
> "Intellectual debating about the morality or legality of strikes by public employees is an exercise in futility. Such strikes will succeed when the struck public function is (a) essential for the public welfare and (b) cannot be carried on by a substitute organization."

Connell is obviously no enthusiastic partisan of labor, but he does perceive reality. President Carter's attempt to invoke the draconian Taft-Hartley Law against the 1978 coal miners strike was made a dead letter by the miners, who countered, "You can't mine coal with bayonets!" In 1966, TWU president Mike Quill tore up a no-strike injunction and told the judge who issued it to "drop dead in his long black robes!" Today, Reagan brings in thousands of military air controllers to break the PATCO strike. But the army's might can't make the subways run. And when the trains stop, so does Wall Street. As TWU militants say, "America can't run without the New York subways!"

Philadelphia...

(continued from page 12)

Strike! Strike!"

Of course, the bureaucrats deliberately set the date of the action two weeks in advance, obviously intending to use the *threat* of a one-day strike as a pressure tactic on the city. But the American ruling class from Reagan to Philadelphia mayor William Green is out for labor's blood and is unlikely to yield to a mere bluff. A real general strike is much more than a one-day protest action. It is necessary to *mobilize the power* of Philadelphia's organized working class—especially the strategically important transit workers and Teamsters—in a determined struggle against the union-busting austerity drive of which the teachers are only the first target. The AFL-CIO's call for a one-day general strike *must be carried out*, and the strike *must be extended* until the teachers are victorious!

The teachers walked out in early September when Democratic mayor Green (union busting is bipartisan these days) tore up the PFT contract in mid-term by canceling a 10 percent pay raise and laying off 3,500 teachers despite contractual guarantees. But Green did not reckon with the militancy of the PFT, which has struck five times in the past ten years to defend union standards. So predictably the bosses' courts found the union, not the school board or city administration, guilty of violating the contract. One judge ruled that the contract was no longer valid since the city claimed it didn't have the money. Let a working-class family try that defense in court when they can't meet a bank loan!

The union is now being hit with $15,000-a-day fines, plus $250 a day for each union leader for defying a back-to-work order. And judge Edward Bailey has "insisted that the fines must be paid out of the union leaders' own pockets and ruled out the possibility that the fines could be erased by negotiation in eventual settlement" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 18 October).

At the same time, the school board is moving to fire 51 teachers arrested on the picket lines. It is also making an effort to re-open selected schools with scabs. To this end the bosses have tried to divide the teachers along racial lines with the help of scabherders like black city councilman John Street. But the striking teachers, black and white, have remained solid in defense of their union.

The real danger to the striking teachers comes from the labor bureaucrats, who long for "the good old days" when they were welcomed in city hall and could always work out some deal with the Rizzo machine. At the October 18 rally PFT leader John Murray stated that "we have made suggestions to uncaring people in high places in this city" to save "some $100 million" by deferring the teachers' scheduled raises, spreading the ten-month salaries over twelve months and early retirements. National Federation of Teachers head Albert Shanker has intervened in the Philadelphia strike only to say he wanted to be consulted about the "sacrifices" to be made by his members. But Philadelphia's school superintendent has arrogantly rejected all concessions offered by the union tops. He has told them he is out to "get a victory over your union."

In defending themselves against the Reagans and the Greens, the American working class is disarmed by its cowardly, treacherous misleaders. Even when the bosses break their own laws and rip up contracts to attack the unions, the bureaucrats shackle themselves to every anti-labor law from Taft-Hartley on down as an excuse to do nothing. A new class-struggle leadership must be forged. For a real general strike in Philadelphia to bring victory to the teachers union in this important battle! ■

Too Many...

(continued from page 2)

itself "Youth Against War and Fascism." But during the whole weekend, nobody mentioned the fact that the current Reagan war drive has a target: the Soviet Union, which must be defended against the imperialists. As for the fascists, a local band of Hitler lovers, the "SS Action Group," threatened to march on the APC. Although this threat was front-page news in Detroit for the last three days, Congress organizers *never once* referred to the threat of a fascist provocation. *Nor did the various centrist and reformist fakers—RWL, RSL, RCP, FSP,* etc. The WWP/YAWF organizers and the rest of them simply relied on the Detroit cops.

This time the police stopped the fascists. Last time, on August 22, they defended the race-terrorists and set upon a crowd of defenseless anti-fascist protesters with horses and billy clubs. The treacherous popular front, which ties the workers and oppressed to the bourgeois parties and relies on the capitalist state, *will not fight fascism*. As if to prove this fundamental truth, APC sponsor Erma Henderson, Democrat and president of the Detroit City Council, sponsored a motion to give the Nazis an "alternative" marching place. The Marcyites of course didn't want to "embarrass" their Democratic allies, so they kept their lips zipped. Not merely disarming the masses in the face of the fascist danger, they pretend it doesn't exist.

All the News That Fits: The *New York Times* (19 October) published a gushing account of the Congress, reflecting the current bias of the liberal press in favor of anything directed against Reagan. Evidently written on the basis of APC handouts, it fails to even notice the Marcyites. *Workers Vanguard*, however, does get a mention, and our headline denouncing the "All People's Circus: Front for the Democrats." (With an important inaccuracy: the *Times* story claims "a group of Nazis demonstrated for a short time," when in fact they never got near Cobo Hall.) Of course, it's nice to get press coverage when we aren't doing anything more newsworthy than selling our paper. But it's notable that when the Spartacist League holds a politically significant demonstration (like our September 24 protest denouncing Polish Solidarność as counterrevolutionary), *that* is deliberately cut out of their articles by the *Times*' editors. Perhaps that's what they mean by "All the news that fits"... the bourgeoisie's party line. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victory to the Philadelphia Teachers Strike!

Last August Reagan fired 12,000 striking air traffic controllers. Early this month the courts ruled that the strike of 22,000 Philadelphia public school teachers was illegal. Along with their savage cutbacks in social services, the American ruling class is determined to grind down the 20 million public employees in this country. The battle line against the government's union-busting offensive is now drawn in Philadelphia. A victory for labor here can be a big step toward bringing down the Reagan administration through class struggle. What is needed is a *citywide general strike now*!

The AFL-CIO city council has, in fact, placed itself on record for a one-day general strike on October 28 after Philadelphia Federation of Teachers head John Murray spoke at a council meeting on October 14. And when a few days later AFL-CIO president Edward Toohey told a mass strike support rally, "We'll be calling all our unions out to join us that day," the Civic Center resounded with the chant of "Strike!

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"Strike, strike, strike!" was the chant at rally for Philadelphia teachers, October 18.

WV Photo

Stop the Union Busters—Save the Dues Checkoff!

NYC Transit Workers: Defend the Right to Strike!

New York City transit workers are already coming under fire from some of the heavy guns in Ronald Reagan's war on labor. On October 7 the Public Employee Relations Board (PERB) ruled that Local 100 of the Transport Workers Union (TWU) must lose its dues checkoff for a year and a half in punishment for the 11-day April 1980 strike. But that's not enough for Transit Authority president John Simpson, Mayor Ed Koch and the media, who are gearing up to try and break the back of the TWU, the traditional leader of New York's municipal unions. They already tried to take away a paltry 3.6 percent COLA raise, bought with substantial job cuts and other union concessions, which was due under the current contract. NYC transit workers must prepare for a do-or-die battle for the future of the union.

More than a decade ago Local 100 members ranked first in the country in transit worker wages and benefits. The 1966 strike and its aftermath brought substantial wage increases and pension improvements. But the union leaders' refusal to defend these gains the same way they were won—by powerful strike action—led to their gradual erosion. The 1974-76 New York City financial crisis accelerated this decline, as the municipal unions collapsed in the face of a capitalist "austerity" offensive that over the last seven years has drastically cut real wages in transit. Now *all* the TWU leaders want to capitulate to the TA, Koch and Reagan by giving up strikes and relying on binding arbitration! Yet the only way transit workers can beat the escalating attacks is by mobilizing their tremendous power in strike action.

Strikebreaker Koch Targets TWU

With Local 100 elections coming up in December and the contract due at the end of March, it's already clear that none of the factions in the union leadership has a program to meet the threat. Reagan's move to smash the tiny air traffic controllers union (PATCO) has made it "open season" against public workers unions that dare to resist contractual takeaways, such as the Philadelphia teachers. While racist strikebreaker Koch has pampered his cops (whose loyalty he needs to put down ghetto upheavals and labor struggles), he has singled out the 30,000-plus members of the heavily black TWU for the PATCO treatment. He hopes this will set the climate for subsequent negotiations with other unions representing another 150,000 NYC city workers. Besides, strong unions hamper Koch's ability to slash social services to the bone so that working people and minorities pay for the crisis of capitalism.

So every day the newspapers luridly describe the deterioration of the "Doomsday Express," as the *Daily News*

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"Strike! Fight! Strike! Fight!"

WV Photo

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 292 — 6 November 1981

Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!

Reagan Threatens Nuclear War in Europe

Million March in Europe, Reformists Push Pacifism, Patriotism

Ronald Reagan would like to persuade himself and the U.S. populace that it's possible to annihilate the Soviet Union in a nuclear war fought entirely in Europe, specifically Germany, while middle-class white Americans watch it all on their color TV sets (made in Japan). A couple of weeks ago he said as much. Asked by reporters if there could be a "limited exchange of nuclear weapons" between the United States and the USSR, he replied: "I could see where you could have the exchange of tactical weapons against troops in the field without it bringing either one of the major powers to pushing the button" (*New York Times*, 21 October).

The aim of Reagan's massive arms build-up is to achieve first-strike capacity against the Soviet Union. Former CIA deputy director Herbert Scoville made this clear in the *New York Times* (8 October): "President Reagan's decision on the MX missile suggests that the United States is now firmly and publicly embarked on a first-strike nuclear policy." At the same time, in a showdown with Russia he is quite prepared to sacrifice his European imperialist allies to preserve Fortress America.

With Reagan provoking the Soviets all over the globe at every chance he gets, his talk of nuclear war "limited" to their homelands naturally scared the hell out of many Europeans. NATO governments tried to explain away this chilling "nuclear gaffe," but the next weekend up to a million peace marchers, mainly youth, took to the streets of London, Paris, Brussels and Rome. The week before 300,000 marched in Bonn. "No annihilation without representation," said the British. "Ohne uns" (Leave us out of it), said the Germans. "Anything that gets 150,000 on the march has to be taken seriously," commented U.S. war secretary Weinberger, "but it doesn't change the policies of the government." And West Europe will be in the middle of it until the imperialists are swept away by proletarian revolution, or they destroy the world in a wave of mushroom clouds.

These were protests not against the anti-Soviet war drive as such, but against a war which sacrifices Europe: "Euroshima," they called it. Even more than pacifism, the dominant theme was European-centered nationalism. The speeches were almost as aggressively anti-Soviet as anti-American. With retired NATO officers and bourgeois politicians on active duty in the speaker stands, the Euro-"peace" marches were popular fronts for imperialist détente. But while NATO social democrats and domesticated Stalinists appease their "own" bourgeoisies with their anti-"superpowers" posture, the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) drew a class line. "Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union! Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" read iSt banners and signs from London to Rome.

London, Paris, Rome

London: Speaking in Hyde Park on October 25, Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) spokesman E.P. Thompson emphasized his "even-handed" opposition to NATO and the Warsaw Pact, demanding an unconditional halt to deployment of Soviet SS-20 missiles. But Tony Benn best captured the atmosphere of Labourite "little England" chauvinism, demanding "no annihilation without representation" and equating the imperialist U.S. with the Soviet degenerated workers state: "The Poles have had the courage to stand up to the Kremlin. The British people must now have the courage to stand up to the Pentagon and close all nuclear bases here." The pseudo-Trotskyists went along with this nationalist pacifism and pro-NATO "neutralism," but the Spartacist League/Britain chanted: "Thatcher hates British workers—Thatcher hates Russian workers. Defend the workers unions—Defend the workers states!"

Spartacist banners attracted considerable attention. An official attempt to silence the SL/B contingent was defeated as our comrades chanted, "Troops out of Ireland now!" A woman who joined us in an argument with anti-communists declared, "If not for the Soviet Union I would have been killed by the Nazis." Members of the Euro-communist CP and the Kremlin-line New Communist Party sought out our salesmen to buy copies of the new iSt pamphlet, "Solidarność: Poland's Company Union for CIA and Bankers." For "ammunition" in internal discussions, some said. By the end of the day, the SL/B had hardly a single piece of literature left, having sold over 1,200 copies of the latest *Spartacist Britain* and 75 Poland pamphlets.

U.S. Army

UPI

Lance missile, London peace marchers.

Paris: The demonstration in the French capital, called by the Stalinist front group Mouvement pour la Paix, attracted mainly the ranks of the Communist Party (PCF) itself. Simultaneously the Socialist Party, reflecting the Mitterrand government's pro-Reagan stance, condemned "unilateral pacifist sentiment" in Europe. With discontent rising against the popular-front regime, the PCF wanted to cash in on peace sentiment while avoiding a confrontation with their coalition partners. So in order to preserve their governmental respectability, at the last minute the Euro-Stalinists raised a gigantic banner in front of their youth group proclaiming, "Neither Pershings Nor SS-20s." Many Communist Party militants were visibly uncomfortable with their party's shameful anti-Soviet line. The two banners of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) calling for defense of the USSR against the Cold War drive and opposing capitalist restoration in Poland were widely noticed. A number of CPers told us they agreed with our slogans, and by the end of the day 260 pieces of Spartacist

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The Nyack Brinks Job

We Don't Know

Government/Media Launch Weather-Witchhunt

Pomerantz/NY Post

Police fire power in Nyack: their guns are aimed at radicals, blacks, labor militants.

Last week U.S. rulers got their chance (or made it) to go on an "anti-terrorist" rampage on the home front. So far the Reagan gang has been shooting up Salvadoran peasants and shooting down Libyan planes. Now their cops are kicking in doors, brandishing their Uzis and Armalites, ordering dragnets, having high-speed car chases and fatally wounding (murdering) suspects all in the name of law and order. The signal was provided by the October 20 holdup of a Brinks armored truck in the Rockland County, New York suburb of Nanuet. A Brinks guard and two cops were killed in shoot-outs before a van was captured at the Nyack entrance to the NY Thruway. The next day the police revealed that among the arrested were Kathy Boudin, long sought as a leader of the Weather Underground, and Weatherman Judith Clark. Later a second Weather leader, Dave Gilbert, was identified as one of the occupants of a getaway car that didn't get away.

This was the green light for the cops to "bring the war home." A series of lightning raids was staged on a so-called network of safe houses and bomb factories throughout the New York metropolitan area. Whipping up a witchhunt atmosphere, they alleged cross connections of every conceivable and inconceivable sort: to the "May 19th Coalition," the Black Liberation Army, Black Panthers, Republic of New Africa, Puerto Rican FALN—the only ones they left out were that creepy bunch in Philadelphia, MOVE, and the Symbionese Liberation Army. They were officially agnostic on the involvement of a foreign power: as someone observed, the only reason they didn't accuse Libya was that then they'd have the CIA supplying the guns, via Wilson and Terpil. Now heading up their "most wanted" list are BLA leader and ex-Panther Joanne Chesimard (Assata Shakur) and Marilyn Buck, allegedly the BLA "quartermaster."

Within a week the cops had seized Nathaniel Burns, one of the NYC "Panther 21" who has been sought since 1968; Jeff Jones and Eleanor Raskin, prominent Weathermen wanted on an explosives charge from 1979; and Eve Rosahn, who had been arrested in September at an anti-apartheid demonstration at Kennedy Airport. In the most spectacular action, 150 cops, four Air Force SWAT teams using three tanks and two helicopters swooped down on a shack in rural Mississippi to seize Cynthia Boston, described as "minister of information" of the black nationalist RNA. Meanwhile the police worked over their prisoners: Boston was held incommunicado; three of the Nyack prisoners appeared in court with black eyes and bruises they didn't have on the night they were arrested; Nat Burns was beaten to a pulp so that he had to be admitted to the hospital 15 hours after his capture.

For the government it was an all-purpose bust to whip up a "terrorist" frenzy, with the full cooperation of the media. "Unleash" the CIA? The *Wall Street Journal* looked for the hand of Cuba and Russia. Repeal the Freedom of Information Act? The *New York Post* screamed, "Escaped Leader [Chesimard] Had FBI Files in Cell." Even the staid *Times*, which admitted that "no evidence has been put forward for some of the purported connections," played up the story and reported deadpan explanations by officials that "the groups share common purposes, including what one called 'the creation of a socialist state' and 'an end to the United States Government as we know it'." Certainly the authorities derived much satisfaction from the involvement of Kathy Boudin, the better to get her father, Leonard Boudin, one of the foremost civil liberties and political defense attorneys in the nation. Above all, the "red terror" scare around the Nyack robbery is part and parcel of the anti-Soviet war drive internationally and the efforts to reproduce the McCarthyite climate of the 1950s.

Kenneth Walton, deputy director of the New York FBI office and head of a new federal-NYC joint Terrorism Task Force, announced that "we are looking at this as a major racketeering investigation." Why "racketeering"? Because they are using the draconian RICO ("Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations") conspiracy law to round up anyone they claim had the slightest connection with the suspects. This "Untouchables" law has only the vaguest definition of racketeering, permits multiple prosecutions for the same acts, extends the statute of limitations, imposes increased criminal sanctions—lengthy imprisonment, fines—and allows the government to strip defendants of their assets to prevent them from hiring top lawyers. The key court decision declared "the RICO net is woven tightly to trap even the smallest fish," including people who don't even know what the alleged conspiracy is about. RICO has been used to put away Tony Scotto and the Hells Angels; now they want to extend it to political "terrorist organizations."

As the number of suspects grows daily it's clear the Reaganites want to use this case to launch a Weather-witchhunt. Marxists are of course for the complete protection of all the civil rights and liberties of those involved; we strongly protest the vicious beatings, the bonapartist laws, the arrests of unrelated individuals.

What about the Nyack Brinks job itself? It depends. A decade ago at a time when the bulk of the left was trying to wash its hands of the unpopular offshoot of SDS, we wrote: "As with the Panthers, it is the class duty of all radicals and militants to defend the Weathermen" while opposing individual terrorism as a strategy of despair ("Terrorism and Communism," *Spartacist* No. 17-18, August-September 1970). But the Weather Underground has not been heard from since 1975, and many of its former leaders have surfaced. It's quite possible that some ex-Weathermen, long isolated from politics, could have degenerated through linking up with lumpen elements—this was the trajectory of the BLA, for instance. Was this then a political action or a bank robbery for profit? What was

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SL Answers the Wall Street Journal

30 October 1981

The Wall Street Journal
22 Cortland St.
New York, NY 10007

To the editor:

Twice recently the *Wall Street Journal* has referred unmistakably to the international Spartacist tendency insinuating that we are somehow Soviet surrogates and making some ominous implied threats. First, the lead editorial in your 29 September edition complained that when Polish Solidarność opened an office in New York "a respectably-sized group of demonstrators was organized to picket the opening in protest against the American imperialism it allegedly represented." The preceding sentence referred to "broadcasts from the Soviet Union...denouncing Solidarity's American connection." Ergo, the Spartacist League, which called the protest, is parroting the Kremlin line. With this amalgam the *Journal* is saying that anyone who exposes Solidarity's ties to imperialist Cold Warriors and denounces the counterrevolutionary threat behind their "free trade unions, free elections" calls (meaning "free enterprise" and the "free world"), is a Soviet mouthpiece or worse.

In a second instance, a report on the commentary page of the 28 October *Journal* about the ban-the-bomb movement in Britain states: "The Trotskyite group, for example, marched to the London rally under the banner 'Smash NATO and Support the Soviet Union'." It then quotes a Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament organizer dismissing "pockets of old-fashioned pro-Soviet groups." Of course, the notion of Trotskyists, in this case the Spartacist League/Britain, as Kremlin agents is quite ludicrous. Stalin drew the line in blood. And to set the record straight, our banners read "Smash NATO, Defend the Soviet Union." Trotskyists defend the Soviet bloc states against the threat of a restoration of capitalism because the collectivized economy which arose from the October Revolution represents an historic step forward for mankind. We are the most intransigent opponents, however, of the bureaucracy's treacherous policies which endanger those foundations—from mortgaging Poland to Western bankers, to illusions of détente with imperialism to backing Third World despots like Sadat.

But it's not mainly the distortions which bother us—it's the threats that lie behind them. You write that, "Anyone seeking to delegitimize" American labor leaders' fronting for Washington "should be aware of just how serious an attack he is launching." And in case they persist in this "very dirty business," you warn, "they should not be allowed to do so easily." What does the *Journal* have in mind? These are not idle words—for the capitalist class, in whose behalf you write, has at its disposal all the instruments of state repression (courts, cops and more) to carry out such threats. Maybe it's the new executive order to "unleash" the CIA to disrupt American radical organizations. Or perhaps the bill making it illegal to say that Irving Brown, who was invited to the Solidarność conference by Lech Walesa, is a notorious CIA "labor" operative. Or are you suggesting a red purge in the unions to drive out anyone who opposes "solidarity with Solidarność"?

The *Journal* editorial is of a piece with the Cold War witchhunting coming from the Reagan administration, which labels everyone from Salvadoran peasants to Namibian blacks "Soviet terrorists." But Reagan's drive to break the tiny PATCO air controllers union has opened quite a few eyes to the "free trade unions" hoax. And your editorial confirms the unholy alliance of American friends of Solidarność—stretching from Albert Shanker's UFT offices to Langley, Virginia—now blessed by the *Wall Street Journal*, the intrepid defender of the rights of labor the world over. So what, you reply: "How easy it is to make lists of CIA connections..." How easy indeed. There's some dirty work going on here, but it's not the communists who are trying to cover it up.

Sincerely,

Jan Norden
Editor,
Workers Vanguard

Fake-Lefts Support Solidarność Counterrevolution

At its first national conference this September, Polish Solidarność crossed the Rubicon. Taken together, its provocative call for "free trade unions" throughout the Soviet bloc, the demand for "free elections" to a sovereign parliament and the proposal for Poland to join the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), along with the invitations to hardline Cold Warrior AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland and to long-time CIA "labor" operative Irving Brown indicated that Solidarność had consolidated around a counterrevolutionary program. It has become a pro-imperialist Trojan horse within the Soviet-bloc degenerated/deformed workers states. And unlike the Homeric original the danger it represents is quite obvious. A victory for Solidarność will be a victory for Wall Street and the Pentagon, for the Common Market and NATO. As Trotskyists who unconditionally defend revolutionary conquests against the threat of capitalist restoration, we say: Stop Solidarity's counterrevolution!

We naturally expected an outraged response from our opponents who have enlisted in the forces of pro-NATO social democracy. As the Cold War has progressively heated up, the myriad British fake-Trotskyist groups have sunk ever deeper into Labourism, where they vie with each other in enthusiastic cheerleading for Tony Benn. For them support to Solidarność has become as much an instinctive political reflex as it is for Reagan or Mitterrand. Habituated to the NATO social-democratic milieu, Sean Matgamna, Alan Thornett, the International Marxist Group (IMG), et al. support any and every opposition within the Soviet bloc, no matter how reactionary. In their mouths "anti-Stalinism" becomes social-democratic anti-Sovietism and anti-Communism.

Matgamna's *Socialist Organiser* (8 October) quotes lengthy excerpts from our article (*Spartacist/Britain* No. 36, October 1981) *without polemical reply* and then concludes: "These sectarians end up on the side of the Stalinist counter-revolution, against the developing workers' political revolution." In their youth press they dispense with this wishful thinking and state their real position:

> "Even if the demands of Polish workers were 'right-wing,' revolutionary socialists would stand with such a real workers movement, however misguided, against the Russian army's bloodletting."
>
> —*Class Fighter*, July-August

The small centrist Workers Power group is squeezed between the various Labourite pseudo-Trotskyists on their right and the international Spartacist tendency on their left. Where Matgamna/Thornett think communist opposition to Solidarność can be dismissed with a nervous giggle, Workers Power attempts their typical confused polemic against our position ("Spartacist—Cheerleaders for the Kremlin," *Workers Power*, October 1981). True to form, Workers Power is critical of the central leadership of Solidarność. But what Workers Power criticizes Walesa for is *not* that he is a clerical-nationalist and anti-communist, *not* that he calls for American capital to penetrate Poland, *not* that he wants IMF to monitor the Polish economy. No, what Workers Power has against Walesa is that he is too conciliatory toward the Stalinist regime:

> "What matter to the Spartacists that he [Walesa] fought the elections at the second part of the Solidarity congress on a clear platform of conciliation with, and respect for, the Stalinist authorities, that he has an explicit programme for, and record of, collaboration with the authorities."

In this particular criticism of Walesa, Workers Power has a lot of company—all of it bad. A large minority of Solidarność, quite vocal at the congress, also criticized Walesa as too conciliatory to the authorities. The so-called "radical" wing of Solidarity consists of extreme clerical-nationalists, many of whom would welcome the chance to throw Molotov cocktails and shoot Russian soldiers. The *Wall Street Journal* (26 October), a great champion of Polish Solidarność incidentally, estimated that about a hundred of the 800-plus congress delegates were supporters of Leszek Moczulski's Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN). The KPN is an openly anti-communist, Pilsudskiite nationalist organization, which even the *Journal* admits is "tainted by a history of anti-Semitism." If this is not a counterrevolutionary organization, what is? Reportedly it was KPN supporters who pushed through the resolution for "free elections" to the Sejm—not exactly a conciliatory gesture to the Stalinist regime (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 1981).

Since Workers Power opposes Walesa mainly because he is conciliatory to the Stalinists, they would logically line up with the "radicals" of the KPN. If they had a delegate at the Solidarność congress, he would presumably give critical support to Walesa's most vitriolic "radical" opponent, Jan Rulewski, who denounced the "imperialist policy of the Soviet Union" and declared, "This union was not created to make compromises, but to smash the totalitarian system of our country" (*Time*, 12 October). Or perhaps they favor the "radical" head of the Szczecin chapter, Marian Jurczyk, who reportedly said "a couple of gallows would come in handy" for Communist officials who are "traitors to Polish society."

Basically Workers Power *evades* the question of revolution or counterrevolution by *denying* there exists any fundamental conflict between Solidarność and the Stalinist bureaucracy and generally *minimizing* the Polish crisis. Workers Power informs us that:

> "The Solidarity Congress showed clearly that the tendency towards a working class anti-bureaucratic political revolution is, at present, far outweighed by a tendency—articulated in nationalist and Trade Union colours—*towards accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucracy*." [our emphasis]

In this fairy tale Solidarność, the Catholic church and the Stalinist regime are all one big happy (well, not so happy) family. According to Workers Power, the program of Poland's most prominent pro-Western social democrat, Jacek Kuron, "has been embraced as a lifeline and positively advocated by supposedly pro-Kremlin maverick Politburo member Olszowski."

We can safely say that not a single political person in Poland would take seriously Workers Power's rosy picture of Solidarność/Stalinist relations. Not a single political person in Poland thinks that the pro-imperialist social democrat Kuron and the hardline Stalinist Olszowski share a common program for governmental reform. When Olszowski talks about bringing Solidarność and the church into some kind of national

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Lech Walesa pays homage to reactionary Catholic church in Gdansk shipyards. Der Spiegel

From the Horse's Mouth

While fatuous fake-Trotskyists claim that Solidarność is leading a workers political revolution in Poland, we have maintained that behind the rhetoric about "democracy" is the program to restore the capitalist system of "free world" imperialism. Now, in a CBS television interview with Walter Cronkite (broadcast on 2 November), Lech Walesa has come right out and said this in a way that allows no misinterpretation. When Cronkite asked, "Is there any country that you would see as a model for the kind of democracy you'd like to find in Poland?", the Solidarność leader replied:

> **"Quite a lot of things from the States and other countries fit as well.... But, of course, things are better in your country, and generally, your system has passed the test.... You have been achieving democracy and all that for years now."**

Tell that to the air controllers!

WORKERS VANGUARD

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Spartacist League Forum

Time Runs Out in Poland

Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!

Speaker: George Foster
SL Central Committee

Saturday, Nov. 7, 7:30 p.m.
145 Dwinelle Hall
U.C. Berkeley
For more information: (415) 835-1535

BERKELEY

Behind Franco/Mexican Communiqué on El Salvador

Social Democracy: Imperialism's Soft Cop in Central America

La Prensa Gráfica

Ari Mintz

Two faces of FDR leader Guillermo Ungo: With the first "reform" junta, October 1979 (Ungo second from left); shaking hands with Socialist International leader, Willy Brandt, October 1981.

On August 28 the governments of France and Mexico submitted a joint statement on El Salvador to the UN Security Council, declaring that "the alliance of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front [FMLN/FDR] constitutes a representative political force." The declaration urged that "the alliance participate in the establishment of the mechanisms of rapprochement and negotiation necessary to the political solution of the crisis" in El Salvador. The two governments also called for "a new internal order," "restructur[ing] the armed forces" and "authentically free elections." It was the most notable international support to date for a negotiated settlement of the Salvadoran civil war. Predictably, the Franco-Mexican communiqué was seized upon by all the liberals and reformists who refuse to fight for military victory of the leftist insurgents over the bloody U.S.-backed junta.

It was an embarrassment for the Reagan administration. The *New York Times* (29 August) noted: "The Mexican-French statement has made public in a forceful way, officials said, the differences between Washington and some of its closest friends over El Salvador." Secretary of State Haig responded by cynically accusing FMLN guerrillas of engaging in "straight terrorism, the kind of activity which reflects their failure and frustration." Salvadoran junta leader José Napoleón Duarte exclaimed, "This has been the work of Castro." Washington even lined up nine of its Latin American client regimes, most of them military dictatorships, to condemn the statement for interfering in Salvadoran internal affairs. But imperialist liberals were interested. The *New York Times* coyly editorialized: "If France and Mexico are willing to assume the risks of promoting an international settlement, why not let them try?"

The Franco-Mexican declaration became the banner of the leaders of the Salvadoran opposition popular front and their allies. FDR/FMLN spokesman Salvador Samayoa proclaimed it "the most important and significant event since the deepening of the conflict" (*Noticias del Istmo*, 1-15 September). "A momentous event," concurred Nicaraguan Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega (*Barricada*, 30 August). And Fidel Castro lauded it as "a courageous and humanitarian initiative" before the Interparliamentary Union (*Granma*, 15 September). So armed with this "protective umbrella" from some respectable bourgeois governments, the FDR politicians launched a "diplomatic offensive," dispatching their forces to the cocktail circuits of Europe and North America to get other countries to come out for a "political solution" to the Salvadoran conflict.

Influencing the Cold Warrior in the White House, who wants to teach the Kremlin a "bloody lesson" by wiping out the FMLN guerrillas, is another matter altogether. And the FDR diplomats have not met with stunning success: so far they have only managed to sign up Austria, Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the Seychelles Islands. The only tangible support has come from the social democrats. At the end of September former West German chancellor Willy Brandt presided over a meeting of the Socialist International (SI) which endorsed the Franco-Mexican declaration. The governing social democrats of Austria, Denmark, France and Norway are all members of the SI, with which Mexico's perennial capitalist ruling party, the PRI, maintains friendly ties.

So how come the *New York Times*, Fidel Castro, Willy Brandt and the Sandinistas are all nodding in agreement as U.S. allies Mexico and France voice support for the Salvadoran rebels? Is this General Haig's fabled international Soviet terror conspiracy at work?

Hardly. Mexico's José López Portillo and France's François Mitterrand do not differ with Ronald Reagan over whether Central America ought to "go Communist." They're arguing over how to prevent it. European imperialists worry that Reagan's tactics could put the last nails in the coffin of détente. Mexico fears that they could backfire, threatening capitalist rule throughout what it now calls its "natural area of influence." From a different vantage point, this fear is shared by the FDR/FMLN, Nicaragua's FSLN and Castro, who all want to see El Salvador "stabilized" under a reformed capitalist regime. A military victory over the junta would require such a far-reaching struggle that it could spark a social revolution threatening the middle-class political figures of the FDR and provoking the showdown with Yankee imperialism they are vainly trying to avoid.

In the U.S., the former New Leftists of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) have made "Support Franco-Mexican Recognition of FDR-FMLN" their main demand. In France the barricade fighters of '68 are now cheering Mitterrand, who last month discreetly sent Régis Debray to the White House to convince National Security adviser Richard Allen that French policy in Central America is "more realistic." In Mexico "far leftists" who survived the 1968 massacre of Tlatelolco hail the French-Mexican declaration as "an indisputable victory of the Salvadoran Revolution" and call on López Portillo to "follow it up." Whatever their subjective intentions, with their policies of pressuring their capitalist rulers they are supporting the program of liberal "democratic" counterrevolution in Latin America. And that means more rivers of blood shed by the Salvadoran masses who would be cheated out of the victory for which they have fought so heroically.

When U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders visited Nicaragua in August, he warned the Sandinistas that "his government would not tolerate a victory of the left in El Salvador, that they have the means to prevent it and that, in case of need, they would not hesitate to use them" (*Le Monde*, 1 September). The U.S.' European allies have been singing a very different tune. In fact, West German social democrats have sent considerable financial aid to the Salvadoran FDR, whose head, Guillermo Ungo, is a vice president of the Socialist International. *Business Week* (12 January 1981) noted that the already poor relations between Washington and Bonn "will not be helped by aid to leftist insurgents in Central America by the Chancellor's German socialists." More than half a million dollars were raised by left social democrats in West Germany in an appeal for "Arms for El Salvador" to be sent to the FMLN guerrillas.

The social democrats obviously have a very different view from Reagan of Western interests in Latin America. It's absurd to see "a Cuban or a Communist behind every bush," said Socialist International Latin American expert Pierre Schori (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 20 February). And throughout the spring of 1981 the social-democratic international sought to promote a "political settlement" in El Salvador while Reagan was arming the junta. The SI's diplomatic initiatives were spurred by the election in May of François Mitterrand as president of France. In a post-election interview Mitterrand sharply attacked the Reagan/Haig line on Central America:

> "The people of the region want to put an end to the oligarchies that, backed by bloody dictatorships, exploit them and crush them under intolerable conditions.... A tiny part of the population owns almost everything. How is it not possible to understand this popular revolution?... The West would be better advised to help these people rather than force them to exist under the oppressor's boot, because when they cry for help, I would like to know that someone other than Fidel Castro would hear them."
>
> —*New York Times*, 2 July

Have the social democrats, such consummate reformists in Europe, suddenly become raving revolutionaries in Latin America? Far from it. They simply recognize that revolt against the bloody U.S.-backed tyrants is inevitable in Latin America, and it is necessary to go with the tide. Following this line the social democrats created an "International Committee for Defense of the Nicaraguan Revolution," including such luminaries as Brandt, Mitterrand, Sweden's Olaf Palme, Spain's Felipe González and Portugal's Mário Soares, which met in Managua in June pledging to stand with the Sandinistas against counterrevolution. But while they continue to support the Sandinistas (more than $50 million in West German aid to Nicaragua to date and $25 million pledged by Mitterrand's France) the Socialist International's enthusiasm for El Salvador has been cooling noticeably. The British *Latin American Weekly Report* (18 September) quoted a high-ranking German official:

> "We are very exposed in Berlin, and we can't risk recognising the FDR as France and Mexico have done. It's not that we would not like to, just that we have not got the independence to do it."

The social democrats' move into Latin America is relatively recent. To be more specific, it follows directly from their heavy intervention in Portugal during 1974-75. At that time, the German SPD's Friedrich Ebert Foundation funneled millions of Deutschmarks to Mário Soares' Socialist Party in order to head off the threat of socialist revolution. This money financed a massive anti-Communist mobilization including the burning of CP offices. The chairman of the Ebert Foundation commented: "If we had not gotten engaged in Portugal, this front would have been lost" (*Der Spiegel*, 16 April 1979). What he didn't mention was that the social democrats' D-marks were really laundered CIA dollars.

If the SI and the CIA worked hand-in-glove in Portugal, why are they at loggerheads in Central America? In part, this conflict is a reflection of differing interests of the U.S. and West European capitalists. The penetration of the Socialist International in "Uncle Sam's backyard" is in many ways a side effect of the penetration of West German capital in Latin America. But it is not chiefly for reasons of economic competition that Washington and Bonn are at odds over Central America. The sticking point is divergent U.S. and European capitalist interests vis-à-vis

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Expropriate the Bourgeoisie—For a Workers and Peasants Government!

Nicaragua Heads for Showdown

NOVEMBER 3—On October 21, Nicaragua's ruling Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) capped a long period of deteriorating relations with the country's bourgeois opposition by arresting the leaders of the main business organization, the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP), on charges of violating economic emergency laws and mounting a "counterrevolutionary offensive." FSLN leader Daniel Ortega insisted that this step did not mean that the Sandinistas were abandoning their commitment to a "mixed economy" and "political pluralism" (*Barricada*, 22 October). Just to prove it, 24 leaders of the small dissident pro-Kremlin Communist Party (PCN) and its trade-union federation (CAUS) were also rounded up and charged with inciting strikes. To further drive home the point that the FSLN considers their left critics the greater danger, a Sandinista court sentenced three of the businessmen to nine months of public service work—and handed 29-month prison terms to four leftists.

The COSEP gentlemen earned the FSLN's wrath by opposing the national mobilization carried out during the early October "Halcón Vista" (Hawk's Eye) joint naval maneuvers by the U.S. and Honduras. At a mass rally October 9, minister of defense Humberto Ortega told a huge crowd that they should compile lists of "counterrevolutionary elements" for use in case of invasion or other emergency. Right-wingers claimed that Ortega said such elements could be "hanged along the highways" and COSEP spokesmen charged the government with preparing "genocide" against the capitalist class. A few days later they were in jail.

In an official statement, junta member Daniel Ortega tried to justify the arrest of the leftists by saying that they "accused the government and the Sandinista Front of surrendering the country to Latin American and Canadian investors" (*Sintesis Latinoamericana*, 26 October). Two CAUS leaders were arrested as they were leaving the Council of State, from which they had just been expelled for "promoting division in the working class." This bonapartist repression against leftist half-critics of the petty-bourgeois nationalist FSLN regime must be sharply denounced by revolutionary socialists everywhere! Yet the Stalinist fellow-traveling U.S. *Guardian* and the reformist anti-Trotskyist *Militant* support and excuse the arrest of PCN/CAUS militants, a measure aimed at shoring up the crumbling "national unity" with the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie!

Whatever the particular excuse used to jail the COSEP leaders, it has been clear for some time that a showdown between the FSLN and the bourgeois opposition is coming, and sooner rather than later. Two years ago the bulk of the Nicaraguan capitalists felt that life under the rapacious Somoza dynasty was more unbearable than the risks involved in putting the Castro-inspired radical-nationalist FSLN in power. It was a political marriage of convenience that was rocky at best. Now, with the FSLN consolidating a monopoly of power and U.S. imperialism under Reagan applying heavy economic and military pressure on the Sandinistas, many businessmen have gone into increasingly open counterrevolutionary opposition.

Impossible "National Unity"

The Sandinistas' "middle course" is an attempt to steer a path between provoking U.S. military intervention by emulating the Cuban Revolution, and losing their popular support by protecting capitalist interests against the working masses. This attempt to balance between the fundamental class forces is doomed to failure.

Barricada

Sandinista people's militia marches against U.S. intervention.

The danger from the U.S. is quite real. Halcón Vista was a practice run for a blockade or invasion of Nicaragua. U.S. colonel Samuel Dickerson told the Honduran military rulers that the joint military exercises were "a demonstration that the U.S. is willing to give its support to Honduras in a war with Nicaragua" (*Barricada*, 8 October). Then there are the thousands of ex-Somoza guardsmen in camps in Honduras who, no doubt financed by the CIA, stage continual murderous raids into Nicaragua. And the training camps in Florida for a Bay of Pigs-style invasion (see "Sandinista Nicaragua Under Reagan's Guns," *WV* No. 285, 17 July). To meet this threat the FSLN has mobilized the largest army and militia in Central America, well armed and with a fighting spirit incomparably superior to that of the drafted peasant armies of the neighboring dictatorships.

As was the case with Chile under Allende, the U.S. is tightening the screws to "make the economy scream." Reagan has cut off $81.1 million in aid to Nicaragua. As imports fall due to lack of foreign exchange, production is declining and inflation is heading toward 50 percent a year. There have also been threats to embargo Nicaraguan exports, much as Eisenhower did with Cuban sugar. But with some important U.S. allies opposed to this policy of isolating Nicaragua (see accompanying article on facing page), this will not necessarily work. When Reagan cut off wheat sales to the FSLN a few months ago, the Sandinistas were able to obtain "wheat of dignity" not only from the USSR but from Canada, the Common Market and other Western countries. France, West Germany and the Socialist International are still backing the FSLN with money and propaganda in an effort to forestall another Cuba by buying them off.

But American pressure has had a profound impact on the Nicaraguan capitalists, a particularly weak branch-office bourgeoisie for whom ties with the U.S. are all-important. This genuine "fifth column" has the power to throw Nicaragua's economy into chaos. The private sector retains control of 60 percent of the economy, including 75 percent of the crucial agro-export businesses: coffee, cotton, ranching. What they don't have is a real voice in running the country. With no confidence in the FSLN's commitment to a capitalist economy, they have refused to invest, sent capital fleeing to Miami and have been implicated in continual counterrevolutionary plots.

As a result, in order to keep the capitalist economy running, the Sandinistas have channeled fully *80 percent* of all government credit and foreign exchange to private businesses. Nevertheless, the business organ *La Prensa*, with a circulation of 80,000 (far more than the FSLN's *Barricada*), has mounted an ever-more-shrill propaganda campaign against the government, for which it has been shut down half a dozen times in recent months. The church, too, reflects this bourgeois opposition and has tried to turn religious fervor against the FSLN, despite the government's attempt to equally embrace Jesus and Sandino.

From the other side, the FSLN is under increasing pressure from the workers and peasants who rose up in Somoza's final days to put "los muchachos" (the boys) in power. In recent months, the FSLN's own mass-based organizations (Sandinista Defense Committees, Sandinista Youth, Nicaraguan Women's Association, etc.) have repeatedly mobilized to press for a crackdown ("mano dura") against "los contras" (counterrevolutionaries), calling for shutting down *La Prensa*, banning opposition rallies and cheering suggestions of further nationalizations. In conjunction with this campaign, an "economic and social emergency" law was declared last summer, confiscating a few token parcels of land from absentee landlords and taking some businesses from "decapitalizing" capitalists.

Expropriate the Bourgeoisie!

But those emergency measures were directed as much, if not more, against militant trade unionists as at the counterrevolutionary bourgeoisie. The arrest of the CAUS and PCN leaders was hardly the first time that the FSLN has jailed its left-wing critics (see "New Sandinista Jailing of Leftists," *WV* No. 252, 21 March 1980). Yet the tepid reformists of the Communist Party with their Stalinist dogma of "two-stage" revolution have vacillated all over the map, from calling strikes in early 1980 to joining a political front with the FSLN last spring. What worries the Sandinistas is rather that *any* attempt to mobilize the working masses could topple their delicate balancing job.

Referring to leading capitalist politician Alfonso Robelo, junta member Sergio Ramirez warned the bourgeoisie:

> "The private sector is risking its neck. If it refuses to cooperate and things get worse, people would not turn to Robelo for a solution, but would demand something much more radical than the mixed economy now offered by the FSLN. And we would have to be at the head of it. We couldn't allow the Trotskyists to do it for us."
>
> —*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 2 August

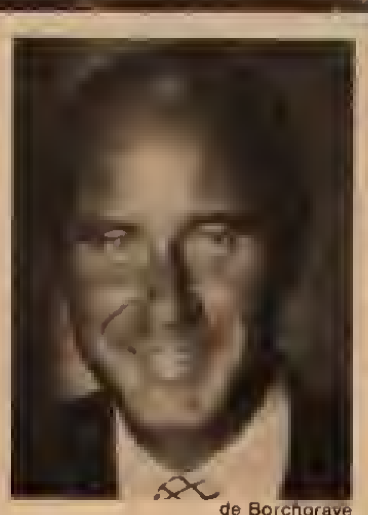
But what is necessary in Nicaragua is precisely what "the Trotskyists" alone call for. And this doesn't refer to the reformist Socialist Workers Party which *condemns* the "ultra-leftist" PCN/CAUS for "appealing to the least politically conscious workers" in defending the right to strike (*Militant*, 6 November). Ramirez may not be an avid reader of *Workers Vanguard*, but he knows instinctively that Trotskyism calls for the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and international socialist revolution. The international Spartacist tendency calls not for pressuring the petty-bourgeois FSLN, but for a Leninist vanguard party to mobilize the exploited masses *independently* of their bonapartist rulers, in establishing soviet power and a workers and peasants government. It is this program of permanent revolution, the heritage of the Russian October Revolution, which the Sandinistas (and reformists everywhere) seek to exorcise.

Even at this late date, as the bulk of the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie goes over to open counterrevolutionary opposition, the Sandinistas vainly seek to maintain a "patriotic front" of all classes. Their response to the escalating provocations emanating from the Reagan administration and its Central American puppets has been essentially military—expand the militias and lock up some oppositionists (while letting the U.S.-backed Robelo go) in order to intimidate the rest. It is possible that the anti-Communist Cold Warriors in Washington may force the Sandinistas to consolidate a bureaucratically deformed workers state on the Cuban model—and the pressures are building rapidly. But this is certainly not the aim of the FSLN, which leaves a powerful weapon in the hands of the bourgeoisie by maintaining and defending (anti-strike laws, etc.) a capitalist "mixed economy."

What's needed in Nicaragua is not a Castro-style Stalinist regime based on the impossible dream of "peaceful coexistence" with its neighboring dictatorships and U.S. imperialism ("socialism in one banana republic"), but a revolutionary mobilization of the oppressed workers and peasants *throughout Central America*. The Sandinistas' refusal to arm the Salvadoran leftist guerrillas is *criminal*. The only real defense against counterrevolution is socialist revolution to liquidate the capitalists within Nicaragua and aid the workers and peasants of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala in overthrowing the strutting caudillos, bloody death squads, banana companies, absentee landlords and Sears & Roebuck affiliates that constitute Central American capitalism. For workers revolution throughout Central America!■

THE SPIKE: CIA'S "DISINFORMATION" MERCENARIES

Crowe



de Borchgrave

Ronald Haeberle

Spike authors Robert Moss (left) and Arnaud de Borchgrave claim the My Lai massacre was a KGB-inspired propaganda hoax.

"International terrorism," said General Haig in his first speech as Secretary of State, "will take the place of human rights as the chief concern of U.S. foreign policy." With this statement the anti-Soviet war drive launched by Carter became more direct, more ideological, more dangerous. A sinister new code vocabulary has spewed out of Washington aimed straight at a Cold War witchhunt: the source of "international terrorism" is the Kremlin, either directly or indirectly through Soviet "surrogates" who are everywhere. Particularly with the counterrevolutionary threat in Poland, these Cold War fanatics aren't satisfied with the New Left "terrorist" profile, less ideologically useful, and are itching for a domestic witchhunt against "pro-Soviet" types.

Who is a "Soviet surrogate"? And what do they do? According to the Reaganites' Newspeak they not only are the instruments of nearly all the terrorist acts in the world and all of the nationalist guerrilla operations (except Afghanistan's Islamic reactionary "freedom fighters"), they're also engaged in a massive propaganda campaign spreading "disinformation" for the Kremlin. The *prima facie* evidence of "disinformation," of course, is opposition to Reagan's Cold War policies. A recent document released by the State Department on October 9 indicates the scope of the Reagan/Haig/CIA "disinformation" thesis:

> "The approaches used by Moscow include control of the press in foreign countries; outright and partial forgeries of documents; use of rumors, insinuation, altered facts and lies; use of international and local front organizations; clandestine operation of radio stations; exploitation of a nation's academic, political, economic and media figures as collaborators to influence policies of the nation."
>
> —*New York Times*, 10 October

Of course, all the charges on this list have been proved...against the CIA.

The administration has tried to produce some hard evidence to back up its "disinformation/terrorism" Soviet conspiracy theory, but thus far they haven't been able to make any of it stick. There was the lying "White Paper" on El Salvador, which even the *Wall Street Journal* shot full of holes. Then Haig was infuriated by a CIA report on "international terrorism" which earned a headline in the *New York Times* (29 March): "Finds Insufficient Evidence of Direct Soviet Role." They tried again. According to the *Times* (18 October) even his own State Department Bureau of Intelligence and Research reported back to the boss that "there was no hard evidence to back up his assertions."

So it's not surprising that Exhibit A for the Soviet "disinformation" prosecution turns out to be a work of fiction, *The Spike* (Crown Publishing, 1980) by Robert Moss and Arnaud de Borchgrave. Its authors claim their book is really true.

While pretending to be about disinformation, *The Spike* itself is a piece of disinformation, packaged as a novel. It is not merely a lie, not even merely a big one. *The Spike* is practically *every* lie worked up by the fringe-right and tailored to suit the designs of these CIA-connected "black propagandists." According to *The Spike*, U.S. imperialism was defeated in Vietnam because of Soviet-controlled media manipulation. The My Lai massacre was faked for the press. The Tet Offensive was really a Viet Cong defeat portrayed as a victory in the media. Watergate and the exposures of CIA/FBI dirty tricks were the work of KGB agents, part of a Communist plan to weaken the internal security of the U.S. The intelligence failures of the CIA are the result of KGB moles in the CIA. The Soviet Union is behind every stone thrown at every right-wing butcher in the world. In *The Spike* even the shah of Iran was brought down by the "bad press" he received. Most importantly, *The Spike* is unabashedly bonapartist in its conclusions and appetites. "Democracy" is a luxury that can be ill-afforded in the all-out war against the Russian "Plan."

The plot of *The Spike* is simple-minded and the real-life models for its composite characters and institutions obvious. As a young antiwar rad/lib at Berkeley in the late 1960s, *Spike* hero Robert Hockney (Warren Hinkle/David Halberstam/Carl Bernstein, later transformed into Robert Moss himself) does a muckraking article on the CIA for *Barricades* magazine (*Ramparts*). He goes on to become an important investigative reporter in Vietnam and later with Watergate is a press conduit in exposing criminal activities of the CIA/FBI. But through a meeting with *Spike*'s bounced counterintelligence chief Nick Flower (James Jesus Angleton), Hockney discovers that nearly everybody involved in the CIA exposures is a KGB agent, mole or mole's dupe.

Through Flower the hero learns that ex-CIA operatives turned CIA opponents like Phil Kreps (Philip Agee) are really KGB agents feeding disinformation to liberal dupes like himself. He learns of "The Plan": "Was it possible that there was some sort of overall plan directed from abroad, to expose the CIA and its secrets—a plan in which Hockney himself might have unwittingly played a part?" Hockney is converted from fond and foolish liberal dupe of Moscow to a figure who resembles the author's advertisement for himself as freedom fighter of the typewriter against the Russian terror network and disinformation plot.

UPI

The real terrorists: CIA-backed junta troops burn bodies of their victims in El Salvador.

"The Plan"

The "evidence" of disinformation that Haig is looking for is put into the mouth of *Spike*'s Soviet spymaster Kramar, who explains "The Plan" to a KGB agent:

> "'We understood,' he continued, 'that, as in judo, the fulfillment of our hopes would depend on exploiting the weaknesses of our opponents. In a democracy, it is very difficult to mobilize support in peacetime for high levels of defense spending, or even for efficient internal security measures, let alone for military intervention in foreign lands. So a key element in The Plan we devised three years ago was to develop our capacity to influence public opinion in the West, through disinformation fed to governments and opinion formers and, above all, through media operations.... You have served The Plan, without perhaps being aware of its full dimensions'."

To stop "The Plan" they need a massive witchhunt without all those cumbersome parliamentary trappings, most of which according to *The Spike* are the product of Russian influence meant to weaken the U.S.

Blueprint for a New McCarthyism

Best-selling lies push Reagan/Haig "evidence" for Soviet "international terrorism." Claire Sterling (below).

Village Voice

The bonapartist theme of the need for a new McCarthyism in the U.S. to meet the "Russian menace" is struck with more primitive force as *The Spike* reaches its climax. And the real-life campaign to strengthen the U.S. secret police, dump the Freedom of Information Act, and get the CIA whistleblowers put away is given a fantastical twist. In a CIA dream sequence set in a "future America," KGB agent Barisov defects and comes to the U.S. to tell all. After Barisov names the names, the president of the United States, Billy Connor (an ineffectual wimp from the South who spends most of his time with a beer-guzzling buddy), demands to know from the CIA/FBI "what you've got in your files on the people this Russian has named." But alas for Uncle Sam he is given the following answer: "Sir, most of our personnel files have been delivered up under the Freedom of Information Act or destroyed to avoid further prosecution of FBI personnel for using illegal methods to gather intelligence." "We just don't have the agents to cover all the bases," the president is told. "Agents have been dismissed. They are demoralized. It's impossible to attract good new recruits."

But the purge goes through under *Spike* senator Seamus "Shame" O'Reilly (a former UN ambassador noted for outraging "Third World" nations with fancy insults à la Daniel Patrick Moynihan), who says with gusto: "If they can't be prosecuted, they can at least be exposed for what they are.... But we're also going to bring in a few laws through Congress to put some teeth back into our internal security setup." O'Reilly spearheads a coup against the president. By threatening to expose Connor's political associates as KGB agents or dupes one and all, O'Reilly gets the lame-duck president to install him as new vice president and to put his fellow mole-hunters into all the top security and military positions.

Thus "The Plan" is foiled by the *Spike* heroes who put U.S. imperialism back on the Cold War/hot war track against the insidious Russians. Hockney joins all the right-wing think-tankers, anti-Soviet Congressmen, Russian defectors, unsullied CIA agents and right-thinking publishers to "clean up the mess." They expose and purge the Russian disinformation plotters, the KGB moles, the penetration agents and dupes. And in *The Spike* these are plentiful, including the vice president, CIA chief, two undersecretaries of state, a host of Congressional aides, and of course liberal editors across America, upon whose spike the "truth" about the Russian disinformation plan has been killed.

The Disinformers

For *Spike* authors Moss and de Borchgrave to make charges of "disinformation" is like Caligula accusing the Christians of sadism, points out Fred Landis in a very interesting article on their careers in *Covert Action* (August-September 1980).

What *The Spike* presents as fiction, Moss and de Borchgrave have tried to offer as news articles from Africa to Latin America to the Mideast. Basically they "see" the Soviets everywhere and then report what they "see." Moss reports uniformed Cubans in Shaba province during the Katangan intervention. When the lie is exposed, he cries *Newsweek* corroboration—the by-line, Arnaud de Borchgrave. Moss writes a 1977 *Daily Telegraph* article supporting racist South Africa, "Moscow's Next Target in Africa"; this is then placed in major newspapers around the world as an advertisement paid for by a mysterious "Club of Ten," a conduit for the apartheid regime. Ex-Nicaraguan dictator Somoza purchases *Visión* magazine to praise him in exile, picking Robert Moss as the perfect editor. De Borchgrave gets two $10,000 Persian rugs from his friend the shah of Iran, thanks to laudatory articles during the dictator's last days on the collapsing Peacock Throne.

But it's not just that they're flamboyantly right-wing journalist-sycophants, as Landis details: "It is the close coordination of disinformation with the other activities that warrants close attention to Moss and de Borchgrave and 'The Spike'." The key question is the uses to which the imperialist secret police put disinformation, its part in the organization of counterrevolutionary terror. Indeed the CIA's plans make liberal use of the sort of disinformation about a "Soviet threat" developed and dished out by Moss and de Borchgrave. It ain't just lies. Landis points to "Moss's central role in forming three intelligence-connected think tanks in Santiago, London and Washington."

Graduates of these think tanks now staff the governments of Chile and Britain and help to run the government of the United States.

Chile: It was in Chile that Moss really got the thrill of power, like *Spike* hero Hockney at novel's end: "...he was exhilarated. He was not merely a witness.... He, Robert Hockney, was helping to change world history. He felt like a surfer-riding, mastering, a tidal wave." Landis reports:

> "The first open call for a *coup* in Chile appeared in March of 1973 on the front page of a CIA-funded magazine, *SEPA*. The cover story read, 'An English Recipe for Chile—Military Control' and was attributed to Robert Moss. The think-tank Moss worked with in Chile, the IGS, was a kind of disloyal opposition.... After the October 1972 truckers' strike, Moss put economists of the IGS in touch with dissident military officers.... The IGS did in fact provide all the civilian members of the military government after the *coup* of September 11, 1973."

Moss's role as counterrevolutionary disinformer did not end with the coup. He is the author of *Chile's Marxist Experiment* (1973) exposed by the *Manchester Guardian* as the product of a CIA propaganda front organization, the now-defunct Forum World Features headed by Brian Crozier. According to Landis the CIA determined the content of the book, picked Moss to write it, paid for his trip to Chile, "supervised the writing down to the last draft" and even picked the title. The *Guardian* (26 December 1977) reported: "Ten thousand copies of the books—worth £55,000—were then purchased by the Chilean military junta to be given away as part of a propaganda package."

Although Pinochet and his generals hardly needed much prodding from the CIA to make their coup, nonetheless the destabilization/disinformation campaign, in which Moss played such a central part, did its part. *This* is Moss's glorious "success," a piece of disinformation bound up with one of the most terrible counterrevolutionary actions of the past quarter century.

Britain: After Moss's heady adventures in Chile, Landis reports, the disinformation mercenary "became a speech-writer for a then little-known member of Parliament, Margaret Thatcher. Moss wrote her speech attacking the 'Sovietization of Britain,' which gave Mrs. Thatcher the nickname 'the Iron Lady.' Moss became a leading light in the Institute for the Study of Conflict. Like IGS, ISC served as a way of bringing CIA journalists and military officers together. Moss founded and became the president of a British version of the Chilean Comando de Acción Gremial, the National Association for Freedom.... The leaders of the NAFF then formed themselves into Conservative Shadow Cabinet that is today the Conservative government." Moss, along with his mentor and long-time CIA-contract agent Brian Crozier also served as advisers at a British school for troops going to Northern Ireland, teaching them they were really fighting the "Soviet threat."

Spike Goes to Washington

Disinformation is for the CIA a central part of its activities and its budget, intricately connected to its counterrevolutionary action programs. One analyst of Agency operations argues that the CIA has spent more money gathering and disseminating "news" than all the major international news services combined. The technique of the pre-emptive big lie is simple: accuse the enemy of what you are plotting yourself. *The Spike*'s thesis that the KGB is engaged in massive "disinformation plots" around the world is exactly what the CIA/FBI were exposed as doing during the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence hearings in 1975-76.

It was the CIA that "contaminated" the news, as U.S. media picked up CIA disinformation—"propaganda fallout"—from foreign sources. The FBI's domestic disinformation—COINTELPRO and its smear campaign against Martin Luther King—were widely retailed by what the Church Committee described as "cooperative news sources." The CIA owned or subsidized directly over 50 newspapers, radio stations, and magazines, both abroad and in the U.S., revealed the *New York Times* (25 December 1977), while reporter Carl Bernstein of Watergate fame estimated that over 400 journalists were collaborating with the CIA (*Rolling Stone*, October 1977). As for *Spike* authors Moss and de Borchgrave, they are two of the biggest freelance disinformation mercenaries around.

The Spike is important not as a piece of fiction, but as a masterwork of "black propaganda." In one book Moss and de Borchgrave synthesize all the major anti-Soviet themes developed by the right-wing think tanks over the past five or six years. It is important because it has become the gospel of the New Right and every CIA-influenced newspaper. It was released last year in five countries simultaneously to a splashy publicity campaign including full-page ads in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. Important because it reveals the deep yearning for an American bonapartism to meet the Russian "menace" in a growing and influential sector of the bourgeoisie. Perhaps what is most important about *The Spike* is that this outrageous big lie is so close to governmental policy.

Some intimations of domestic McCarthyism to go along with Cold War II are already in the works. Indeed, Reagan and Haig have already instituted the first steps of the *Spike* Plan. Convicted FBI/CIA agents have been pardoned. Philip Agee's passport has been revoked. The Freedom of Information Act gate is being cranked shut. Bills to authorize the CIA to infiltrate domestic left groups are being pushed by the White House. And a new baby HUAC is stirring in Congress.

Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on "Terrorism and Security," is a true believer in the *Spike* scenario. The opening hearing of his committee this spring heard Arnaud de Borchgrave explain the Soviets really do have a master plan to take over the West through "above all, manipulation of the Western media." Another opening witness in the Denton hearings was Claire Sterling, whose book *The Terror Network* (Reader's Digest Press, 1981) is the other literary pillar upon which Haig's house of "international terrorism" is built. Hers is supposed to be a work of non-fiction, but its "proof" of Soviet evil-doing proves to be a mix of outright lies, innuendo and selective coincidence.

Sterling's deep throat for the evidence of a Soviet masterplot, her single piece of "hard" evidence, is General Jan Sejna. Sejna, who defected from Czechoslovakia in 1968 (one step ahead of a corruption investigation, according to Jiri Pelikan), apparently took *twelve years* to recall his information, in a conversation with "an American writer in 1980." This American writer was one Dr. Michael Ledeen, of the Georgetown Institute of Strategic Studies, another *Spike* "witchhunter" who spun his Soviet conspiracy theories for the Denton committee. While Moss didn't appear before Denton he did his bit by sending out a fundraising letter for "Accuracy in Media" (a right-wing pressure group funded, among others, by the Mellon Foundation and Mobil Oil), which stated:

> "One of the biggest stories I have come across...is the story of how our news media have been used by the Soviet KGB and its satellite intelligence services to manipulate public opinion in the West in order to achieve Moscow's expansionist objectives."

In response, *Washington Post* columnist Stephen Rosenfeld angrily accused Moss and de Borchgrave of McCarthyite smear tactics, making

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The Spike...

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blanket accusations against all journalists as being guilty until proved innocent, and indignantly saying they should "name some names"—if they had any. De Borchgrave ripped back with poisonous coyness: "Does [Rosenfeld] really want to trigger a witchhunt and revive McCarthyism?" (*Washington Post*, 14 April). No—but Denton, de Borchgrave & Co. sure want to. So far the Denton Committee hasn't gotten around to publicly "naming names," but its purpose is clear: to create an atmosphere of intimidation and fear, to broadly smear everyone opposed to Reagan/Haig's policies as potentially KGB agents or terrorists.

Who Lost Vietnam?

The Spike is part of a wider attempt by the far right to gear up the U.S. for the anti-Soviet war drive. They recognize that particularly Americans who came of political age during the Vietnam War era have little or no positive ideological commitment to the imperialist war offensive. But the *Spike* "cure" for the "Vietnam syndrome" is not Jimmy Carter's "human rights" moral rearmament which paved the way for Reagan. It is a widespread and effective witchhunt aimed not so much at convincing opponents as silencing them through intimidation. The arguments and psy-war techniques employed by *Spike* authors serve to justify such a proposed witchhunt and orient its propaganda troops to soften up the enemy for the main blow. It is in this context of a bonapartist solution to the Vietnam syndrome that the *Spike* thesis of disinformation and its attack on the media must be understood.

The defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam is the central fact that haunts the entire bourgeoisie and remains a point of dispute over the decline of U.S. imperialist power. Anti-Reagan liberals are quick to point out that anti-Soviet warmongering by itself will not bring back the "American Century." But the fringe right has its own version of this defeat for U.S. imperialism. During the war they argued that the U.S. was prevented from winning by a pusillanimous official policy which amounted to capitulating to the Soviets. The New Right has formed a "who lost Vietnam?" lobby pushing a "stab in the back" line against the defeatist bourgeoisie, particularly the liberal media. This they now claim is the cause of the decline in U.S. power. Their thesis is that the U.S. won the war in Southeast Asia, but lost it at home, on TV.

It was a simple step through the Cold War looking glass to offer the *Spike* thesis, one of the favorite paranoid themes of the far right: the media controls public opinion and the KGB controls the media. The "Vietnam lobby" joins the cause of right-wing populists generally who have for years railed against their special villains—the "Jewish controlled media" of the "Eastern Establishment." The *Spike* bonapartists view the media as a considerable obstacle in the molding of public opinion to make the sacrifices for a nuclear World War III with Russia. This is despite the fact that the media has remained an ardent defender of imperialist policy. The liberal media was quick to suppress the truth about the Bay of Pigs invasion, for example. But they favored a different strategy for imperialism over Vietnam.

The psychological target of *Spike* is the liberal dupe who plays into the hands of the Russians. Robert Hockney is converted from anti-war rad-lib to a rightwinger along the Damascus road of anti-Soviet conspiracy. Hockney, who was an alienated "unconscious traitor" at the beginning of the novel, returns home at the end to the comfort of his military family, his class, his country. He marries the proper woman and has the KGB defector as his best man. As *The Spike* ends the reader is to assume they all live happily ever after fighting Soviet conspiracies. It is interesting to note in this regard that Claire Sterling also cultivates a posture of the liberal who became convinced by the "evidence" of Soviet-backed "international terrorism."

The *Spike*ites write about conversion and contrition, but this is merely their soft-cop program. They need a witchhunt of the "pro-Soviet" elements in America and they want it soon. But to dream of the post-World War II period of loyalty oaths, McCarthy, Un-American Committees and Dulles "rollback" is not the same as getting it. The Vietnam syndrome is by no means cured as the recent protests over El Salvador demonstrate. And while anti-Sovietism is widespread, it is passive, without national sentiment to sacrifice for Reagan's anti-Soviet crusade, nor for a McCarthyite witchhunt in the unions. In fact the Reagan regime has a narrow base for its policies, and it is getting narrower as the working class sees more clearly that they have an enemy in the White House. Nevertheless the *Spike*-right has The Plan, and as Reagan pursues his anti-Soviet war drive, their blueprint for a witchhunt becomes more ominous.

U.S. bonapartism will not come via TV or through media clean-ups. The *Spike*ites can accomplish their goal only on the field of class battle where they can be beaten. Unlike the view held by the far right and social-patriotic reformists, U.S. imperialism wasn't defeated in Vietnam on TV or in marches up Pennsylvania Avenue, but in the rice paddies, tunnels and cities of Southeast Asia. It is the truth of the class struggle, the heroism of workers and peasants fighting against their oppressors which most frightens the authors of *The Spike* and the bourgeoisie. And it is this truth which offers the basis for the fight to defeat the anti-Soviet warmongers from Kennedy to Reagan/Haig and their disinformation mercenaries. ■

Europe...

(continued from page 1)

literature had been sold by LTF comrades.

Rome: In order to prove its Eurocommunist "independence" of the Kremlin (and subservience to NATO), the Italian Communist Party (PCI) has participated only half-heartedly in the European peace marches of the last year. Consequently the turnout of over 400,000 in Rome for the October 25 disarmament march caused general surprise. While the PCI controlled the march (in contrast to northern Europe where the social democrats are predominant), demonstration organizers carried a manifesto "against all armaments systems in Europe, East and West" to both U.S. and Soviet embassies. Sectors of the PCI, notably the so-called "Afghans," were disturbed by this "even-handed" policy and pleased to see someone standing for defense of the USSR, even if it was the Trotskyists. Despite the modest size of the Lega Trotskysta d'Italia, our comrades sold some 400 copies of the Spartacist Italian-language pamphlet on Poland at the Rome and Milano demonstrations.

Class Struggle Against Imperialist War

Contrary to the propaganda of Reaganite U.S. imperialism, the West European "peace" movement is not "soft on Russia." The leading social-democratic "pacifists"—Tony Benn in Britain, Erhard Eppler in West Germany—aren't even proposing to leave NATO and go neutral. They oppose Reagan's Cold War military strategy, not his basic aim to roll back the historic gains of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution by reconquering the Soviet Union for capitalism. Given the existing military balance of forces, the "NATO reformists" prefer to undermine the Soviet-bloc degenerated/deformed workers states and to encourage *internal* counterrevolutionary forces such as have erupted in Poland in and around Solidarność. Thus in one sense this European "neutralist" sentiment, despite leftist overtones, reflects *inter-imperialist* conflicts of interest. This accounts for its nationalistic—anti-American and anti-Soviet—character.

While sectors of the West European bourgeoisies have real differences with the Third World Warmonger in the White House, they also have a clear sense of the limits of these differences—which they impart in no uncertain terms to the organizers of the "peace" movement. Unilateral disarmament, ban-the-bomb, petting not Pershings—all this is fine, they say, but the line must be drawn at defense of the Soviet Union. And because the Spartacist tendency does not flinch in its class duty to defend the deformed workers states, we have been singled out for denunciation, out of all proportion to our relative political weight on the left.

Thus the London *Times* of 24 October, on the eve of the Hyde Park anti-nuke demonstration, spent fully *one third* of its article on the CND warning against the Spartacist spectre:

> "One possible source of trouble is the intended participation of the Spartacist group, which has called for a Soviet invasion of Poland to suppress the Solidarity movement. The Spartacists intend to march under banners saying, 'Smash NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!' and 'Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution!' Monsignor Bruce Kent, general secretary of the CND, said yesterday, 'Ours is a peace march and the Spartacists are no part of CND. Indeed they are usually extremely disruptive. We are not capable physically of excluding anyone, but if they come anywhere near a breach of the peace this will be for the police to deal with.' Monsignor Kent said the police had cordoned the Spartacists off from a CND demonstration outside Chatham House earlier this week...."

In other words, after slandering us as "disrupters" and distorting our position on Poland, the oh-so-peaceful CND spokesman threatens to call out the cops against leftists.

Reporting afterwards on the Saturday demonstration, the *Sunday Telegraph* (25 October) denounced "political splinter groups," in particular "members of the American founded pro-Soviet Spartacist group [which] attached themselves to the column." And as far away as West Germany the conservative *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (26 October) referred to the presence in the London protest of the "group of 'Soviet-Spartacists' founded by Americans."

As the anti-Vietnam War protests grew in the United States during the late 1960s, Democratic Party "doves" moved in to ensure that "the movement" stayed within the bounds of bourgeois pressure politics. Demonstrators were urged to be "clean for Gene" McCarthy and other capitalist "peace" candidates rather than fighting imperialism. Today the European imperialists are forcefully and unambiguously calling on the new "disarmament" movement to exclude communists who defend the Soviet Union. Their aim is to protect capitalism by witchhunting anyone who stands for a Leninist policy of *class* struggle against imperialist war.

In Britain the Eurocommunist turncoats flaunt their pathetic nationalism ("Defend Britain—Ban the Bomb") while unreconstructed Brezhnevites demand "Détente not Destruction" in the face of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. The gutless French Euro-Stalinists, while hailing the Gaullist *force de frappe*, oppose Russian missiles which stand guard against imperialist nuclear holocaust. The nationalist logic of Stalin's "socialism in one country" leads his epigones to abandon any pretense of defending the conquests of the October Revolution. The Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, proclaim their proletarian internationalism: for unconditional defense of the deformed workers states, for communist unity against imperialism through proletarian political revolution from Moscow to Peking! Our comrades of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands protested the visit of warmonger Haig with the slogan "Defense of the Soviet Union Begins in Berlin!" In Paris we proclaimed: "Down with Mitterrand's Force de Frappe—Détente Is a Criminal Illusion." And against the threat of capitalist restoration in Poland we declare: "Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" As the social-patriots push "neutralist" rhetoric as a cover for refusal to oppose the militarism of their "own" bourgeoisies, we Trotskyists are guided by the revolutionary slogan of Leninism: the main enemy is at home! ■

Central America...

(continued from page 4)

the Soviet Union. Where Reagan & Co. want to wave a big stick in Central America and reassert a U.S. role as global gendarme, West German capitalists are more interested in maintaining détente, whether to maintain profitable trade with the Soviet bloc or to prevent Central Europe from becoming the first battlefield of WWIII.

The social democrats' support for a "negotiated settlement" in El Salvador is by their own admission a policy designed to *prevent* socialist revolution, by replacing unstable military dictatorships with governments capable of diverting popular discontent into reformist channels. These committed reformists are prepared to "pick up the gun" if necessary to preserve capitalist rule. It is appropriate that the chief means by which the SI intervenes in Central America is the Friedrich Ebert Foundation. Ebert ("I hate revolution like the plague") was the SPD leader whose government smashed the German revolution of 1918-19 and was responsible for the murder of German Spartacists Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Today they attempt to export "democratic" counterrevolution to Central America.

The social democrats are no friends of workers revolution, in Europe or Latin America. Their recognition of the FDR/FMLN is an attempt to block the road to the communists and thus preserve capitalist rule. No "political solution" short of socialist revolution can free the exploited and oppressed masses of Central America from the domination of Yankee imperialism and the tyranny of its bloody puppet dictators. Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! For workers and peasants governments throughout Central America! ■

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"Real Democrat" Barbaro No Answer to Racist Koch

Racist strikebreaker Ed Koch was nominated by both the twin parties of American capitalism, Democrats and Republicans, for mayor of New York City. But if this fusion candidate is NYC's "most popular" mayor with the banks and the backlash, he's also most hated by blacks and labor who have been brutally attacked by his administration. Liberals worried that he could turn out to be a "fission" candidate: if Koch's victims ever got together in the streets of New York, the whole city could blow. So they came up with a "real Democrat" as an escape valve—Frank Barbaro. Although losing to Koch by better than 3-to-2 in the September primary, Barbaro was endorsed by the AFL-CIO and carried virtually every minority district. In November he is on the Unity Party ticket, a refuge for Democrats who can't take the "mayatollah" of Gracie Mansion.

Signs at Harlem's Sydenham Hospital last fall protesting "Koch's Killer Kuts" expressed black outrage at the arrogant race-baiter who shut down essential services for minorities, then did a minstrel jig in an Afro wig at a fundraising ball. When hizzoner was whipping up anti-union sentiment on Brooklyn Bridge during the 1980 transit strike, he kept repeating his smart-ass "How'm I doing?" greeting with that idiot Howdy Doody smile. Koch got cheers from Park Slopers jogging to Wall Street, and a fist in the face from an irate Teamster. In September the union-busting mayor was roundly booed when he had the gall to show up at the Labor Day parade while trying to upstage the event by inviting Ronald Reagan for a counter-celebration. It's no surprise, then, that there has been a wide-open field for a "Dump Koch" candidate.

The pick of the pols was Barbaro, previously a Mr. Nobody of the Democratic Party. But suddenly he picked up endorsements from a wide range of NYC union and black leaders. The labor bureaucracy is so turned off on Koch that even crusty old machine Democrat Harry Van Arsdale mobilized the Central Labor Council to back Barbaro. He was also endorsed by the black establishment *Amsterdam News* and marched at the head of the annual Afro-American Day parade in Harlem. And it's not just the official leaderships—"Blacks for Barbaro" also included street demagogues like Rev. Herbert Daughtry; in the Transport Workers Union, Barbaro was supported both by Local 100 president John Lawe and by leading dissident Arnold Cherry. But that was while Barbaro was running in the *Democratic* primary. Now that he is the "Unity Party" candidate, the "independent" black politicians like Daughtry pulled back and concentrated on Barbaro's former running mate (for Manhattan borough president), black DSOCer David Dinkins, who is on the "safe" Liberal Party ticket.

Who is Frank Barbaro? A traditional liberal ward heeler of the type found in Reform Democratic clubs around New York—"radical" enough in his youth to have once been a bodyguard for Paul Robeson, conservative enough to get elected for five terms in Albany as assemblyman from the Jewish/Italian

WV Photo

At rally against closing of Harlem's Sydenham hospital.

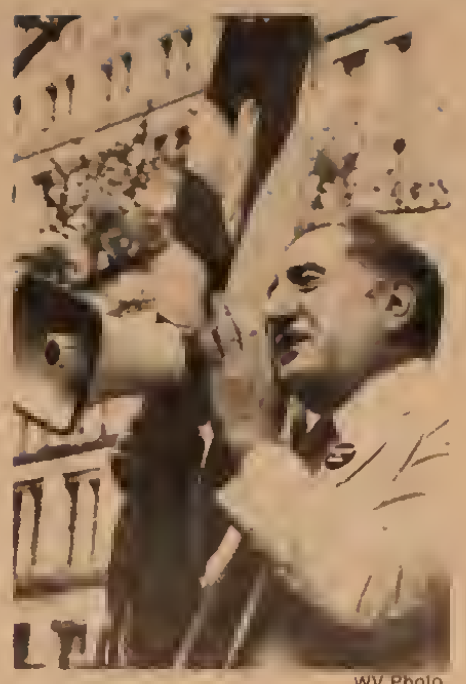
Bensonhurst section of Brooklyn. He's considered ideal to reestablish the old liberal/labor alignment having spent 15 years working on the docks while attending law school at night. While ex-"Silk Stocking" liberal Koch has kissed the FDR coalition goodbye, preferring to line up with Reagan reaction, "blue collar" liberal Barbaro runs as a "real Democrat." But the attempt to peddle him as a champion of labor and black rights is absurd. For Frank Barbaro has:

- in 1973 voted for an anti-busing bill to prevent school integration;
- in 1975 voted to create the Emergency Financial Control Board, which oversaw the axing of 60,000 city workers jobs and gave the bankers a veto over municipal union contracts;
- in 1980 voted against a bill to increase welfare payments;
- in 1980 voted for mandatory sentencing for firearms possession.

As for his election platform, Barbaro called for hiring 6,300 more cops, putting "riders not bankers" on the Transit Authority board and fighting "Koch's arrogance and insensitivity" which have "forced all the blacks and Latinos in high level positions in his administration to leave." So the Basil Paterssons, Percy Suttons and Herman Badillos would return under Barbaro. But what about a program to fight Wall Street and the banks who imposed the ruinous anti-labor, anti-black austerity program on New York? Don't forget, this onslaught was carried out by "real Democrats" and phony "friends of labor" like Abe Beame...and Frank Barbaro. Barbaro even brags about his 1976 bill that forced union pension funds to sink $13 billion down the rathole of MAC honds. And he proposed to do it again. The only objection the *New York Times* (6 September) had to this scheme was that it was not "credible" to think that "employee pension funds can somehow be tapped on a scale large enough" to restore a ravaged industrial base.

Now Barbaro is the standard-bearer for the new "Unity Party" slate. Among the reformists the Communist Party (CP) is head over heels for Barbaro, lauding his campaign as a "wave of political independence sweeping NYC" (*Daily World*, 5 September). A CP commentary on "the fight to defeat Mayor Koch and his Reagan-like policies" proclaimed, "NYC Unity Party Rallies Labor and Community Support" (*Daily World*, 9 October). Also on the Unity Party ticket are ex-Democratic Puerto Rican councilman Gilberto Gerena-Valentin, who called for Soviet aid to rebuild the South Bronx and launched the court suit against racist gerrymandering after Koch robbed him of his seat; and Miriam Friedlander, the CP fellow-traveling Democratic city council member from lower Manhattan.

For the CP, the Barbaro campaign is the embodiment of the "united peoples party" called for in a front-page editorial of their special edition distributed on "Solidarity Day" ("Why Not a New Party?" *Daily World*, 17 September).


WV Photo

Frank Barbaro

But Gus Hall's "Unity Party" gambit is just a cover for diverting workers' anger against Reagan back into the swamp of capitalist politics. And it isn't the first time. For example, in 1948 the CP "broke" with the Democrats to build the Progressive Party of Henry Wallace, former Democratic vice president of FDR. This reflected the fact that Cold Warrior, strikebreaker Truman was not very credible as a channel for labor votes. So the Stalinists, who had derailed revolution throughout Europe with their treacherous "people's front" with a "democratic" bourgeoisie, jumped into the breach, providing the apparatus for the populist Wallace campaign. But after this brief fling with a bourgeois "third party," the CP was soon back to its usual tricks of supporting liberal Democrats in the name of lesser evilism.

What is the Unity Party? As labor mediator Ted Kheel put it, it's a place where "traditional Democrats" can cast their ballots. What's needed is not a phantom Democratic Party for liberals with queasy stomachs, but the political mobilization of labor in a class-struggle workers party. In 1974-76 when the capitalists and their politicians ripped up city workers contracts while sellout union bureaucrats did nothing; in 1980 when TWU transit workers were on the battle line against Koch, Carey and the courts—such a party would have led a mass struggle of all the oppressed against the bosses' austerity offensive. From dilapidated subways to closed ghetto hospitals, New York City is the victim of willful neglect and destruction by a profit-hungry ruling class. "Real Democrat" Barbaro is no answer to racist strikebreaker Koch! For a workers party that fights for a workers government! ■

Brinks Job...

(continued from page 2)

the money to be used for? Left-wing terrorists usually produce manifestos explaining their acts, but the Nyack defendants have said nothing. Why?

This case is plenty murky. It's useful by way of comparison to recall two instances back in 1968 of the capitalist state's murderous vendetta against the Black Panther Party. The NYC Panther 21, arrested for conspiring to bomb department stores and the Bronx Botanical Gardens, were simply framed. They were eventually acquitted, but only after the cops had managed to destroy the New York Panther leadership at a crucial moment. (And today the *New York Times* is still using this indictment against Nat Burns as if they had been convicted instead of let go!) The Spartacist League strongly defended the Panther 21. But something seemed very wrong about the case in which New Haven Panther leader Alex Rackley was falsely declared to be a police informer, wired to a bed post and tortured for three days before being shot. We did not take a position on the New Haven Panther trial, and subsequently FBI involvement in the killing of Alex Rackley was admitted.

The current case also has a strong smell of provocation about it. We have a number of questions. What was the role of Sam Brown, arrested in Nyack, who seems to be a professional criminal? Why would they use a car belonging to a recently arrested political activist (Rosahn)? How was a getaway car that got away "traced" to the East Orange, New Jersey "bomb factory"? The only "evidence" linking ex-Panther Nat Burns to the Brinks job was a mysterious license that keeps turning up on different cars in different places. The cops alternately reported it on a car at the scene of the crime and "on a maroon Ford sighted outside a suspected gang hideout in Mount Vernon, N.Y. just before [?] a police raid" (*New York Times*, 24 October). Two days later this plate is spotted on a grey Chrysler by a detective on the case who was "driving through Queens," leading to the capture of Nat Burns. This was pretty tenuous, so two days later the cops reported finding a bullet in the pocket of Burns' companion (killed by the cops) which had been fired from the gun of one of the policemen slain in Nyack!

This string of supposed coincidences boggles the imagination. How did they manage to roll up all these people so quickly? Was the "suspected gang hideout" perhaps under *prior* surveillance? Was the Brinks holdup a botched job or a trap? And what about the alleged association of several underground groups? Could the police have noted an informal pattern of socialization among ex-Weathermen and ex-Panthers who hadn't quite surfaced and decided to round them up in one swoop? (For instance, Jones and Raskin are not alleged to have any connection to the Nanuet robbery—so what was their connection?) It may have been felt that in order to nab these people a little provocation would be useful, especially since they had never *done* anything. Perhaps it took place a bit prematurely; perhaps the authorities got more than they bargained for.

So now the grand juries are going to go on fishing expeditions with the RICO conspiracy law to "get to the bottom" of the killing of the Nyack cops. As defense attorney William Kunstler noted, when five leftists were shot down in cold blood by KKK/Nazi killers in Greensboro, North Carolina there was no such outcry against "terrorism"; instead the authorities and the press let the murderers off and went after the victims. Now individuals who had nothing to do with Weatherman, Panthers or anything else are being seized by cops with shoot-to-kill orders acting on "tips"—like the young woman in Garden City, Long Island whose only resemblance to Joanne Chesimard was that she is black and wears glasses. As to the Brinks job itself, frankly we don't know. Certainly after a decade underground, Weatherman had diminished below the level of total irrelevance except in the wet dreams of prosecutors and other cops. But we would like to think that the old New Left went out with a bang instead of a whimper. ■

Militants Win Over 20% of Vote in L.A. Phone

MAC: "Bring Down Reagan Through Labor Action!"

LOS ANGELES—The class-struggle program of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) won impressive support from phone workers in recent local elections in L.A. Three MAC members ran for Executive Board in Local 11502 of the Communications Workers of America (CWA), and captured between 18 and 29 percent of the vote. These vote totals for Barbara Britton, Manuel Delgadillo and Barry Janus represent a solid core of workers who agree that militant labor action is needed to stop Reagan reaction.

The MAC candidates ran against two slates representing different wings of the incumbent Local 11502 bureaucracy. The Warren Downing/Janice Wood slate campaigned on its record of running the local into the ground. Ian McIntyre's "Platform for a Change" posed as an opposition that would democratize the local. But McIntyre shares responsibility for the sorry state of local affairs: he was the local's executive vice president. Significantly, MAC candidates ran better than several McIntyre people in the elections for Executive Board East.

A high point in the campaign was a debate between the candidates attended by some 65 local members. MAC debated McIntyre and Wood on an equal basis. Janus told *Workers Vanguard*, "We stressed that Reagan has to be brought down through labor action, that you can't fight Reagan with Democrats. Even people who were nominally supportive of the other slates came up to us afterwards and told us that what we said about the labor movement fighting the Klan and Nazis, and how labor has to stop the war drive, made a lot of sense to them." The debate was organized by a black worker who called up afterwards to say she was going to vote for the MAC because it was "the conscience of the union."

Against the record of betrayal chalked up by the bureaucratic groups, the Militant Action Caucus ran on its proven record of struggle. Last February the CWA National ordered Local 11502 members to cross picket lines of another CWA local on strike against Western Electric. The 300 phone workers who courageously honored the picket lines were given suspensions and final warnings. MAC fought to overturn this victimization and betrayal by agitating for an L.A.-area phone workers strike to defend those victimized for upholding the essential union principle that picket lines should not be crossed. In the aftermath of the Western Electric walkout MAC campaigned for the local's endorsement of a local union right-to-strike amendment submitted to the CWA national convention.

The MAC campaign pointed to the dangers threatening the union under AT&T's plans for reorganization and automation. While CWA president Glenn Watts accepts the loss of up to one half of all phone industry jobs, the MAC has fought for a program to prevent AT&T's impending assault of downgrades, forced transfers and firings. MAC calls for a drive to organize "the entire communications industry, from Ma Bell to IBM to the Silicon Valley," backed by demands for union control of hiring, a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, and no layoffs or demotions. "To wage this fight," says MAC, "we need a class-struggle leadership—a leadership that relies on labor's power and knows that our rights are won on picket lines."

WV Photo

Manuel Delgadillo, Barbara Britton, Barry Janus.

Unlike union parochialists whose nearsightedness blinds them to events outside their own industry, the MAC fights for working-class solidarity. When Reagan fired the air controllers, MAC put forward a motion that Local 11502 organize a one-day strike, call on the rest of the city labor movement to join it and shut L.A. airport down tight. And MAC is the only caucus in phone that has raised the issue of the civil war in El Salvador, the front line of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. MAC members participated in one of the first demonstrations nationally against the deportation of Salvadoran refugees back to near-certain death.

The Caucus has also fought for years demanding the CWA break all ties with the notorious CIA labor front, the American Institute for Free Labor Development, which is instituting a "land reform" program in El Salvador that the peasants appropriately call "reform by death." The MAC election campaign included an open house, where the documentary on El Salvador, "Revolution or Death," was shown. MAC calls for the victory of the left-wing insurgents in El Salvador, and says, "We must stand with the workers of Russia and Cuba against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive."

Manuel Delgadillo told *Workers Vanguard*: "We are going to hammer home the fact that the local leadership stands for what the National stands for—dependence on the Democratic Party. You know, the crawling instead of standing up and fighting to beat back the company's attacks. We are fighting for a class-struggle leadership, and we're not going to relent until we get it."■

Solidarność...

(continued from page 3)

front, he is talking about window-dressing similar to the appointment of a Catholic deputy premier last fall. But Kuron is actually calling for a *new* government in which "moderate" Communist officials would be a minority. "The moment the council is formed," he said, "it would suspend operation of all authorities, including the government."

Poland is now descending into utter economic chaos with conditions becoming desperate. There are mass protest strikes throughout the country. The regime is deploying troops for the purpose of "suppressing street provocations and enforcing respect for the rule of law." The secretary of Solidarity's Warsaw region has threatened: "If the party continues confrontation, it will be worse than anyone can imagine. It will simply mean something like civil war in the future" (*Wall Street Journal*, 29 October).

Where would Workers Power stand in a civil war between the clerical-nationalist Solidarność and the bureaucratic regime? Their polemic is an elaborate attempt to avoid this question. But at a Spartacist meeting at Coventry on October 9, a leading Workers Power spokesman admitted they would stand with the Pilsudskiite nationalists and clerical-fascists against the Soviet army:

> "In the case of a military intervention by the Soviet Stalinists into Poland to crush Solidarity, we would say, openly, clearly state, that we would be for a military united front, we will be for the arming of the workers—that is, against the invasion. And that would mean that if Solidarity is under its present leadership, we will be for a military united front with that leadership against the Soviet invasion. Let us be quite clear on that point, because we will be on the opposite side of the barricades from the Spartacists."

This is not the first time that Workers Power has come out for a "military united front" with counterrevolutionary forces. Like the rest of the opportunist left, Workers Power supported the Khomeiniite opposition against the shah in Iran, albeit with the proviso that "the Bazaar and Shi'ite clergy are and can be only temporary military allies of the Iranian working class" (*Workers Power*, February 1979). Khomeini certainly saw to that. Significantly, Workers Power now links our position on Poland to the iSt's "refusing to support the mass movement which overthrew the shah in Iran."

Under the slogan, "Down with the shah! Down with the mullahs! For workers revolution in Iran!," we warned that if the Khomeiniite Islamic fanatics took power, they would be just as reactionary and just as bloody as the Pahlavi monarchy. Who today will deny this? The Khomeiniites are executing a hundred of their left opponents a day, far more than the shah did. In fact, the September 1981 *Workers Power* has a front-page article, "Defend Iranian Left," which concludes, "Solidarity with those fighting the Khomeini dictatorship's repression!" Well, we don't want to see a *Workers Power* article two years from now saying "Defend Polish Left—Solidarity with those fighting Walesa or Moczulski dictatorship's repression!"

In Workers Power we see opportunists who maintain in both Iran and Poland that counterrevolutionaries can lead workers revolution, at least in its initial stages:

> "It is not the responsibility of the Polish workers that the brutal Stalinist regimes have handed to the forces of reaction the possibility to initiate struggle for elementary working class demands."

Their line is to tail the masses in motion, even under the most reactionary leadership and program: support the most militant opponents of the status quo, even when these are clerical-fascists.

And in Poland the historic stakes are far higher even than in Iran. The Warsaw bureaucrats with their corruption and mismanagement, their lies and suppression of democratic rights have driven a majority of the Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican, the IMF and NATO social democracy. That is the Stalinists' great crime in Poland. But an even greater crime would be tailing the workers behind a counterrevolutionary mobilization. As we wrote in "Stop Solidarity's Counter-revolution!":

> "What do revolutionaries do when the Marxist program stands counterposed to the overwhelming bulk of the working class, a situation we of course urgently seek to avoid? There can be no doubt. The task of communists must be to defend at all costs the program and gains of the dictatorship of the proletariat."
>
> —*WV* No. 289, 25 September

And we will! The creation of a neo-Pilsudskiite Poland subservient to Reagan/Haig on the Western border of the USSR would bring much closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust. Solidarity's counterrevolution must be stopped!■

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Air Controllers...

(continued from page 12)

self-serving chief of the 800,000-strong IAM. "Finally I said, 'Hell's bells. Sure they made mistakes. But our job is not to Monday-morning quarterback the situation'." Winpisinger tried to blame his failure to call out IAM mechanics on the refusal of the airline pilots association to back him up. "That pretty well leaves us helpless," concluded this big-talking sellout artist.

Such cynicism in the service of the bosses' Democratic Party would be bad enough if Winpisinger didn't try to masquerade as a self-styled "seat-of-the-pants socialist." But the IAM chief is a leader of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). In point of fact, "Wimpy" also sits on the Democratic Party's National Committee. And he certainly hasn't gotten off his butt to aid the air controllers.

For decades the labor bureaucrats have sold their Democratic Party alliance by pointing to the crumbs it has brought to the families of working people. Under Carter there were no crumbs, and now under Reagan they are taking them back. What does our "socialist" advocate? A.H. Raskin (*New Yorker*, 7 September) cites Winpisinger's argument in the AFL-CIO executive council "that the federation assume no activist role in trying to block the Reagan program... because it would be desirable, in Winpisinger's estimation, to let the rank and file learn through bitter experience the consequences of the policies that many of them voted for in November"!

Belatedly, even some social democrats are saying they are disappointed over Winpisinger's refusal to come to PATCO's defense with strike action. Winpisinger piles one excuse for his own paralysis upon another: the IAM would be sued if it struck, laws forbid solidarity strikes, non-IAM airlines would capture the market, *ad nauseam*. All this, despite the upcoming expiration of major IAM contracts covering some 32,000 mechanics in the airline industry! William Winpisinger—DSOC leader, IAM president, Democratic National Committee member—is a classic example of what Daniel De Leon called a labor lieutenant of capital.

For Class-Struggle Leadership

Class-conscious workers seeking a fighting alternative to such sellout bureaucrats won't find it in the reformist Communist Party (CP). Throughout the PATCO strike the CP has given its uncritical endorsement to the do-nothing response of the Kirkland/Winpisinger bureaucrats. Its *Daily World* regularly prints headlines portraying ever-growing support for PATCO. This is an opportunist *lie* in the service of the bureaucrats whose backstabbing has paved the way for PATCO's destruction. Now the CP is pushing for the AFL-CIO convention in New York City on November 16 to adjourn long enough to allow delegates to get some free PR by demonstrating at Kennedy Airport. Like the CP's "flying is scabbing" campaign, this is just another diversion from real labor action. Even at this late date, the AFL-CIO convention could easily organize a powerful and solid nationwide airport shutdown that could win the PATCO strike in short order.

On September 19 the CP-supported Trade Union Action and Democracy (TUAD) came out with a special Solidarity Day issue of *Labor Today* (October), which failed to mention PATCO even once—but did manage to fit a speech by Lane Kirkland on its front page! Among the CP/TUAD's Solidarity Day demands was: "Control imports." That's "solidarity" all right—solidarity *with* the U.S. capitalists and *against* the workers of Japan, Germany and the Soviet Union!

The CP's efforts to cover for the labor bureaucrats were weakly echoed by a score of fake-revolutionary groupings. Some said there should be a consumer boycott, others advocated honoring non-existent PATCO picket lines, while still others called for a "general strike" in the sweet by-and-by. Yet even journalists from the big business press knew what *real* labor solidarity meant. Over and over they prodded Winpisinger et al.: "Why don't you call solidarity strikes to shut down the airports?" It was so basic!

Throughout the PATCO strike, the Spartacist League (SL) and class-struggle militants were the only ones to fight consistently for labor to shut down the airports. In New York, transit union militants agitated for a shutdown of the city's "Train to the Plane" to defend the right to strike and support PATCO. In Los Angeles and San Francisco members of the class-struggle Militant Action Caucus struggled for their Communications Workers local to take the lead in organizing a one-day citywide strike and airport shutdown in defense of PATCO. When fake socialists in the Bay Area began mouthing this slogan, SL supporters called for setting a date.

The PATCO strike has underscored the crisis of revolutionary working-class leadership in the U.S. While the reformists preach "solidarity" with the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO tops and their masters, the SL fights to forge a Marxist vanguard, to break the shackles of the capitalist parties and use all the weapons at labor's disposal—from sympathy strikes, hot-cargoing, sitdowns, mass picket lines to the general strike—in deeds, not just threats. That is how a class-struggle workers party must be built, by mobilizing the workers movement to bring down Reagan and establish a workers government. ■

SWP Transit Forum Excludes Transit Workers

The reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has a funny idea of workers democracy. On October 16 two NYC Transport Workers Union (TWU) activists were forcibly kept out of a New York SWP forum on... the attacks on transit workers! The SWP claimed the workers were "disrupters" because they defended the right of Spartacist supporters to attend SWP "public" events.

Back in 1980, when New York transit workers were on strike, the SWP wasn't so picky. In fact, the SWP's *Militant* one week featured a front-page picture of one of these same transit workers on the picket line! They were happy to use transit workers' militancy to sell *Militants*, but that's as far as it goes.

On October 24 Ed Kartsen, a black TWU member running for Local 100 president, was excluded, along with three of his supporters, from an SWP rally ostensibly called to "defend black, latino, labor rights." More than 1,200 TWU members have signed Kartsen's nominating petitions, but to the SWP he's some kind of non-person.

SWP supporters in the TWU have good reason to fear democratic political discussion with transit militants. When a motion for shutting down the "Train to the Plane" was passed at a car maintenance division meeting of Local 100, one SWP supporter was put on the spot for abstaining. She felt compelled to explain her program for "defending" PATCO, which was to give money and invite a PATCO speaker, period—the same as Lane Kirkland's backstabbing program which is helping Reagan destroy PATCO. She was booed down.

Photo essay on SWP hypocrisy: Bottom photo shows SWP excluding TWU members from recent transit forum. At extreme right is TWU militant who actually appeared on *Militant's* front page during 1980 strike (top photo, on left).

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bring Down Reagan Through Labor Action!

Air Controllers Shafted

The air controllers strike has been stabbed in the back!

Sure, Ronald Reagan is going all-out to bust the tiny Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO). The phony "friend of labor" Democrats predictably went along. This just shows that the government is an instrument to enforce the interests of the corporations, the capitalists who run this country. But who is letting Reagan get away with it? The PATCO strikers have certainly stuck to their guns in the most critical strike since the miners' strikes of 1978 and 1980. It is the misleaders of labor who have sabotaged this key strike from the start. They have the power to win it at any time, by *shutting down the airports*, which they have *refused* to do.

The betrayers have names: Kirkland, Fraser, Winpisinger, Williams. And labor militants won't forget.

Reagan's attempt to crush PATCO is a blow to the entire workers movement. It must be met with resolute determination to *bring Reagan down through labor action*. And that means throwing out the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, forging a class-struggle leadership of labor with the will to fight and the program to win.

Otherwise, we're all next.

WV Photo

PATCO strikers march on Labor Day in New York City, September 7: We said, "Labor must shut down the airports!"

"An Injury to One..."

On October 28 a federal court upheld the Reagan administration's decertification of the air controllers union in punishment for its "illegal" strike. Since walking off the job on August 3, the 12,000 air controllers have borne the brunt of the most intense union-busting assault since pre-CIO days. First they were all summarily fired by Reagan. Then the government rounded up thousands of scabs from the air force and elsewhere to man the control towers. PATCO strikers have been jailed and fined; some still face felony charges. The capitalists tried to starve them out by denying unemployment benefits in most states and by revamping federal food stamp restrictions to exclude strikers from coverage. Decertification is intended as the *coup de grace*.

Over a century ago the Knights of Labor coined the union slogan, "An injury to one is the concern of all." Yet, the conservative London *Economist* summed up the air controllers strike in its headline, "Solidarity Is Not a Word America's Unions Know." In spite of the fact that well over 300,000 unionists marched in Washington in the AFL-CIO's September 19 "Solidarity Day" demonstration, not one American union lifted a finger. Except for brief actions by *Canadian* and *Portuguese* air traffic controllers which temporarily disrupted trans-Atlantic service, the PATCO strike has received no significant labor support. Not once have the union officials in the U.S. who claim to represent airline mechanics, baggage and freight handlers, flight attendants and other airport workers attempted to shut down air traffic.

Union president William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists (IAM), which covers some 40,000 airline mechanics, alibis his own inaction by whining that anti-labor laws deny "the right to help your fellow worker," as if workers should wait around for the capitalist government to legalize militant action! In place of solidarity strikes, the AFL-CIO officials have coughed up some bucks and have emphasized calls for an impotent consumer boycott of air travel. Much of the left has tailed this diversionist boycott rhetoric, letting the union tops off the hook for their treacherous failure to shut down the airports.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland even gave backhanded support to Reagan's latest union-busting move, saying the decertification order "does, at least, remove the last semblance of an excuse" for the government not to rehire some of the strikers! Beleaguered and betrayed, PATCO has offered to return to work and submit to arbitration. "No way!" retorted the government. Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis pledged to stand by his scabs: "The people who have been working with us don't want them back.... We can't let them down." To make sure the blacklist would stick, the Federal Aviation Administration (FAA) subpoenaed news photos of PATCO activities back in August so it could identify the strikers.

The current rulers of American capitalism don't even bother to pretend. As a result, for the first time in decades the average rank-and-file worker rightly regards the government as a government of, by and for the wealthy. This creates tremendous pressure for working-class action to bring Reagan down.

The General Strike That Wasn't

Yet the labor bureaucrats recoil in fear of such action. The PATCO strike came at a time when labor organizations are losing more representation elections than they are winning and bosses are successfully demanding pay cuts and benefit "givebacks" from powerful unions. Reagan's program to obliterate PATCO is every boss's model for handling recalcitrant unions. And it's not just Neanderthal Reaganite Republicans who are dishing out the PATCO treatment to public workers. In Philadelphia this fall Democratic mayor William Green tore up the city's contract with the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT) in order to cancel a 10 percent pay raise and lay off 3,500 teachers. Several weeks into the teachers strike, the Philadelphia AFL-CIO regional council issued a call for a one-day general strike to defend the PFT on October 28, but immediately began backpedaling like mad. As the date approached, union leaders leaked hints to the press that they would not call their members out on the 28th. They cited federal laws against sympathy strikes, referred to no-strike clauses in union contracts, or simply denounced the teachers. Even as he was announcing the "general strike," labor council leader Ed Toohey cynically winked, "I'm not interested in shutting the city down.... It doesn't bother me if all the union members don't show up."

A last minute back-to-work injunction gave the bureaucrats the excuse they needed to call the whole thing off. PFT president John Murray ordered the teachers into the schools with their contract torn in half by the courts, their pay raise trampled underfoot and the fate of 53 strikers suspended for picket line "violations" left hanging in midair. The "general strike" threat did lead the judge who issued the injunction to temporarily abrogate the mass layoffs the city had imposed. Nevertheless, the outcome is a defeat for the teachers union and the Philadelphia labor movement. A real citywide general strike could have forced the Democratic city administration to abandon its attack on the PFT and pointed the way forward against Reagan's austerity drive.

"Wimpy"—Labor Lieutenant of Capital

"My idea was to shut the air carriers down," claimed William Winpisinger in an interview with the *New York Times* (5 October). So why didn't he? Oh, everyone else at an AFL-CIO executive council meeting on August 4 just complained about PATCO, said the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 293 20 November 1981

Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in Central America!

Reagan/Haig Threaten Blockade

United States imperialism stands poised to commit a counterrevolutionary act of war in the Caribbean. The Reagan administration, attacking black people and busting unions at home, is trying to head off revolution in Central America by drowning it in a sea of blood. Their global Cold War offensive ultimately aims at overthrowing the historic achievements of the workers states, from Cuba to the Soviet Union. In the face of this war danger, socialist revolutionaries and class-struggle militants in the American labor movement must fight to defeat the predatory plans of their capitalist rulers. We demand: Down with Reagan/Haig War Threats! No Blockade! Hands Off Nicaragua! Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents in El Salvador! For Workers Revolution! As we have repeatedly insisted: DEFENSE OF CUBA, USSR BEGINS IN CENTRAL AMERICA!

The war threat was issued as a "leak" to the *New York Times*. On November 5 a front page article by former State Department and Pentagon official Leslie Gelb quoted unnamed "key Administration officials" to the effect that Secretary of State General Alexander Haig had ordered his staff to quickly assemble plans for a variety of military "options" in the Caribbean and Central America. The most frequently mentioned action is a naval blockade of Nicaragua, a maneuver the U.S. practiced only last month in joint exercises with Honduras. As for Cuba, the plans being bandied about in Washington range from stronger economic sanctions to "a show of airpower, large naval exercises, a quarantine on the shipment of arms to the island, a general blockade as part of an act of war, and an invasion by American and possibly Latin American forces." And on El Salvador a "knowledgeable source" told *Newsweek* (9 November), "Don't rule out U.S. Marines."

This is no bluff and bluster by frustrated Cold Warriors waving verbal big sticks. The day after the *New York Times* report, Haig himself confirmed its substance. And on Saturday, November 7 the *Times* carried an ominous announcement (buried on page 48) that, "Four-Week Navy Drill Is Begun in Caribbean." It turns out that the naval exercises, which include the aircraft carriers Kennedy and Eisenhower, began a week earlier and are supposedly "only coincidentally related" (!) to Haig's war threats. Nevertheless, the article added: "Pentagon officials said that the size of the fleet and the extent of the exercises could not help but send a message to Cuba." On Sunday, Cuba announced a full military alert.

Simultaneously, the war ministers of 20 Latin American nations, the U.S. and Canada met in secret sessions in Washington to discuss joint actions against Cuba and Nicaragua. A featured speaker was Salvadoran military strongman Colonel Garcia who parroted Haig's line, saying that a blockade of Nicaragua would solve his problems (*Washington Post*, 11 November). The following week, in hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Congressman Gerry Studds asked the Secretary of State if he would pledge that the U.S. was not making "efforts to overthrow or destabilize the current government of Nicaragua." General Haig replied, "No, I would not give you such an assurance" (*Daily News*, 13 November). And now the commander of U.S. troops in Latin America is calling for a reversal of the formal prohibition on military "advisers" in combat operations in El Salvador.

Time

Marzani & Munsell

U.S. aircraft carrier Eisenhower cruises the Caribbean. Below: CIA fighter plane shot down by Cubans in 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion.

Ever since he took office Reagan has been looking to score a quick Cold War propaganda victory by militarily smashing the Salvadoran leftists. The guerrillas have proved tougher than expected, but the administration has not abandoned its plans to teach the Soviets a "bloody lesson," if only by proxy, in America's "backyard." Even if Haig has to wait a while to drop his "demonstration bomb" over the Baltic, he thinks he can get away with a "demonstration blockade" in the Caribbean. In a switch on the usual bureaucratic line-ups in Washington, the Pentagon reportedly questions whether this can be pulled off without provoking a Soviet show of support for Cuba in another part of the globe. This mirrors alleged differences between those in the government who want to strangle Nicaragua economically, and those like Haig who argue that only a military "solution" will do the job. So far, however, economic sabotage has not been enough.

The axis of administration policy in Central America is its Cold War drive against the Soviet bloc. As Gelb reported, the recent Haig memorandum "concentrated on getting to 'the source' of the problem in the region. The immediate 'source' was described as Cuba, with the Soviet Union playing an important role in the background." The U.S. claims that the Russians, via Castro and the Sandinistas, are supplying arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas (unfortunately this is very much *not* the case), and as a result the war there "has become essentially stalemated." So in order to save El Salvador and other regional "dominoes" from toppling out of the "free world," the war gamesmen in Washington come up with a naval blockade. And from there they see a straight line to Bay of Pigs II, Cuban Missile Crisis II and World War III.

So the stage is set for a major clash in the Caribbean. How can the Yankee imperialists be defeated? The liberals and reformists hope that by pretending the issue in El Salvador is "self-determination," by ignoring the imperialist Cold War and the issue of revolution vs. counterrevolution in a raging civil war, they could entice support from liberal imperialist "doves." Repeatedly

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RWL Joins Teamsters for a Democratic Sellout

DETROIT—The sixth annual conference of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) convened here in the last weekend of October. The conference met as the trucking bosses are preparing a major assault against the Teamsters (IBT) in the upcoming contract negotiations. The employers' Trucking Management Incorporated is calling for immediate institution of a wage freeze and its extension over the next three years of the contract. Ominously Teamster president Roy Williams has agreed to the company demand to reopen the master freight agreement over four months before expiration. Already since 1979 the union has lost 115,000 freight industry jobs as a result of layoffs, bankruptcies and runaway non-union firms.

But the Teamsters are one of the most powerful industrial unions with the social weight to cripple the economy, stop the trucking bosses in their tracks and pave the way for a major counteroffensive by the labor movement. Well aware of the danger posed to its interests by the IBT, the capitalist state has jumped to the aid of the trucking employers. Recent months have seen an unprecedented step-up in indictments of Teamster officials ranging from executive board members in Detroit Local 299 to central figures in the International bureaucracy. The government attacks, ostensibly directed against "corruption," are a thinly veiled attempt to intimidate Teamster leaders from any kind of strike action.

But for TDU the elementary duty to defend the union from combined company/government assault is utterly alien. Its central strategy is to drag its opponents in the IBT bureaucracy before the bourgeois courts and Reagan's labor-hating government. In fact, TDU has recently merged with the Professional Drivers Council, or PROD, which for years has been openly allied with the federal assault on the IBT pension funds. The legalistic cretins of TDU, who preach illusions in the bourgeois state, are no more interested in militant class struggle than Roy Williams & Co.

National TDU organizer Ken Paff set the tone at the TDU conference when he told the press, "I think most of our members realize they won't be getting a big wage increase" (*Detroit News*, 30 October). In short, TDU publicly declared its willingness to go along with the companies' demand for a wage freeze. Needless to add, there was not a word about preparing for strike action to shut the industry down tight. One hapless TDUer who called on the conference to go on record in support of Teamsters who exercise the right to strike was informed that strike talk would only scare away Teamster members!

This is no big surprise from the outfit which at last contract time refused to call for a nationwide strike, which publicly defends its members' crossing Teamster picket lines during a bitter 18-week northern California Safeway strike in 1979, which refuses to criticize Teamster raiding of the Farmworkers and Teamster organizing of racist cops. The TDU constitution actually bars the organization from participating in any political action. Never mind calling for the unions to break with the capitalist parties—the TDU does not even officially oppose the Reagan government!

Enter the RWL, Birds of a Feather

You'd think that any class-consicous militant, let alone ostensible socialist, would want to keep his distance from an outfit with such a sordid history. In fact, TDU, originally brain-trusted by followers of the International Socialists and its spin-offs, has been politically supported by the bulk of the reformist left. This year a new group of opportunists—the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and its supporters—burst on the scene. Undoubtedly impressed by the several-thousand paper membership of the TDU, heretofore unknown "TDUers for Militant Action" offered their program to "turn around TDU" and managed to get some press coverage from the *Detroit News*.

The RWL supporters came with orthodox-sounding criticisms of TDU cribbed from the pages of *Workers Vanguard*. But every time they spoke their opportunist appetites couldn't have been clearer. They motivated their call for a workers party by citing support "by union leaders such as Winpisinger"—the "socialist" saboteur of the PATCO strike. One TDUer for Militant Action chided TDU for suing the unions... because it cost too much money! As the TDU chair gleefully pointed out, there are plenty of lawyers willing to do this dirty work for free.

Its verbal criticisms notwithstanding, the RWL gang considers itself an organic part of the TDU, for example, running for the TDU steering committee. The Spartacist League, on the contrary, gives no support to outfits like the TDU that drag the capitalist state into the internal affairs of the labor movement. In 1973 the SL refused to endorse Arnold Miller and the Miners for Democracy (MFD), put into office with the aid of the U.S. Labor Department. As the MFD experience demonstrated, those who use the state against their opponents in the union will use the same state to crush the struggles of the workers. Miller supported countless injunctions against miners' wildcats and collaborated with Carter in trying to derail the bitter coal strike of 1977-78. The TDU is simply a smaller version of the MFD and Ed Sadlowski's Steelworkers Fightback. RWL's joining of TDU is another proof of their subordination to the liberal wing of the trade-union bureaucracy and their hostility to independent class struggle.

And after all, who is the RWL to criticize the TDU? Sure, TDU members have crossed picket lines but so does the RWL. They even boast about it in over 80 pages of documents defending their right to scab on the 1977 Ann Arbor AFSCME strike. The TDU doesn't fight racism? The RWL scoffs at genuine anti-fascist mobilizations such as the Spartacist-initiated mass labor/black demonstrations in Detroit and San Francisco that kept the KKK and Nazis from marching.

Those who don't defend the class line at home won't do so abroad either. A featured speaker at the TDU conference was Zigmunt Przetakiewicz, who opened a short-lived New York branch office for Solidarność, Poland's counterrevolutionary "union," with backing from virulent Cold Warriors like Albert Shanker and Bayard Rustin. It's not surprising that the TDU, which appeals to the bourgeois state against the Teamsters union, supports capitalist restorationist forces in Poland. But the RWL is hardly better. Nowhere in their four-page special bulletin addressed to the TDU conference did they once criticize (or even mention) Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive!

We have a different tradition. The Minneapolis Trotskyists in the 1930s were genuine workers leaders who organized a general strike and built the picket lines that made the Teamsters a real power. Standing at the head of powerful Local 544, the hub of the organizing drive for over-the-road drivers, the Trotskyists had so much authority that the industry bosses and local police dared not touch them. Only massive federal raids and frameups could drive them out. The same Department of Justice which TDU/PROD appeals to framed 18 leading Trotskyists and militant unionists in 1941 for their opposition to Roosevelt's imperialist war plans. This included eight Teamster leaders: Jake Cooper, Harry DeBoer, V.R. Dunne, Clarence Hamel, Emil Hansen, Carlos Hudson, Alfred Russell and Carl Skoglund. It is their working-class steadfastness, and not the scab anti-Soviet policies of the RWL and TDU, that is the road forward for forging a class-struggle leadership of the Teamsters and the entire American labor movement. ■

Rosas/Black Star

Haitian Victims of Reagan Racism

Even after death, the bodies of 33 Haitians who washed up on the Florida shore October 26 were fuel for Ronald Reagan's race-hate crusade. Reagan ordered the bodies, which had been kept in a 48-foot refrigerated truck, shipped back to Baby Doc Duvalier's torture regime. For those who reach the U.S. alive, it is concentration camps and the frozen American Siberia of Fort Drum. The INS wants to insist U.S. refugee status is available only to those who are "political" refugees, not those who have fled because of "economic" conditions. But Haiti is a place from which everybody flees, for his life.

Letter

SWP vs. PATCO

14 November 1981

To the Editor:

As a New York City transit worker and regular reader of *WV*, I appreciated your little article, "SWP Transit Forum Excludes Transit Workers" (*WV* No. 292, 6 November). But you were not accurate to say that a Socialist Workers Party supporter was "booed down" at the September 21 TWU meeting when she alibied her refusal to support a motion which called on Local 100 to "stop servicing the scab operation at Kennedy airport and shut down the Train to the Plane" in solidarity with the PATCO strike. She did get plenty of boos and groans of disbelief when she ridiculed the motion, which was overwhelmingly passed. Another SWP supporter did not fare much better when he tried an "alternative" motion to invite PATCO speakers and donate money, fully in keeping with the AFL-CIO tops' empty "solidarity" talk which tries to put a good face on their refusal to undertake concrete union action to help the PATCO strikers win.

The SWP supporters were the only "consistent" *right* wing of the meeting, where even some union officials had to pay lip-service to the right to strike as the only weapon workers have. In the TWU a lot of us are sick and tired of hearing John Lawe & Co. repudiate the militant traditions that built our union. That's why so many brothers at this meeting (and at an earlier meeting of the 207th Street shop) voted for our motion. The SWP thinks that calling that motion "off the wall" even after it has been passed by the workers is the way to win friends and influence people. What people? With their program of defeatist capitulation to the no-strike bureaucrats, the SWP can appeal only to the most demoralized elements in the union. No wonder they can't have a "public" forum on transit without using a goon squad to keep militant transit workers outside!

Yours in struggle,
Dave Brewer

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No. 293 20 November 1981

Break with Mitterrand! Down with NATO!

Strikes End "Socialist" Honeymoon in France

EXCERPTED FROM LE BOLCHÉVIK NO. 29, NOVEMBER 1981

PARIS—The social "honeymoon" is over. Discontent in the working class has burst into the open, directly confronting the Socialist government of Mitterrand/Mauroy. It was no accident that workers in state-owned companies—Renault [auto] and the SNCF [railways]—were in the forefront of the October strikes. Determined to show that its economic reforms serve broader interests of the French ruling class, the government will let nothing stand in the way of the profitability of the "public sector." But the strikes demonstrate that growing numbers of workers are finding the economic policies of the left-wing coalition no less anti-labor than those of Giscard/Barre. Now simply waging militant struggles for basic trade-union demands means a political challenge to the popular front in office.

Mitterrand's policies aim at a rationalization of French capitalism to face the rigors of a period of rearmament and depression. With unemployment now officially at 2 million and inflation above 15 percent, economics minister Delors and the rest of the "socialist" technocrats offer the reformist hoax of a so-called incomes policy—a rigid wage freeze "sweetened" with empty promises of price control. As campaign pledges for a 35-hour week are postponed until 1985, war minister Hernu announces an immediate 17 percent increase in the arms budget. Meanwhile, prime minister Mauroy's nationalization plans involve laying off tens of thousands of workers.

Austerity and Cold War: this has been the program of the social democrats from the beginning. The NATO popular front acts as Reagan's second lieutenant in Europe, welcoming the Pentagon's Cruise missiles and neutron bombs while denouncing the SS-20s which defend the workers states of the Soviet bloc. In East Europe, it seeks to become a privileged intermediary for Polish Solidarność, now a Trojan horse of counterrevolution. In Central America Mitterrand is the soft cop of imperialism, pushing for a "political solution" in El Salvador in order to head off a revolutionary contagion throughout the region.

Yet the bulk of the French capitalist class is far from resigned to cooperating with or merely tolerating the Socialist government. The bourgeois opposition is up in arms over the nationalizations, railing against "collectivism," darkly prophesying economic collapse and accusing Mitterrand of an "Allende complex." The opposition is not total—even business publications have termed the planned compensation for nationalized firms "generous." But despite long French traditions of "dirigiste" state economic management, the bourgeoisie will not be happy with the technocrats' plans—which with total control of banking in government hands promise to be more than "indicative." Growing business resistance could turn into a full-scale "strike" of capital refusing to invest. And if working-class unrest continues to mount, they will demand a crackdown—one way or another.

Historically, the popular front ushers in the sway of reaction if the reformists succeed in breaking the back of the workers' struggles. The means vary.

Rouge

Socialist Party's François Mitterrand wants to make nationalized firms profitable. Workers at nationalized Renault strike against austerity.

François Mitterrand is no Léon Blum. In fact, where Blum needed to maintain the bloc with the bourgeois Radicals to use as a club against the workers' demands, the outright capitalist elements in Mauroy's government are ornamental. The Socialist Party (PS) itself is the refuge for the Delors, Cheyssons and Mitterrands—ex-bourgeois politicians turned social democrat. These are potentially as capable of repressing the workers movement as the Giscardians and Gaullists.

Meanwhile Mitterrand's openly capitalist-imperialist policies have put considerable pressure on his "left" lawyers—particularly in the Communist Party (PCF). In payment for the position of the Communist ministers as courtesans in Mauroy's cabinet, PCF and CGT union militants have to swallow Mitterrand's anti-Soviet foreign policy (including opposition to the SS-20!); on the domestic front they must drop all their "ras-le-bol" (fed up) slogans and replace them with calls for "patience." And now the ranks are getting restless for the great "changement." As Trotsky wrote of the 1930s Popular Front as it neared the end:

> "What appeared to the working masses as a 'popular' government has shown itself to be a temporary mask for the imperialist bourgeoisie. This mask has now been thrown aside."
>
> —"The Hour of Decision Approaches," December 1938

After only six months in office, the rosy pink veneer of the Mitterrand government has begin to peel.

The leftover French "far left," however, hailed the election of Mitterrand as the "victory of May 10" and since then has been mainly concerned to cash in on his initial popularity. The OCI proclaimed the nationalizations to be "first steps toward socialism," while the LCR withdrew its slogan for a general strike in order "not to play into the hands of the right." The Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) was unique in proclaiming "No to NATO Popular Front!" in last spring's cycle of elections, and "Don't Wait: Strike Now!" (*Le Bolchévik*, June 1981). Since the resumption of political activity in the fall, the LCR/OCI have tried to divert the workers' strikes into the dead end of pressuring Mitterrand/Mauroy. The LTF told the truth: *that the struggle for the most elementary needs of the working class requires a break with parliamentarism and the popular front and a fight for a workers government.*

The October Strikes and the Labor Bureaucracy

The Renault lockout revealed far more about the social democrats' nationalization schemes than any number of parliamentary debates. This management provocation wasn't the result of any "pressure" from the CNPF [mouthpiece of French big business] or Giscardian holdovers in the company. As *Le Monde* (27 October) explained, Renault's self-financing had to be protected against the workers' demands: "...any concessions would be made at the expense of profit margins" at a time when Mitterrand is holding up Renault as the model nationalized firm.

The conflict was sparked by the atrocious working conditions in this "model enterprise," both at Sandouville (near Le Havre) and at Billancourt in Paris. The strategy of the CGT bureaucrats (who were generally tailed by the CFDT union tops) was evident: isolate the strikes in a few departments and exhaust the workers' militancy in sporadic, brief and therefore impotent solidarity strikes. After the lockout at Billancourt on October 9, the trade-union bureaucracy did next to nothing to mobilize the affected workers. Their "answer" was a couple of two-hour strikes to blow off steam in the rest of the plant.

But the CGT tops went even further. On October 28, 112 workers in assembly department 74 voted to continue the strike (against 107, with more than 400 too disgusted to vote). The Stalinist saboteurs thereupon announced a "democratic decision" to return to work, denounced the CFDT and "ultraleftists" for wanting to continue the strike, and didn't lift a finger when a commando of 150 management goons intervened to start up the line!

The government's main ally in implementing its austerity schemes has been the trade-union bureaucracy. Let no one be deceived by Edmond Maire's "cry of anger." The CFDT leader supports the agreement on the 39-hour workweek, which in fact permits longer working hours and more speedup. He supports Delors' wage freeze and the layoffs. His talk of "self-management" is simply a call for class collaboration on the factory floor. His gripes against "centralization" and demands for "democratization" are in reality attacks on the Mitterrand nationalization program *from the right*.

Maire was responding to the growing discontent at the base of the French labor movement, seeking to outflank the Stalinists with some verbal pseudo-militancy. In response, the CGT tried to

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Blockade...

(continued from page 1)

they tried to exclude the Spartacist League from El Salvador demonstrations for our demand "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador." And even today they fail to raise the demand of "Hands Off Cuba!" Theirs is a line of appealing to a wing of imperialism, a policy doomed to failure. The SL has insisted that the class line is drawn in El Salvador—for military victory of the leftist insurgents against the bloody junta, for workers revolution! Which side are you on?

Stalemate in El Salvador

The civil war in El Salvador does indeed appear to be "stalemated," at least, which is much better news for the the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) than for Colonel Garcia or junta chief Napoleón Duarte. As imperialist expeditionary forces have learned the hard way, from Algeria to Vietnam, the puppet government army that is not winning a war against popularly supported guerrillas is losing. According to Congressman Michael Barnes, a Pentagon study last month put the odds of the FMLN winning on the battlefield at "50-50." Other observers give the junta even worse odds. According to the *Washington Post* (10 November) "tours outside the capital into the countryside indicate that the stalemate was broken some time ago and that the guerrilla Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front is now gaining ground faster than government troops can hold it." The junta army has managed to murder (with the help of paramilitary death squads) more than 30,000 defenseless civilians since the U.S.-backed "human rights" coup of October 1979. But against the insurgents they have suffered a reported 10 percent casualty rate—extremely high for a guerrilla war.

Last January, the FMLN rebels launched a "general" (some called it "final") offensive, hoping to knock out the junta before Reagan could take office. It failed to do that, but in 11 days of fighting the guerrillas proved they could fight the government's forces on a large scale and begin to exercise a degree of control over large areas of the country. After the offensive was called off the junta launched one after another "mopping-up" operation against guerrilla base areas—the same guerrilla base areas time after time. On a clear day businessmen in San Salvador office buildings can see FMLN camps on the slopes of the Guazapa volcano 15 miles away which the government has been unable to take in five attempts. At least six times junta forces have launched major offensives in the northeastern Morazán province, each time withdrawing with heavy losses and leaving the insurgents in control. Last August the FMLN occupied the town of Perquín in this area and held it for a week.

In mid-summer the rebels launched a major campaign of economic sabotage, targeting especially electric power stations and power line pylons. El Salvador's third largest city, San Miguel, has been without electricity and power for months. Even President Duarte has to travel with a portable power generator to amplify his speeches in towns outside the capital. By September the country's two major power-generating dams had been cut off, and many key road and rail bridges had been destroyed. The FMLN "celebrated" the second anniversary of the 1979 coup by blowing up the most

UPI

FMLN guerrillas blow up strategic Lempa River bridge.

important bridge in El Salvador, the Puente de Oro (Golden Bridge) which spanned the wide Lempa River and was the main artery to the eastern third of the country. It will take years to repair. In the aftermath of this raid, the guerrillas have launched a new offensive cutting off the town of Suchitoto, only 20 miles from San Salvador.

In this favorable battlefield situation, a revolutionary leadership would call for redoubled efforts to achieve a military victory, extending the struggle throughout Central America by mobilizing the workers and peasants to take power. But the Salvadoran Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR), a popular front grouping of the FMLN guerrillas with a few liberal bourgeois politicians, and their cheerleaders abroad are instead pushing for a "political solution" negotiated with the puppet junta and its imperialist masters. By failing to destroy the rapacious oligarchy and its military butchers, such a treacherous "deal" would rob the working masses of the victory they have fought so hard and suffered so much to achieve. And it could open the door to another bloodbath such as the one that followed the failed insurrection of 1932 led by the Communist Farabundo Martí.

The fruitless search for a negotiated settlement has been the main line of the FDR/FMLN's strategy since the end of the general/final offensive last January. Every month the FDR's preconditions for negotiations have gone down, but Reagan/Haig aren't interested and much less so the Salvadoran colonels. Their latest offer, conveyed to the UN by Nicaragua last month, has no preconditions at all and calls merely for elections (in a country where the word "electoral" is used solely as an adjective to describe "fraud") and an eventual "restructuring" of the armed forces to exclude only those guilty of "crimes and genocide." In the U.S. the bulk of the left has taken up this call for a "political solution" in hopes of winning support from liberal Democrats (who have done nothing to stop Reagan). Robert Armstrong, a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) explained this line in the *Guardian* (21 October):

> "What has always united the U.S. foreign policy establishment has been the common objective that the FMLN/FDR forces must not win a military victory."

True. So therefore CISPES and other reformists violently *oppose* the Spartacist League's call for military victory to the Salvadoran insurgents, and call instead for an imperialist-imposed solution!

Nicaragua Under Reagan's Guns

The petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) have been trying for more than two years now to follow a "middle course" between establishment of a Cuban-style social revolution and capitulation to imperialism and the local capitalists. Repeatedly they pledge their devotion to "national unity," the "mixed economy" and "political pluralism." It hasn't worked. The Sandinistas have neither appeased Washington nor achieved a modus vivendi with the domestic bourgeoisie. Now the working masses are getting restless, demanding an end to the economic exploitation they continue to suffer despite the overthrow of the murderous Somoza dictatorship. And on top of this the country is now faced with the imminent threat of imperialist blockade and counterrevolutionary invasion.

The FSLN's response has been an economic emergency law prohibiting any disruption of production. Under this decree, as we reported in our last issue, three leaders of the opposition businessmen's association COSEP were arrested and sentenced to *seven months* for issuing a slanderous statement accusing the Sandinistas of planning genocide. At the same time they arrested 24 members of the tiny Communist Party (PCN), a dissident pro-Moscow group with influence among key sectors of the tiny Nicaraguan working class. Three leaders of the PCN and its CAUS union federation received *three-year* sentences for leading a factory occupation. Although there has been an imperialist outcry over the jailing of the COSEP leaders (including, quietly, from the social-democratic Second International), the government has announced they could be released upon payment of a fine of $66 (*Barricada*, 30 October)! The arrested businessmen are staying in jail *voluntarily* in order to serve as a symbol for counterrevolution.

It's worth noting in passing that before the sentences were handed down the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) once again tried to justify Sandinista repression of the left by claiming that although they have "accused the ultralefts of linking up with the capitalist counterrevolution...the Sandinistas have proceeded to treat the two quite differently in practice. Blows have been dealt to the exploiters, strengthening the workers and peasants government, while the occasional tensions with the ultralefts have given way to periods of collaboration" (*Militant*, 6 November). The next issue of the *Militant* prominently mentions the arrested businessmen but ignores the PCN/CAUS prisoners. The Spartacist League, in contrast, has consistently defended leftists against repression by the petty-bourgeois bonapartist FSLN—from the Simón Bolívar Brigade to the pro-Albanian Workers Front to the Communist Party—and called for revolutionary justice against the torturers and murderers of the Somozaist National Guard, many of whom have received lighter sentences than the PCN/CAUS leaders.

The SWP is right, however, that the Sandinistas treat leftists differently. A report by Alan Riding in the *New York Times* (17 November) correctly notes that "agitation among trade unions was considered by the regime to be even more dangerous than the business group's protests." And he notes that, "So far, about 100 Communists have been arrested." Many of these were union militants at a CAUS-organized factory, Fabritex, accused of "psychologically torturing" the workers. And to put an end once and for all to this hotbed of worker agitation, the FSLN resorted to an extreme measure: dissolving the factory! Not only were the workers dismissed—as a "lesson to the confused" according to a *Barricada* (2 November) headline—but trucks arrived to remove the raw materials.

Why No Cuban Arms to Salvadoran Leftists?

From the outset of the Reagan administration, Haig and his cohorts have waged an ever more intense campaign of lies and slander directed against Castro's Cuba. Lately they are passing over to threats and plans for imperialist attacks. While allowing counterrevolutionary *gusanos* (worms) a free hand to plot terrorist actions and new Bay of Pigs landings, the government has been trying to mold U.S. public opinion for acts of war against the island of 10 million people only 90 miles from the most powerful imperialist colossus in the world. In addition, Washington is setting up a new radio station to broadcast appeals for the overthrow of the regime, and there is reason to believe the CIA is up to its dirty tricks of old, with a full range of biological warfare against Cuban people and livestock.

On November 2, the Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma* printed a lengthy editorial denouncing the lies and threats by the Reagan administration against the Havana regime. On July 30, Secretary of State Haig told the Senate Armed Services Committee he had "solid evidence" that Soviet supplies to Cuba were being "reshipped to Central America." On August 3, a State Department spokesman alleged Castro was arming "beyond Cuba's legitimate defense needs." On August 8, the American UN ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick threatened from Chile that "Cuban expansionism" would be "directly dealt with." Later General Haig accused Cuba of having 1,500 military advisors in Nicaragua and of having advisors in "certain guerrilla areas" of El Salvador as well. On October 12, U.S. vice president Bush proclaimed that Nicaragua "still has the opportunity to free itself from the chains" of "5,000 advisors sent by Castro." To all the charges by U.S. imperialism, Fidel Castro responded, "Lies, lies, and nothing but lies!"

Castro is right, though not to his credit. In a speech to the Interparliamentary Union in Havana on September 15, the Cuban commander stated: "It is a lie...that there are Cuban military advisers in El Salvador. It is a lie that part of the weapons supplied to us by the Soviet Union is being redistributed in Central America. *It is a lie that Cuba is supplying weapons and ammunition to Salvadoran patriots*" (*Granma*, 27 September [our emphasis]). What a shameful statement—and it is true, truth worse than slander! An authentically revolutionary workers government would consider it a question of honor and duty to supply arms to leftist insurgents in El Salvador. But as we wrote last spring:

> "The reality is that there is unfortunately no effective Soviet aid going to the insurgents in El Salvador. Because if there were, we wouldn't have had 12,000 people who died at the hands of right-

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How Haig Learned to Love It

NATO's "Demo" Bomb

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U.S. demonstration bomb at Nagasaki, 1945: "There are contingency plans in NATO to fire a nuclear weapon for demonstrative purposes"—Alexander Haig.

A new and chilling phrase has been added to Washington political argot: "nuclear gaffe." President Reagan is supposed to have made such a "nuclear gaffe" when he observed somewhat offhandedly that "limited" nuclear exchanges were indeed possible. He thus confirmed the fears of millions of Europeans who have taken to the streets to protest U.S. missiles in Europe and the idea that World War III would be fought within their national borders. General Haig went before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on November 4 allegedly to calm the nervous nellies across the Atlantic. But instead of a political bromide, Haig, NATO commander from 1975 to 1979, explained that in order to "deter" the Soviet Union in Europe, "there are contingency plans in NATO doctrine to fire a nuclear weapon for demonstrative purposes to demonstrate to the other side that they are exceeding the limits of toleration in the conventional area."

This proclamation sent shudders across Europe. The Russians noted that it "boils down to stating that Washington admits the possibility to be first to use nuclear weapons in Europe" (*New York Times*, 7 November). The next day, in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee, war secretary Weinberger tried to patch things up by denying that there was such a NATO plan. The State Department and the Pentagon thereupon issued a joint statement declaring that both were right. Haig was right in saying that NATO had considered such a demonstration bomb, but Weinberger was also right insofar as it was not a "precise" plan. This did not make anyone stop worrying about the bomb. As the Soviet agency TASS wrote, the explanation was "incoherent" and "in actual fact, as aggressive as the statement of the U.S. administration itself."

At his press conference Reagan explained his comments about "limited" nuclear war by saying that while it was possible to be pessimistic about nuclear exchanges, he was "optimistic" about it all. All the talk about "limited" nuclear war, "demonstration" bombs and nuclear "optimism" are not nuclear "gaffes," but the loose-lipped expressions of *U.S. strategic policy of a first strike against the Soviet Union.* More than any other administration, this one views nuclear war against the Soviets not only as thinkable, but plannable, survivable, and winnable. They intend to use their nuclear weapons, and they are on a campaign to win some public acceptance for this view. That is what is behind the easy, cynical talk about what used to be called the "unthinkable."

Consider the recent statements of Eugene Rostow, the superhawk who heads up the "disarmament" chicken coop. Asked by Senator Claiborne Pell about survival in an all-out nuclear war, Rostow replied: "The human race is very resilient, Senator Pell" (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 September). And he went on to optimistically speculate that there might be "10 million (dead) on one side and 100 million on the other, but that is not the whole population." He pointed out that "Japan, after all, not only survived but flourished after the attack." As co-founder of the far-right Committee on the Present Danger, Rostow had explained that U.S. military posture could no longer be conditioned by post-World War II assumptions. "We are living in a pre-war world," he has said, offering an analysis remarkable for its candor. "Our posture today is comparable to that of Britain, France and the United States during the '30s. Whether we are at the Rhineland or Munich watershed remains to be seen."

Demonstration at Hiroshima

No wonder few outside Reagan/Haig's fanatic circle were optimistic about the "demonstration" bomb. Some military experts speculated that the nuclear "demonstration" would take place in the atmosphere over the Soviet Union. Most understood that what Haig was talking about was not "maintain[ing] violence at the lowest level," but beginning World War III. Would the U.S. imperialists begin a nuclear holocaust with a demo N-bomb? In fact, the U.S. has already detonated "demonstration" bombs... on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

At the time of the planning of that nuclear attack, a so-called "scientists revolt" occurred in which leading creators of the A-bomb asked that a "demonstration alternative" be selected over unpopulated territory. What these nuclear physicists did not understand was that the targets and timing for the bombs were already meant as a demonstration—not to Japan, to be sure, but to the Soviet Union.

The Japanese knew they were militarily washed up and had been trying to define the terms of surrender at least since July of 1945. But Washington rushed to drop the bomb before the Japanese surrendered, to demonstrate this new destructive weapon to the Russians who were scheduled to invade the Far East in mid-August at least three months before the scheduled American invasion. So on August 6 they demonstrated to the Soviet Union not only the most ferocious single military weapon of all time, but the capacity to use it when the Russians knew that it was not militarily required. On August 9, Russia declared war on Japan and the Red Army began the invasion of Manchuria. On August 10 the U.S. dropped its second bomb on Nagasaki.

History has made clear what was obvious to many at the time: the atomic bombs were dropped upon tens of thousands of helpless civilians not just to end the war as Truman falsely stated, but as the first large-scale military/diplomatic act of the Cold War. It was used particularly as nuclear blackmail against the Russians in Eastern Europe. Now they are talking about more demonstration nuclear bombs for Russia. In 1945 they said they exploded two A-bombs because two was all they had. This time they have enough to blow up the world.

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wing death squads and the junta's army in the last year. That is the proof."
—"Smash Junta Terror!" *WV* No. 276, 13 March 1981

Castro justifies this refusal with the claim that "the channels for it do not exist." Why? Certainly not because arms could not be physically delivered to Salvadoran leftists. That is absurd. It is because the Cuban Fidelistas and Nicaraguan Sandinistas both fear to provide weapons to the insurgents because it could be used by the Reaganite Cold Warriors as an excuse for a blockade or invasion. But "socialism in one island" and "sandinismo in one banana republic" will not be preserved by appeasing Yankee imperialism, as events are demonstrating. Within the framework of the Stalinist nationalism of a bureaucratically deformed workers state, Castro has responded with dignity and courage to the Reaganite threats:

> "The imperialists mention total blockade as part of their arsenal of measures against Cuba. Very well, we'll have a new experience and so will they, because one thing we're sure of is that our country can resist a total blockade as long as we have to."
> —*Granma*, 1 November

But ultimately, the only real defense of the Cuban revolution is through its international extension—throughout Latin America and above all to the imperialist metropolis to the north.

Defend Cuba and the Soviet Union! Hands Off Nicaragua!

What will the imperialists do? We are not privy to the secrets of the Pentagon, the State Department and the CIA. An invasion of Cuba would be the start of World War III. As liberal think-tanker William LeoGrande wrote in the *New York Times* (17 November), the outcome of the 1962 Cuban missile crisis "was largely the result of the [U.S.'] 5-to-1 nuclear-weapons superiority over the Soviet Union"; now that the U.S. and USSR "stand at relative nuclear parity, the Soviet Union is much less likely to capitulate in such a crisis." And the '62 missile crisis is as close as we have come, *so far*, to nuclear Armageddon.

Socialist revolutionists do not rely on the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet degenerated workers state, which has sold out plenty of revolutions, from Spain to Chile. The only guarantee of victory for the Salvadoran masses, of social revolution in Nicaragua, of defense of workers state power in Cuba is through international proletarian revolution under a Leninist-Trotskyist leadership. Hands Off Nicaragua! Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Defend Cuba and the USSR! For Workers Revolution! ■

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Pilsudski and Counterrevolution in Poland

Last week for the first time ever the Polish Stalinist regime celebrated the anniversary of the founding of the independent Polish bourgeois republic on 11 November 1918. This was yet another and very significant ideological concession to the counterrevolutionary forces in and around Solidarność. For, as the *New York Times* (12 November) pointed out:

> "Indirectly, today's event also honored the memory of Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, the nationalist military leader who led Poland to independence in 1918 and headed an authoritarian military regime from 1926 until his death in 1935."

Observing that today "veneration of Marshal Pilsudski is a national passion," the *Times* reported:

> "Workers at a Gdansk ship repair yard announced today that they were renaming their yard the Jozef Pilsudski Shipyard. His photograph, instantly recognizable for its drooping walrus mustache, hangs over many a hearth. Marchers today wore it as a postcard-size badge."

Imagine if East German workers renamed their workplace the Adolf Hitler Shipyard, or Chinese workers chose to call theirs the Marshal Chiang Kai-shek Shipyard! Every class-conscious worker in the U.S. and West Europe would instantly grasp the utterly reactionary nature of such a movement. Outside Poland, the name Pilsudski doesn't mean much today, but for Marxists it rings alarm bells.

Over the past year we have insistently warned of the ties between Lech Walesa & Co. and that agency of international capitalist reaction, the Catholic church, and their efforts to propagate clerical nationalism in Poland. Now that they have gone over to increasingly open calls for counterrevolution, the leaders of Solidarność are also frankly revealing the other side of their ideological badge: Pilsudskiite nationalism, violently anti-Soviet with an overlay of populist rhetoric. And the Pilsudski they most revere is the military man on horseback who in 1920 with the aid of Western imperialism stopped the advance of the Red Army before Warsaw. The very day after the seizure of the Lenin Shipyard in August 1980, Cardinal Wyszynski led 150,000 "pilgrims" in a commemoration of this "miracle on the Vistula."

Pilsudski was one of the leading right-wing dictators of interwar Europe, sharing much in common with fascists like Hitler and Mussolini, Admiral Horthy's fascistic regime in Hungary and bonapartist military dictators such as Franco or Pétain. In 1934, for example, at the personal instigation of Joseph Goebbels, Pilsudski set up a concentration camp for Communists, social democrats, Jewish and national minority militants, and other "enemies of the Polish nation." An American liberal historian described the Pilsudskiite regime of the mid/late-1930s as follows:

> "The program of the Camp of National Unity was an amazing concoction, full of national jingoism, anti-Semitism, a domestic variety of authoritarian rule, and a sprinkling of social ideas borrowed from Mussolini."
>
> —Samuel L. Sharp, *Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field* (1953)

Solidarność hails Jozef Pilsudski, fascistic dictator of interwar Poland.

Der Spiegel

Like Mussolini, Pilsudski began his career as a socialist. Unlike Mussolini, his transformation from socialist agitator to right-wing dictator was gradual rather than abrupt—a factor of considerable significance in modern Polish history.

From Nationalistic Socialist to Anti-Soviet Militarist

The 1815 Congress of Vienna, which ended the Napoleonic wars, marked the third partition of Poland. Most of the nation ("Congress Poland") was incorporated into tsarist Russia, while smaller segments were taken over by Habsburg Austria and the Prussian monarchy. The first Polish working-class socialist organization, Ludvik Waryński's party Proletariat, emerged in the late 1870s. Rejecting the traditional radical program of a national uprising, the party Proletariat collaborated closely with the Russian populists in the struggle against tsarism. Subsequently, however, Polish proletarian socialism became deeply divided between those (such as Rosa Luxemburg) who fought together with their Russian comrades for a social revolution throughout the tsarist empire, and those who sought to mobilize the workers movement in a struggle for national independence.

From the time he entered the scene in the 1890s, Pilsudski represented the extreme nationalistic right wing of Polish socialism. In the wake of the Russian Revolution of 1905, which also engulfed Poland, Pilsudski's violent nationalism split the Polish Socialist Party (PPS). The majority PPS-Left dropped national independence from its immediate "minimum" program and placed a question mark over its ultimate desirability. The centrist PPS-Left was the principal party of the Polish working class in the pre-1914 period, with the revolutionary Luxemburg/Jogiches SDKPiL standing to its left and the Pilsudskiite nationalists to its right. The Polish Communist Party later emerged from a fusion of the PPS-Left and the SDKPiL. (For a discussion of the national question in the pre-1914 Polish socialist movement, see "Lenin versus Luxemburg on the National Question," *WV* No. 150, 25 March 1977).

In the years leading up to World War I, Pilsudski shifted his organizational base from his own ultra-nationalist wing of Polish socialism to paramilitary groups that were to be the core of his legionary movement. When the war broke out Pilsudski's legionnaires allied themselves with Kaiser Wilhelm's Germany against tsarist Russia. The Bolshevik Revolution and Russia's withdrawal from the war with the 1918 Brest-Litovsk treaty radically altered the situation in Poland. The Germans, no longer needing and not trusting their erstwhile Polish allies, imprisoned Pilsudski. When Germany was defeated on the Western Front in late 1918, an independent Poland, like the other new East European states, was created by the Treaty of Versailles. This new national Poland was a client state of French imperialism acting as a barrier between Bolshevik Russia and defeated Germany, then in revolutionary ferment.

Trotsky addresses Red Army troops on the march to Warsaw, 1920.

Pilsudski returned to Warsaw as a great national hero, becoming president and commander in chief of the armed forces of the "new Poland."

If Polish socialism was deeply divided between nationalists and internationalists, Polish nationalism was also split into two well-defined camps. The bourgeois conservatives, centrally the National Democrats, wanted to minimize the size of any national minorities in an independent Polish state. They were, so to speak, Little Polanders. Pilsudski, in contrast, wanted to "restore" the greater (Jagiellon) Poland of the late Middle Ages which had included Lithuania, the Ukraine and Byelorussia. With his grandiose territorial ambitions toward the Ukraine, the "left" nationalist Pilsudski was actually more anti-Soviet than the bourgeois conservatives like Roman Dmowski who viewed Germany, not Russia, as the main enemy.

Taking advantage of Soviet Russia's exhaustion after six years of imperialist war and civil war, in the spring of 1920 Pilsudski unexpectedly attacked the Ukraine. The Red Army was caught unawares and initially driven back. A counterattack, however, sent Pilsudski's forces reeling and brought the Soviet armies to the gates of Warsaw. Fearing that Poland was about to fall to Bolshevism and the entire Versailles system could collapse, France rushed military aid to the besieged Pilsudski. This imperialist support combined with blunders by the Soviet high command (including Stalin's insubordination) allowed Pilsudski to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. (For an account of the 1920-21 Russo-Polish war and its historic significance, see "The Bolsheviks and the 'Export of Revolution'," *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980.)

The 1921 Treaty of Riga, which ended the war, incorporated into Pilsudski's Poland some five million Ukrainians and a million and a half Byelorussians—oppressed national minorities constituting about 20 percent of the population. In addition, another 10 percent of the population of the Polish state was Jewish. The suppression of these minorities was to become a central factor in the internal political life of interwar Poland.

The Left and Pilsudski's 1926 Coup

By 1918 Pilsudski had openly repudiated socialism. ("In the beginning we took the same red-painted streetcar; as for me, I got off at Independence station," he told his former comrades.) Nevertheless he continued to employ a certain populist rhetoric and was still generally regarded as a man of the left. This reputation was of critical importance for the success of his bonapartist ambitions.

In 1923 Pilsudski was pushed out of power by his bourgeois conservative opponents. In 1926, amid increasing and broad popular discontent with the succession of unstable right-wing parliamentary governments, he organized a coup d'état based on army units loyal to their former commander. In this bid for supreme power Pilsudski made overtures to his former PPS comrades for support, and this was more or less given. Moreover, when in May 1926 Pilsudski's forces marched on Warsaw, the Communist Party too offered to place itself under the marshal's baton. A strike of Socialist railway workers proved decisive for Pilsudski's victory as it prevented the regime from transporting loyal regiments to the besieged capital. And a major reason that the government capitulated so quickly was fear that in a civil war Pilsudski's working-class backers would gain the upper hand. Better Pilsudski than a social revolution, the Polish bourgeoisie reasoned.

The misguided Communist Party leaders, like Adolf Warski, had been

Archiv

May Day, Warsaw 1928: Mass Communist-led demonstration fired on by Pilsudskiite guards and Social Democratic militia.

overcome by the working masses' enthusiasm for "the man of the left" on horseback and their hatred for the existing right-wing regime. As Leon Trotsky later pointed out, they were certainly also influenced by the winds blowing from the Kremlin where Lenin's epigones were abandoning the program of the October Revolution and reviving the discarded formula of a "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry." And so they supported "the almost 'democratic dictatorship' of the reactionary martinet." As Pilsudski quickly showed his true colors, the Polish CP was turned around and criticized its "May mistake." But the social democrats continued to support the marshal for more than two years. In fact, on May Day 1928 the PPS militia and Pilsudskiite guards opened fire on a mass Communist-led demonstration. Isaac Deutscher, who was one of the marchers, gave a moving account in his 1958 essay "The Tragedy of the Polish Communist Party":

> "He [Warski] was marching in the forefront of our huge and illegal demonstration, through the hail of machine-gun fire and rifle shots with which we were greeted by the Socialist Party militia; while tens and hundreds of wounded were falling in our ranks, he held up his white-grey head, a high and easy target, visible from afar; unyielding and unmoved, he addressed the crowd."
>
> —reproduced in *Marxism in Our Time* (1971), edited by Tamara Deutscher

In a speech before a Comintern commission, Trotsky analyzed Pilsudski's coup two months after it occurred:

> "... Pilsudski quickly found common ground with big capital, despite the fact that in its roots, impulses, and slogans, the movement he headed was petty bourgeois, a 'plebeian' means of solving the pressing problems of capitalist society in process of decline and destruction. Here there is a direct parallel with Italian fascism."
>
> —reproduced in "Pilsudskism, Fascism and the Character of Our Epoch," *Writings* [1932]

Trotsky's insistence that Pilsudski's coup represented "an antiparliamentary and, above all, antiproletarian counterrevolution" was fully borne out. Like Mussolini's Italy, Pilsudski's Poland

continued on page 8

State Department Socialists Rally for Solidarność Counterrevolution

> "We warn you. We warn you that we will do everything we can in all our countries to see to it that an invasion of Poland by the Soviet Union will cost in political terms the highest political price."

Ronald Reagan? Alexander Haig? No, America's leading "democratic socialist," Michael Harrington, addressing a leftish audience of 500 at "An Afternoon in Solidarity with Solidarity" in New York City on November 8. Harrington's presentation dominated this rally, not simply because he was the most prominent figure present, but because he had a clear purpose: to mobilize American left-liberal opinion behind the pro-imperialist Solidarność' bid for power and to whip up anti-Soviet frenzy. Here was "State Department socialism" pure and simple. In fact, Harrington's "warning" was, if anything, more inflammatory, more extreme than those of General Haig's State Department or other representatives of the Reagan administration.

The significance of this rally lay not so much in what the various speakers said, which except for the one Pole present, Tadeusz Kowalik, was uniformly banal and/or demagogic. The significance lay rather in the composition of the participants. This pro-Solidarność fête registered a regroupment of American anti-Soviet social democracy and its assorted fellow travelers in tune with Cold War II, thus overcoming the divisions of the Vietnam War years. More specifically, this rally could be entitled: "Left Shachtmanites Return to the State Department Fold." The different species of Shachtmanites (left-, ex- and others) who joined Harrington included Joanne Landy, Pete Camarata, C.L.R. James and the RSL.

Shachtmanites Unite for a "Free World" Poland

The spiritual father of contemporary American "State Department socialism" is the late Max Shachtman, who broke with Trotskyism in 1940, refusing to defend the Soviet Union in World War II. Under the pressure of the Cold War Shachtman developed the position that Stalinist totalitarianism ("bureaucratic collectivism") was a greater threat to a socialist future than capitalist democracy. In the late 1950s the Shachtmanites took over the official Socialist Party (SP) and moved it in an even more anti-Communist direction. Shachtman himself supported Kennedy's Bay of Pigs invasion. And the SP supported the Vietnam War to the bitter end, even after Nixon had given it up as a lost cause. Harrington stayed in the pro-war SP until 1972 when he split.

By the late '60s Harrington's Socialist Party was reduced to a despised anti-Communist sect far to the right of mainstream Democratic Party liberals. Seeking to escape the stench of death around the SP, in the mid-1960s various left Shachtmanites drifted out and eventually assembled in the International Socialists (I.S.). I.S. then functioned, rather unsuccessfully, as a soft social-democratic pole in the 1960s New Left radical milieu, with Joanne Landy one of its prominent spokesmen. In the early 1970s she drifted into New Left feminist circles, but she remains enough of a Shachtmanite to join with Harrington to bring "democratic socialism" (read capitalist restoration) to Poland.

WV Photo

Michael Harrington, pied piper of Reagan's Cold War II.

While Pete Camarata was presented to the pro-Solidarność rally as simply the head of Teamsters for a Democratic Union, he too is a representative, even if not a very bright one, of left Shachtmanism. In the mid-1970s he was the I.S.' "honest worker" superstar. The I.S. also made much of the fact that he was a devout Catholic, a happy anticipation of their line on Poland. A few years ago Camarata got involved in I.S.' umpteenth split and took his "honest worker" act to a sectlet called Workers Power. Now the Catholic Camarata has joined the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and Ronald Reagan in fighting for "free" (read pro-imperialist) trade unions in the Soviet bloc.

The Revolutionary Socialist League grew out of a circle of New Left activists in Chicago who threw in with I.S. when SDS split in 1969. But this New Left graft didn't take. So in 1973 what became the RSL exited stage left, swearing on stacks of Trotsky *Writings* that they had broken completely.

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Pilsudski...

(continued from page 7)

was transformed into a police state gradually, somewhat more gradually than in the Italian case. Enjoying broad popular prestige and the support of the mass of the Socialist Party, he initially attempted to rule with the consent of the Sejm (parliament) while seeking a rapprochement with the right. But the masses' growing disillusionment with Pilsudski expressed itself in the 1928 Sejm elections where the Socialists and Communists and their respective allies received 34 percent of the vote compared to 26 percent for the Pilsudskiite bloc.

Pilsudski's "honeymoon" period was given the *coup de grâce* by the capitalist world's Great Depression. The regime responded with the traditional right-wing remedy of extreme deflation (now revived by Margaret Thatcher), seeking to drive down wages in order to make Polish industry competitive on world markets. Predictably this further depressed the economy. Between 1929 and 1934 real national income fell by 25 percent—a tremendous drop. Under pressure from their economically desperate working-class base and buoyed by their 1928 electoral showing, the social democrats finally moved toward opposition. In 1929 the PPS' *Robotnik* (which Pilsudski himself had founded in the 1890s) declared:

> "The Pilsudski of 1905, of 1914, of 1918 or of 1920 belongs to history; the Pilsudski of 1926-29 is the leader of the disappearing world of Old Poland, the Poland of the aristocratic societies, of the "Leviathans" [industrial cartels], of bureaucracy and the 'moral cleansing'."
>
> —quoted in Hans Roos, *A History of Modern Poland* (1966)

The social democrats neglected to say that until then they had supported, arms in hand, the leader of Old Poland which was not at all disappearing.

In fact, Old Poland soon struck back at the social democrats. In 1930, shortly before new Sejm elections, the leaders of the so-called Center-Left opposition were arrested on charges of high treason and taken to Brešč (Brest-Litovsk) fortress where they were tortured. Especially brutal treatment was meted out to a prominent Jewish leader of the Socialist Party, Herman Lieberman. The 60-year-old Lieberman was repeatedly beaten into unconsciousness and subjected to a mock execution. The regime's sharp rightward turn in 1930 produced serious resistance among the large Ukrainian minority. Pilsudski responded with a "pacification" campaign, conducted by the army and police, which became an international scandal for closing Ukrainian schools, destroying Ukrainian organizations and subjecting thousands of Ukrainians to beatings, torture and prison.

After 1930, writes an anti-Communist Cold War academic, the Pilsudski regime "became known as the 'regime of the colonels', who threatened their political opponents with 'breaking their bones'" (M.K. Dziewanowski, *The Communist Party of Poland* [1976]). Now it was effectively a one-man dictatorship. A few years later Pilsudski revised the constitution making the president responsible only "before God and history." Throughout the 1930s strikes and protests were suppressed by police terror, innumerable workers and peasants were killed. And especially after his death in 1935, "the regime of the colonels" identified itself ideologically with fascism.

Polish Nationalism and Anti-Semitism

The Pilsudskiite nationalists did not have to learn their anti-Semitism from Hitler, Goebbels & Co. Polish nationalism has historically been associated with anti-Semitism, Jews being viewed as Russifiers before 1917 and pro-Bolshevist after the Russian Revolution. The official proclamation of an independent Poland in November 1918 was "celebrated" by drunken mobs attacking Jewish ghettos. One of the first acts of the reconstituted Sejm was to make it difficult for Jews to Polonize their names, seeking in this way to escape victimization at the hands of the anti-Semites. The new Poland was *the* country of the *numerus clausus*, the restriction on Jewish admissions to the universities. Moreover, the 1920-21 Russo-Polish war was accompanied by a wave of large-scale pogroms, as Polish nationalists looked upon Jews as a pro-Bolshevik "fifth column." The Pilsudskiite high command interned Jewish officers, many of them volunteers, in a prison camp and transferred Jewish soldiers to disciplinary labor battalions.

The Great Depression brought with it a new wave of anti-Semitic violence, directed in the first place at Jewish merchants and university-trained professionals, who competed economically with the Polish Catholic petty bourgeoisie. "The socialism of fools," the old German social democrat August Bebel called anti-Semitism. While Pilsudski was not personally an anti-Semitic bigot (Jews were among his legionnaires in World War I), increasingly he tolerated attacks on Jews by his right-wing opponents, the National Democrats, as well as by his supporters. Throughout the 1930s there was an escalation of anti-Jewish violence, especially after Pilsudski's death in 1935 when his successors openly embraced anti-Semitic demagogy. In 1930-31 a wave of attacks on Jewish students swept the universities. In the mid-'30s a mass campaign to boycott Jewish merchants was organized. One of the major organizing forces behind this campaign was the Roman Catholic church. In a 1936 pastoral letter Cardinal Hlond declared:

> "It is an actual fact that Jews fight against the Catholic Church, they are free-thinkers, and constitute the vanguard of atheism, bolshevism and revolution. The Jewish influence on morals is fatal.... It is a fact that the Jews are embezzlers, usurers and engage in the white-slave traffic."
>
> —quoted in Simon Segal, *The New Poland and the Jews* (1938)

In the late 1930s the Polish government actually proposed in the League of Nations "international measures" to remove 100,000 Jews a year from Poland. And in one sense the regime succeeded in this aim. Most of the Polish Jews who emigrated to Palestine fled not from the Nazi occupation but from the Pilsudskiite regime. The situation facing Jews under the bonapartist military regime is described by the liberal historian Sharp:

> "In the last prewar years, under the influence of the ephemeral friendship with Nazi Germany and under the pressure of radically anti-Semitic groups, the government of Poland began quite openly to tolerate outbreaks of violence against Jews which spread from the universities to small towns and villages."
>
> —*Poland: White Eagle on a Red Field*

Because these pogroms were carried out by fascistic bands, rather than the police and army, the Jews were able to organize, often quite effectively, to defend themselves. Experienced in mortal combat against native Polish anti-Semitism, in 1943 the Jewish community of Warsaw rose up against the Nazi occupation and held out against the German armed forces for nine months! The Warsaw ghetto uprising is a truly heroic chapter in the history of the Polish working masses. While Solidarność wants to "rewrite Polish history" to honor the reactionary Pilsudskiite scum, revolutionary socialists honor the Polish Jewish workers and ghetto poor who fought to their deaths against the armed might of Nazi Germany.

The Katyn Massacre: No Crime Against Polish Workers

An important aspect of the current glorification of Pilsudskiite Poland is raking up the Katyn massacre as supposedly the great crime of the Soviets against the Polish people. Many Solidarność activists reportedly sport badges with a cross and the word "Katyn" on them. And in his widely publicized speech to the Solidarność congress in September, the old social democrat Edward Lipinski made the "crime of Katyn" one of his main points of attack against the regime:

> "...there was an article [in the Polish army press] in which the bastards from Solidarity and KOR were attacked for still continuing to claim that Katyn was a crime of the Russians. 'No,' they said, 'the Germans caused Katyn.' They dare to spread this kind of lie in 1981."
>
> —reproduced in *New York Review of Books*, 19 November

When the Soviet army occupied eastern Poland in September 1939 it took about 250,000 prisoners of war. After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR in 1941 these Polish POWs were released except for about 15,000, mainly officers, who were never accounted for. In 1943 Goebbels announced that the Germans had discovered a mass grave in the Katyn forest near Smolensk, Russia.

Der Spiegel

Exhuming bodies in Katyn Forest, 1943: massacre was no crime against the Polish working class.

The 4,000 exhumed bodies (not ten or fifteen thousand as is commonly claimed) were those of the missing Polish officers. Seeking to widen the rift between the right-wing Polish government-in-exile in London and the Soviet Union, the Germans accused the Russians of killing the officers. The Kremlin, in turn, claimed (and continues to claim) that the Germans did it.

At the time the Germans assembled an "international commission" of experts in forensic medicine who judged that the bodies had been in the ground at least three years, i.e., from 1940 (before the German invasion) not 1941. It could be argued that the Nazis coerced the medical group into this verdict, although they maintained the same position after the war. Other evidence (e.g., the victims' families stopped receiving mail in 1940) also suggests that the NKVD rather than the Gestapo or the SS may have been the executioners in Katyn.

In any case, revolutionary Marxists do not support the indiscriminate killing of the bourgeois officer caste any more than that of factory owners or bourgeois politicians. (Those personally responsible for crimes and atrocities against the working masses are another matter; they will certainly be subject to revolutionary justice.) *Nevertheless, Katyn is not a crime against the Polish working people.* These were the military officers of a fascistic, anti-Semitic dictatorship which regularly butchered workers and even bourgeois dissidents. Many of them no doubt had participated in the Ukrainian "pacification" campaigns. Would Edward Lipinski and his comrades have shed any tears in 1940 over the death of these military cadre of the colonels' regime which killed, tortured and imprisoned many Socialist Party militants?

In 1929 the social democrats stated that their former comrade-in-arms Jozef Pilsudski now represented "the disappearing world of Old Poland." But the world of Old Poland did not simply disappear; it was overthrown after World War II by a social revolution bureaucratically imposed by the Soviet Union. But the remnants of Old Poland, above all, the Catholic church, survived and even grew under Stalinist rule. Today Old Poland raises its head, threatening to return through a capitalist counterrevolution spearheaded by Solidarność, which offers itself as a company union for the Western bankers, Radio Free Europe and the Pentagon. Polish Solidarity's counterrevolution must be stopped! Tempered in the struggle against clerical nationalism, a revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard party must be built to lead a proletarian political revolution that sweeps away not only the despised Stalinist bureaucracy, but all of the reactionary filth left over from Pilsudskiite Poland besides. ■

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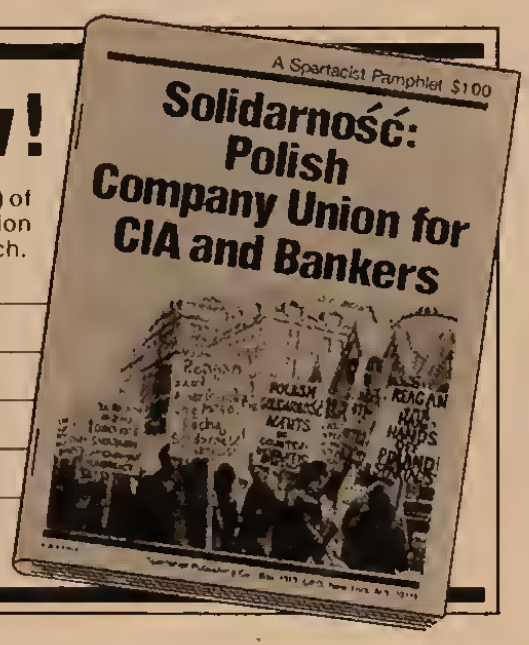

France...

(continued from page 3)

switch roles and take over the CFDT's position as transmission belt for the Mitterrand government. And PCF transport minister Charles Fiterman zealously played his part, threatening Air France and SNCF strikers (repeating the old bourgeois line that such strikes inconvenience the "public") and doing Reagan a favor by stopping French air controllers' boycott of U.S. planes in solidarity with their fired American counterparts.

A class-struggle policy could have won at Billancourt and Sandouville. Not interminable limited work stoppages, but a full-scale offensive including *plant occupations, mass picket lines* to entirely shut down production and the organization of *workers self-defense* against management, to *strike the entire Renault chain.* This would not only shut down the R-4 model (over 20 years old) produced at Billancourt, but also the more profitable R-5 and R-9 models. Also, democratically elected *strike committees*, responsible before mass assemblies of the workers, which could become the embryos of *factory committees* and organs of workers control if the struggle escalates.

Mitterrand's Bourgeois Nationalizations

The PCF and CGT, while reluctantly backing some limited walkouts, have put all their energy into a propaganda campaign in the plants singing the praises of nationalized industry. Mitterrand/Mauroy want to demonstrate in practice that the nationalized firms will be profitable. And to help them out the Stalinists refuse to strike plants producing the newer models key to Renault's international sales drive. This is the treacherous result of the PCF/CGT "produce French" campaign: safeguarding Renault profits at the expense of wages and working conditions.

Far from representing "first steps toward socialism," or even an attack on the contemporary equivalent of the "200 families," the government program of nationalizations is intended to streamline French capitalism. It is limited to a few monopolies—the Socialists broke with Marchais' PCF in 1977 over the latter's call for taking over several scores of subsidiaries. The payoff to the capitalist owners will be over $8 billion in negotiable bonds—amounting to more than $200 in tax revenues per Frenchman. And in many cases the previous management will be left in place. Moreover, much of the management personnel will be drawn from the same pool of cadres educated by the elite National School of Administration as before. There is not a hint of social revolution in Mitterrand's program.

In fact, the primary motivation of the Socialists' package of state takeovers is economic nationalism—to "reconquer the domestic market." In a press conference last month, Mitterrand summed up his policy with the words, "for us nationalization is a weapon to protect France's production apparatus." The particular firms chosen either need massive state subsidies for research and investment to compete with American, German and Japanese giants; or like ITT-France and CII-Honeywell they are "multinational" monopolies in key sectors. Mitterrand calls his nationalizations the economic version of the *force de frappe* [France's nuclear "deterrent"]. How right he is. The reformists who call on the workers to sacrifice their jobs and wages in order to protect inefficient French industry will one day call on them to give up their lives for the defense of French imperialism. Ultimately "produce French" means imperialist war.

The Mitterrand government cannot be pressured, reformed or cajoled into expropriating the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, the popular front of class collaboration is committed to the defense of capitalism—it is a roadblock, not a stepping stone, to socialism. And as the working class becomes increasingly restive in the absence of the promised *changement*, reformist and centrist supporters of Mitterrand are increasingly under fire. At the recent Socialist Party "congress of victory" in Valence, there was some stormy rhetoric. One orator even repeated Robespierre's famous threat that "heads must roll"—but only to justify the introduction of the spoils system in the state bureaucracy! In the PCF ranks there is growing discord, in several directions. For the last few years Marchais' party has vacillated back and forth between traditional Moscow-loyal Stalinism and "Eurocommunism." With PCF ministers in Mitterrand's anti-Soviet cabinet the heat is on not only to act as a watchdog on the unions, but also to definitively break the tie to the Kremlin.

Feeding on the climate of the Carter/Reagan Cold War, a Eurocommunist wing of this main party of the French proletariat is demanding a return to a full-fledged Union of the Left. There are also elements, however, who balk at the price required for PCF participation in the government. A small group around the newspaper *Le Communiste* sees itself as spokesman for an "anti-opportunist current." Their October issue complains that the PCF must now enforce "austerity on the backs of the workers"; an article on the walkout at the SNCF denounces CGT tops for blocking militant union action; Mitterrand's nationalizations, they say, represent "exploitation not socialization." What is their alternative? It is indicative that *Le Communiste* seldom *calls for* anything, for they have no real answer, only the yearning for "better" bureaucrats.

Today the "anti-opportunists" see the source of all evil in the PCF's formal abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in 1976. But how are the PCF's betrayals now so different from before? What about the selling out of the 1968 general strike by PCF leader Waldeck-Rochet, a far greater crime. What about in 1947, when in a desperate effort to maintain the faltering Popular Front the Communist Party tried to break a militant Renault strike by labeling its leaders "anarcho-Hitlero-Trotskyite wreckers." Or in 1945 when Thorez declared "strikes are the arm of the trusts" in breaking a strike of the nationalized coal mines. And what of the PCF in the Blum Popular Front of 1936 when Thorez made his famous statement, "It's necessary to know how to end a strike," in order to head off a movement that promised to be the beginning of the French revolution.

The Trotskyists *alone* have consistently fought against these betrayals, which necessarily flow from the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country." The Eurocommunist traitors simply want to take this liquidationist, nationalist program to its final conclusion; the "anti-opportunists" pull back in fear of the consequences.

The revolutionary proletarian opposition of the Trotskyist movement to popular frontism is well known. So well known, in fact, that when Mitterrand came to office even bourgeois journalists recalled that in 1936 it was Leon Trotsky who called for "soviets everywhere" to take the general strike forward to revolution. It was the centrist Pivert, in contrast, who proclaimed that "everything is possible" with the victory of the popular front. (To which the hard-nosed Stalinist Thorez replied that "everything is not possible"...and proved it by quashing the strike.) Yet today the behavior of the main ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France is quite different from the intransigent revolutionary opposition of Trotsky. For a Krivine or Lambert "everything is possible"...if Mitterrand permits it. And in the October strikes their role was to protect the social democrats from the workers' anger.

Scandalously, the main demand of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) and the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) in the Renault strike was for...*new bosses*! They appealed to the government to come to the aid of the strikers against the government-run corporation. "Renault: Drive Out the Giscardian Management" was the red headline across two pages of the LCR's *Rouge* (16-22 October). The government must "decide to dismiss the entire management" of Renault, said the OCI's *Informations Ouvrières* (17-24 October). Ironically, the minister of industry to whom these demands are directed is none other than Dreyfus, the former president of Renault who ran the company with an iron hand for decades. It would be comical if this weren't such an insidious attempt to divert the workers' struggles onto the parliamentary road in the service of the popular front.

In 1947 the French Trotskyists called for extending the Renault strike into a strike by all metal workers, and then for a general strike. Today, the OCI/LCR pseudo-Trotskyists *refuse* to call even for a strike of the entire Renault chain, for fear that it would put in jeopardy Mitterrand's program of nationalizations. Where Trotskyists fight for expropriation of the bourgeoisie by a workers government, these fakers support the social-democratic nationalizations by a popular front, "generous" compensation to the bosses and all. And where Trotsky stood with Liebknecht in the tradition of communist anti-militarism—"not a penny, not a man" to the bourgeois army—the LCR has now made its main campaign the reduction of the period of conscription to six months (which, moreover, is a plank in the PS program).

The contrast with the program of authentic Trotskyism could not be more striking. The founder of the Fourth International wrote of the Popular Front of the 1930s:

> "Only conscious traitors or hopeless muddleheads are capable of thinking that it is possible to keep the masses immobilized up to the moment when they will be blessed from above by the government of the People's Front. Strikes, protests, street clashes, direct uprisings are absolutely inevitable in the present situation. The task of the proletarian party consists not in checking and paralyzing these movements but in unifying them and investing them with the greatest possible force."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "For Committees of Action, Not the People's Front" (November 1935)

The pseudo-Trotskyists spit on the lessons of class struggle since 1914: the social democrats in power are agents of the bourgeois state no less than Gaullists or Giscardians. The LCR/OCI now become the "best builders" of the popular front with a program which makes Pivert's "fighting popular front" look like raving ultraleftism in comparison. The LCR proclaimed the "far left" to be the "third component of the majority" after the PS and PCF. Actually it is the fourth—don't forget the token bourgeois politicians. As for their real function it is as a fifth wheel of the popular front.

The Ligue Trotskyste de France, section of the international Spartacist tendency, defends the masses' struggles for elementary trade-union demands *against* the "popular" government. We oppose "national defense" of the bourgeois state and poisonous economic protectionism. We oppose the virulent anti-Soviet policy of the Mitterrand government, supported both by the PCF and the now tame "far left." No unity with the agents of imperialism, defenders of capitalism, betrayers of the workers! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Corrections

In the article, "For Labor Action to Bring Down Reagan" (*WV* No. 289, 25 September), we noted that despite the mounting anger of the American working class against Reagan it remains no less anti-communist, particularly on issues of foreign policy. But things aren't quite as bad as we said, mistakenly referring to "a poll taken at the demonstration [which] claimed a majority of those questioned supported a stronger military." In fact, the poll taken by Public Interest Television showed the opposite. A majority were *against* Reagan's war budget, 19 percent in favor and 24 percent wanted even more military spending.

In *WV* No. 291, 23 October, we reported that at its "All People's Congress" at Detroit's Cobo Hall, Workers World did not sell the previous issue of its paper which carried an article by Sam Marcy admitting that Polish Solidarność is counterrevolutionary. The issue of *Workers World* sold at Cobo Hall *did* include an article with the Marcyites' line on Poland. However, as we had predicted, they did not raise the key question of Polish Solidarność during the Congress for fear of alienating the liberals.

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S.F. Phone...

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in which he underlined the demand, "Finks out of the union." Ikegami observed:

> "Workers are looking around at the union and how weak it has gotten. They're also looking at Reagan in power, his concerted attack on the unions and minorities and his drive toward World War III. And they want answers. Left-talking out-bureaucrats like former E-Board members Contreras and Carreras not only have no strategy to fight, but are not even running in this election. People are looking to the Militant Action Caucus."

The caucus ran a hard aggressive campaign, talking to workers at more that half the 70-plus work locations in the city. They set up a coffee truck at the two biggest phone buildings and workers employed by the phone company from all unions stopped to talk, not just CWA members. Non-unionized cafeteria workers and phone company service representatives were interested in MAC's demands for organizing the unorganized in an industry-wide union for all communications workers.

Debby Taylor, one of the first black woman splicers in San Francisco, fired by the phone company in 1978, campaigned with MAC members and told fellow unionists, "Vote MAC. They got my job back. That should tell you what they're about." With this kind of response to the MAC campaign, reformist opponents in the union were on the defensive. Phone worker Carolyn Lund, a prominent supporter of the reformist Socialist Workers Party, coyly declined to say who she was going to vote for but said of the Imerzel slate, "I've seen worse."

The Militant Action Caucus ran on a hard-hitting class-struggle program, including such positions as: "For militant mass picket lines that no one crosses" and "*No layoffs, forced transfers, or downgrades*... For a shorter work week with no cut in pay. For union control of hiring, transfers and upgrades. Organize the unorganized.... Abolish absence control! Stop reform school conditions in traffic." MAC argued that the union must defend the specially oppressed: "Down with all racist immigration laws! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers. Support busing, pass the ERA. Full democratic rights for homosexuals."

Campaigning for Bay Area MAC candidates. Paul Costan and Kat Burnham (above), Bobbi Sinnott (lowar left, dark jacket), Debby Taylor (lower right).

The critical need for the union movement to come out in defense of the air traffic controllers was emphasized: "*Victory to the PATCO strike!* Labor: shut down the airports! For the right to strike for all public employees." And the MAC made it clear that it has a program of class struggle to defend the workers' interests down the line:

> "Down with Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. *For labor action to bring down Reagan! Not a dime, not a vote for the strike-breaking, wage-freezing, job-cutting Democrats and Republicans.* Expropriate Ma Bell without compensation. Build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will seize all major industry without compensation to the capitalist bosses."

MAC won more new contacts and supporters in the local and made greater election gains than ever before. The next task must be the building of a nationwide MAC, which could oust the union traitors and lead a real class fight.

We reprint below excerpts from the MAC campaign leaflet.

Down with the Anti-Soviet War Drive!

The union-busting, racism and mass unemployment that Reagan has promised are the domestic component of a war drive beginning in El Salvador. While the CWA brass is knifing union members in the back at home, it supports imperialist assaults against working people abroad.

Our union must stand with our class brothers and sisters who are fighting against the savage right-wing junta in El Salvador, with the workers and peasants whose homes and union halls are being destroyed. The Militant Action Caucus calls for the military victory of the left-wing insurgents. Longshoremen (the ILWU) must implement their boycott of all military cargo to El Salvador. Thousands are fleeing the civil war and seeking refuge in the U.S. Labor must use its power to stop the deportations and win asylum for the victims of junta terror.

El Salvador is just a way-station in Washington's war drive against Cuba and Russia. Power in Washington passes from one nuclear trigger-happy nut to the next, and labor misleaders march in lock-step support to their anti-Soviet holy war.

Vote Ikegami, Costan and Burnham

MAC warned before our last international convention that if unopposed, AT&T's reorganization will mean the former CWAer, for supervisor.
question is not settled. We can and must fight. In British Columbia a few months ago 10,000 phone workers occupied the central offices. They proved the union *really* has power.

Only the MAC has fought to mobilize the power of the union to stop company attacks. We have built for *strike action* to defend the membership of the union. It was MAC that opposed the new union/company class collaboration fact-finding procedure. When our local budding bureaucrats supported the usual cynical politicians for city elections, it was the MAC that campaigned for Spartacist candidate Diana Coleman, a socialist union militant and former CWAer, for supervisor.

When the fascists threatened to march in San Francisco on Hitler's birthday it was the MAC that helped build the April 19 Committee Against the Nazis (ANCAN). Seventy-five phone workers demonstrated under our union banners with 1,200 other unionists, socialists and minorities at the Civic Center where the Nazis planned to have their rally. Not only were the Nazis afraid to show up, they haven't been seen in town since.

MAC stands for mobilizing the power of labor to fight for a workers party and workers government to seize all major industry (like Ma Bell) without compensation to the bosses. Only a workers government and a planned economy run to serve the needs of working people—not profit—can stop the economic ruin, racism, and threat of thermonuclear extinction that the Reagan Years promise. ■

State Dept. Socialists...

(continued from page 7)

110 percent from the Shachtmanite tradition. We pointed out to them at the time that the heart of Shachtmanism was the Russian question and that while they employed a different terminology ("state capitalism" rather than "bureaucratic collectivism") their methodology and conclusions are classical Shachtmanism. Eight years and innumerable splits later, having passed through lumpen rage and gay pride phases, the RSL now finds itself squarely in the "State Department socialist" camp in Poland. Its greeting to the pro-Solidarność rally hailed it as "an important event in forging a movement that will support the Polish workers' struggle and that will condemn any effort by the Polish government to destroy that struggle and any form of intervention by the Russian imperialists or the U.S. imperialists." The "balancing" reference to the U.S. imperialists is sheer cynicism. Everyone knows that the U.S. imperialists are, to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars, the most enthusiastic supporters of Solidarność.

In the manner of a Ross Macdonald detective novel, the rally presented the complex family tree of American "state capitalist" anti-Sovietism, including its bizarre offshoots. And representing the bizarre offshoots was C.L.R. James. A Trotskyist in the 1930s, James split over the Russian question in 1940 and for a while linked up with Shachtman, subsequently developing a peculiar amalgam of workerist syndicalism and black nationalism. James had the dubious distinction of engaging in the most virulent anti-Soviet tirade at the rally. Indeed, he sounded like a lecturer at the Pentagon War College overcome with delirium at the happy turn of events in Poland: "The Russian army was supposed to march through Poland and go to the Atlantic.... Today after Poland the Russian army is going nowhere." This fantasy of NATO militarism was greeted with wild applause.

Solidarność Has No Left Face

Supposedly representing Solidarność was Tadeusz Kowalik, listed in the program as an "economist and frequent advisor to Solidarity." Kowalik told *WV* he was *not* authorized to speak for the organization. And indeed, he attempted to present a left face for Solidarność, which it *does not have in reality*.

Misjudging the leftism of his audience, Kowalik felt obliged to explain why in Solidarność' 43-page program the term "socialism" was not mentioned once. To grasp the enormous significance of this, one must remember that for the past fifty or hundred years every workers movement in Europe, very much including the Polish, has considered itself socialist in some sense. Kowalik maintained that the Solidarność membership was "attached to the socialist values despite [the fact] that they do not like the socialist vocabulary." When Lech Walesa tells American television that the U.S. is a "model" for the system he wants to create in Poland, does Kowalik think he is expressing "socialist values" despite the rejection of a "socialist vocabulary"?

Kowalik had the gall to claim Rosa Luxemburg as an intellectual inspirer of Solidarność. We will not belabor Luxemburg's virulent hostility to all forms of Polish nationalism, especially Pilsudski's, but simply limit ourselves narrowly to her economic views. According to Kowalik, Luxemburg "criticized the statist tendency in the thinking of the Second International, first of all the German Social Democracy." Kowalik to the contrary, it was the *right wing* of German Social Democracy, represented by Eduard Bernstein, which envisaged socialism as a system of autonomous producers—the old name for "self-management." In her famous polemics against Bernsteinian revisionism Luxemburg insisted that in producer cooperatives the workers must play "the role of capitalist entrepreneur against themselves." Like all classical Marxists, Luxemburg considered centralized planning and administration the ABC of the socialist economic program.

To speak of Rosa Luxemburg's views and the clerical-nationalist Solidarność in the same breath is an outrage. Had Kowalik given this speech, with its appeals to the revolutionary Marxist Rosa Luxemburg as well as the liberal Stalinist Oskar Lange, to the recent Solidarność congress, he surely would have been booed down.

Harrington: The Idiot Big Lie

But Kowalik's falsifications were modest compared to those of Harrington, whose demagogy approached the Goebbels/Vyshinsky Big Lie technique: "They will sing hymns to the blessed Virgin Mary as part of the struggle for freedom and socialism. And one must understand those hymns become revolutionary anthems...." This is like saying someone who declares himself an atheist on every possible occasion, who spits on crucifixes and wants churches to disappear from the face of the earth is really struggling for Christianity. But Harrington went even further: "...that is the socialist movement in Poland; that is the Marxist movement in Poland; that is the communist movement in Poland." Well, we have a proposition for brother Harrington. Go to Gdansk, to a meeting of the Solidarność executive and tell them—not gullible American radicals—that they are leading a socialist, nay, a Marxist and a communist movement in Poland. But we suggest you start a fund beforehand to pay for the hospital bills incurred as a result of this act of political folly.

Outside the rally salesmen were distributing the first issue of an English-language *Bulletin Solidarność*, published by a veritable interlocking directorate of the fanatically anti-communist AFL-CIO bureaucracy and "the Company." This bulletin is a joint project of the Polish Workers Task Force, set up by the official AFL-CIO youth support group Frontlash, the League for Industrial Democracy, and the obscure Washington-based Polish Watch Center. The next time some student radical buys a Solidarność T-shirt, just remember it is being brought to you by the racist, chauvinist, hardline Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO executive, whose relation to the CIA is more than just a nodding acquaintance. ■

TWU...

(continued from page 12)

shut the system down on the day of Cole's funeral. Such a dramatic expression could have ignited this explosive situation and galvanized all the bitter outrage as the TA sought to impose a whopping fare increase and make transit workers the scapegoats.

Kartsen and Brewer are the only candidates in the TWU elections who are fighting to defend the right to strike. They say, "Racist strikebreaker Koch is trying to kick this union to the back of the bus...TWU must lead black and white to smash the Reagan/Koch cuts." They demand: restore the subways and abolish the fares. These candidates have put forward a program to defend the TWU against the concerted capitalist attack. We reprint below their campaign leaflet.

Kartsen and Brewer are the only candidates who recognize that the strike is our only weapon, the *only power* we have. Now our right to strike is at stake and the existence of our union is being challenged—they've already revoked our dues checkoff. WE MUST PREPARE THE UNION TO FIGHT.

We won't get one thin dime without a strike. Unlike PATCO this union has tremendous power—we can strike against Koch/Reagan and win! America can't run without the New York subways. Let them try to run this dilapidated system with the National Guard. The last time we got a decent contract was in 1966. It took a 12-day strike and six of our union leaders in jail but we busted the no-strike Condon/Wadlin Act and won a 15% wage hike despite LBJ's 3.2% freeze. That contract was a pacesetter for unions across the country and led to the 20-year pension in 1968. Let's fight to win back what we lost! It took strikes to build the unions, it will take strikes to defend them. The TWU can lead the way, but we need some leaders who are willing to fight. Kartsen and Brewer accept that challenge.

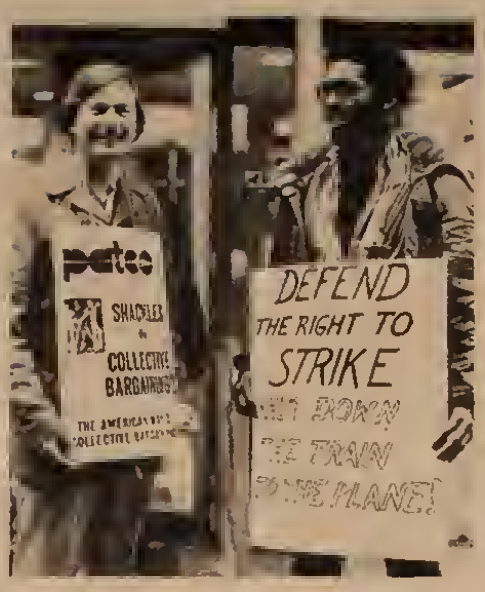
It wasn't the Taylor Law that beat us in 1980, it was our own misleaders. Never before has this union accepted the no-strike laws and there was no reason to during the last strike. A fighting leadership would have dug in and *stayed out* until New York City—North American center of high finance and commerce—ground to a halt. That's power. Quill said it in '66 when they served him a back-to-work order. He ripped it up and told the judge to "Drop dead in his black robes."

"No-Strike" Lawe and the "Yes, Lawe" Dissidents

Lawe wants to give up the right to strike altogether and the "dissidents" offer no alternative. At the convention Cherry's Cars and Shops Team voted for Lawe's plan to eliminate the policy of "no contract, no work" and to "establish procedures for impartial resolution of collective bargaining" (binding arbitration equals slow death.) Candidates from both slates make the same pitch: "The strike's old-fashioned, outdated...we'll get you a good contract without a strike." HOW? Ravitch, Simpson, Koch and Reagan are not going to *give* us a damned thing—in fact they intend to *take back* what we've won. The next round won't just be the TWU vs. the TA and Koch—we'll be up against Washington. All the big city mayors got Reagan's message: bust the public workers unions. Koch has targeted the TWU—traditional leader of city workers—for the PATCO treatment. We need a leadership that's prepared to mobilize the power of this union to get what we need.

This Election Offers a Referendum on the Last Strike

The "dissidents" claim they'll do it different than Lawe, but they had their



TWU candidate for president, Ed Kartsen (left). Executive board candidate Dave Brewer.

chance during the last strike. Cherry and Warren were both members of the Good Contract Committee. In the midst of the strike they put out a strike bulletin declaring full confidence in Lawe to negotiate a good contract. And they had *power*—they had a majority on the Executive Board that authorized Lawe to compromise on the givebacks. When Lawe voted to send us back to work with a lousy contract and whopping fines, *the "dissidents" never fought to stay out!* Instead, they ran to the courts to fight Lawe and "challenge" the Taylor Law—the same courts that stuck us with the fines and took away our dues checkoff!

Keep the Taylor Law Judges Out of Our Union!

The "dissidents" see the courts as the main way to fight Lawe. Mike Warren brags about the suits he's brought against the union, and is currently suing the union over the disappearance of the strike fund. It's suicidal to open our union to the courts that Reagan just used to fire the air controllers and decertify their union. Let's be clear, the government is the tool of big business, and the courts serve their interests. Keep the government out of our union—we can clean our own house. We must rely solely on our own mobilized strength to get what we need.

Stop Racist Attacks! For Labor/Black Defense

The Klan and Nazis are emboldened by Koch's openly racist policies under Klandidate Reagan's government. When a cross was burned on brother Walter Webb's lawn in the Bronx last November, hundreds of union brothers should have been there the next night to protect his house. No reliance on the killer cops—only labor/black mobilizations can crush these vermin. The TWU must lead labor/minorities to stop these racist attacks.

For Labor Action to Bring Reagan Down

Reagan is trying to provoke WWIII from El Salvador to Cuba to Poland in his crazed anti-Soviet war drive. U.S. capitalists and politicians hate the Soviet Union for the same reason they hate unions—they get in the way of corporate profits. The USSR is no workers' paradise, but Soviet workers don't have to fear for their livelihoods. Russian workers have a lot of scores to settle with the likes of Brezhnev, just as we do with the likes of Lawe. But we're better off with some union than no union at all, and the Soviet workers are better off having kicked out their capitalists and organized a planned economy. International working class solidarity means we stand with the workers and peasants of Russia, El Salvador and Cuba against Reagan. He's trying to finance his military budget with welfare, social security and pension funds—meanwhile New York City rots for lack of federal aid. Labor actions can stop Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

A Workers Party to Fight For Workers' Rights

Reagan is mobilizing the state against the unions—invoking every anti-labor law on the books, using the courts to back them up and the cops to enforce them. Racist strikebreaking Koch just won another four years in office. Both Lawe and Cherry supported Democrat Barbaro who ushered in the Emergency Financial Control Board that threw city workers' pension funds down the Big MAC rathole. Remember Democrat Carter paved the way for Reagan. And where were these "friends of labor" during our strike? Koch ran a political anti-strike campaign, using the media to whip up public anti-strike sentiment and organizing marches and jogs across the Brooklyn Bridge. A workers party would have countered by galvanizing the rest of New York City labor in a fight to save this city. Massive federal funding—restoration of all cuts in jobs and service and free mass transit. We must dump the present misleaders and elect a class-struggle leadership in the unions. We need a workers party to fight for a workers government to set up a planned economy based on use rather than profit.

Kartsen and Brewer Offer a Fighting Strategy—A Program to Win!

- **Defend the right to strike.** Smash the Taylor Law—America can't run without the New York subways. Defend the dues checkoff!
- **Fight! Strike! Fight! Strike!** Dump the bureaucrats, build a class-struggle leadership! No contract, no work! Shut it down tight! Bring out LIRR, PATH, SIRTOA, MSBA, Conrail and private lines for a joint mass transit strike! All contracts to expire January 1—it's good striking weather. For elected strike committees subject to instant recall. Open negotiations—no "secret deals"! Mass picketing. Mass rallies to win public support.
- **We won't pay with our lives!** Remember Jesse Cole and Al Lamberti. For the right to strike over health and safety. Shut down unsafe jobs!
- **Fight to win back lost wages and benefits!** Stop the productivity drive! For massive federal funding to restore the subways. Double our wages and restore all cuts in jobs and services. A shorter work week at no loss in pay—jobs for all. 100% COLA. We need full, quality health and dental plans and a 20-year full-pay pension.
- **Equal pay for equal work.** Scrap the "wage progression" scale—full parity at the highest level for TA, MABSTOA and private lines workers. System-wide seniority based on total time on the job.
- **Union action to fight racial oppression and discrimination.** For union control of hiring, training and upgrades. For labor/black/Latino mobilizations to smash KKK/Nazi terror. Down with all racist immigration laws! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers.
- **For labor action to bring down Reagan!** Not a dime, not a vote for the strikebreaking, wage-freezing, job-cutting Democrats and Republicans. Build a workers party based on the unions to fight for a workers government which will establish a planned economy to serve the needs of working people, not profit. ■

TWU TOPS' NOVEMBER LIE

WV Photo

Detail blowup of the TWU calendar photo for November 1981 (left): comparison with an honest photo (right) shows that the call for a general strike in the Bay Area in 1974 has been erased. The words "general" (before "strike"), "Spartacist League" and "Spartacus Youth League" have been censored throughout the photo. But workers' militancy cannot be suppressed with white paint.

WORKERS VANGUARD

MAC Victory in CWA Local 9410 Exec Board Elections

S.F. Phone Militant Wins

SAN FRANCISCO, November 12—Today Kathy Ikegami, a Militant Action Caucus (MAC) member and union steward, was elected to the executive board of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410. Ikegami received 272 votes, netting 40 percent of the plant department vote; MAC candidates Paul Costan and Kat Burnham received 219 and 166 votes respectively, polling one third and one fourth of the votes cast for plant executive board. Once again, as in 1978, the membership has voted to put a MAC candidate on the E-Board. Ikegami's vote reflects an important percentage of workers in the local who see in the MAC class-struggle program the way to lead the union forward.

In the context of the Reagan years, particularly following the vicious busting of the PATCO air controllers union, the MAC victory was all the more significant. Within the American labor movement, the CWA is notorious for its ties to the capitalist government, from the Democratic Party to the CIA-connected American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). Yet MAC told union members the hard truth: calling for labor action to bring down Reagan, break all CWA ties to the bloody AIFLD, for military victory to Salvadoran leftists, and to stand with the workers of Cuba and Russia against Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive. Despite claims by various pseudo-militants that union oppositions must be limited to simple bread-and-butter issues, the MAC ran on its full program...*and won*.

The sellout policies of incumbent local president Jim Imerzel drove most of the membership to vote with their feet in this election. In the lowest ballot return in the local's history, Imerzel was reelected with only 527 votes in a local of 4,000. One issue in the elections was a new so-called "impartial," "fact-finding" procedure which strips the local steward's power to process grievances and gives the phone company the right to interrogate workers about their grievances. As a MAC leaflet put it, "But who wants impartiality. The best stewards are the ones who are biased as hell, in the members' favor." The Militant Action Caucus is calling on stewards to refuse to cooperate with this bogus "fact-finding" and for the local right to strike to settle all grievances.

During the campaign the caucus had to work against the demoralization, disgust and anti-union sentiment which years of bureaucratic control have produced. One black worker told MAC he remembered their work building ANCAN (April 19 Committee Against Nazis) which stopped the Hitler-lovers from marching in San Francisco in 1980. He'd like to vote for MAC, he said, but he had never joined the union because of the company links and the steward structure. Caucus members gave him a union card to sign and an election brochure

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Newly elected CWA Local 9410 Executive Board member, MAC spokesman Kathy Ikegami (right).

WV Photo

Militants Run in TWU Elections

Transit Workers Can Bust Union-Buster Koch!

With the contract deadline less than five months away the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 of New York is coming under heavy attack, with racist strikebreaker Mayor Koch leading the pack. Almost daily the press screams "Doomsday Express, Tunnel of Death" headlines; the *Daily News* snidely refers to the "goldbrick" transit workers. Now Koch is threatening to bring in outside contractors to repair the subways. Meanwhile, Reagan has decimated the PATCO air controllers union as he enforces his austerity program against labor, poor and black people. In this context the future of the TWU is at stake. It is a prime target because it is seen as a heavily black union in a city of minorities and foreigners. Ford, Carter, Reagan have all had the same message, "NYC: Drop Dead." But in the 1966 transit strike the union ripped up a back-to-work order and told the judge to "drop dead in his black robes"...and they won.

The fiscal crisis in New York is the race question because racism has everything to do with who and what gets cut under capitalism. But the TWU has the power to challenge Reagan and Koch. New York is still the center of American finance capital—Wall Street and Midtown can't run without the subways to haul the workforce in. As at the time of the 1974-75 NYC fiscal crisis and the 1980 transit strike, the TWU could lead Harlem, the poor, and even sections of the middle class who are facing the Reagan/Koch budget ax.

This raises the question of leadership in this key union. The TWU members owe the humiliating and costly 1980 defeat to the sellout bureaucrats, the Cherry people as well as Lawe. The current Local 100 elections for officers pose an opportunity. In addition to the usual careerists, a genuine opposition has emerged—militants who recognize the need to strike and for a class-struggle strategy to win. Ed Kartsen, who is running for president, and David Brewer, executive board candidate are proven militants. Last July, when black motorman Jesse Cole was left bleeding to death in his crumpled cab while the Transit Authority (TA) blamed him for the crash, Kartsen and Brewer fought to

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WV Photo

TWU contingent marches on Labor Day, NYC, September 7.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 294 | 4 December 1981

Class Struggle Against Racism, Cold War Austerity!

Reagan's War on Labor

Democrats, Labor Fakers Beat Anti-Soviet War Drums

By firing an entire national union and throwing 12,000 air traffic controllers on the street, Ronald Reagan has launched the most aggressive assault on labor rights since the rise of the CIO in the 1930s. He wants to turn the clock back to the days before industrial unions when sweatshop conditions and 14-hour days were the norm not just in little garment shops, but in steel, auto and the rest of American industry. His High Noon confrontation with labor pushed the sellout union bureaucracy to mobilize at least a gesture of labor opposition on September 19 in Washington.

No doubt the turnout for this, the largest labor demonstration in U.S. history, far exceeded the expectations of the cowardly AFL-CIO tops, especially given the refusal of the bureaucrats of the strategic industrial unions in the Midwest to build for it. The anger and discipline demonstrated by workers in Washington showed *they were prepared to fight*. And so did the favorable reception received by the Spartacist League banner "Fight for Workers' Rights! Build a Workers Party! Smash Reagan!" and the sale of over 8,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard* with the headline in defense of the air traffic controllers: "Labor Must Shut Down the Airports!"

At the recent AFL-CIO convention in New York City the labor traitors on the platform only trumpeted their dedication to a strategy that has led labor from defeat to defeat: back the Democrats in the next election and support Reagan's militarist foreign policy. Reagan's war on the working class is part and parcel of his massive military build-up and war drive against the Soviet Union. But the AFL-CIO tops from Kirkland to Fraser have been in the front line of the anti-Soviet superhawks. They were beating the drums for the Cold War while Reagan was still making movies.

Now, as the economy falls apart and the anti-Soviet war drive heats up, the givebacks and austerity will be demanded more openly as sacrifices for the "national defense" against the USSR. Race terror and witchhunting will be the domestic face of the Cold War. Defense of the gains of the 1917 October Revolution which overthrew capitalism in Russia is key to the defense of the workers' interests at home. That is why the struggle to unleash the power of labor in its own interest must be a *political* fight to oust the Cold War bureaucrats.

The labor movement has the power to turn back Reagan's attacks, but not by installing the old set of capitalist "friends of labor" three years from now. *Through militant action, labor can bring down Reagan!*

Labor Day 1981: Anger at the base against strikebreakers Reagan/Koch.

WV Photo

The Newest "New Deal": War Drive and "Sacrifice"

The AFL-CIO national convention last month was full of ritualistic denunciations of Reaganomics. But the heart of Reaganomics is *not* "supply-side" fiscal quackery. It is the massive military build-up intended to secure first-strike nuclear capability against the USSR as well as to fight conventional wars, from the mass graves in El Salvador to the shores of Tripoli. The anti-Communist fanatics of the AFL-CIO executive board support Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive to the hilt—more so, in fact, than some Democratic politicians. A *Wall Street Journal* (18 November) editorial argues that Lane Kirkland & Co. should be less hostile to Reagan and friendly to the Democrats since "clearly, their [the Reaganites'] attitudes toward foreign policy are more in harmony with the AFL-CIO's strong anti-communism than were the accommodationist [!] notions of the Carter administration."

At the convention the AFL-CIO tops displayed this strong anti-Communism by fulsome support to the only "trade union" in the world that Reagan likes, Poland's Solidarność. It was fitting that the fervently anti-Soviet leader of Solidarność, Lech Walesa, was invited to receive the "George Meany Human Rights Award." (Had this award existed during the Vietnam War, it would no doubt have gone to General Thieu and Marshal Ky.) Decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule have driven much of the Polish working class into the arms of the Vatican, the International Monetary Fund and NATO imperialism. And now the loyal lieutenants of the Pentagon and Wall Street are doing what they can to bring Poland into the "free world" (i.e., to incite capitalist counterrevolution).

Acting as imperialism's labor auxiliary is nothing new for the AFL-CIO leaders. Their American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) is a notorious CIA front. Last fall the infamous CIA provocateur Irving Brown offered to set up "free trade unions" in UNITA-held areas of Angola—undoubtedly to aid South Africa's efforts to overthrow the Cuba-supported nationalist government in Luanda.

Lane Kirkland's keynote speech at the convention bemoaned that Reagan's blatantly anti-labor policies have resulted in "the destruction of domestic support for necessary military expenditures"! In order to win support for a hard-line militarist program which would *appear* less anti-labor, Kirkland brought the Democrats to the convention in a big way. Teddy Kennedy was there to receive a standing ovation; Fritz Mondale was there too, as well as Tip O'Neill. With all the speechifying, it looked more like a Democratic Party gathering than a labor convention.

And while the AFL-CIO convention delegates squabbled over which token black bureaucrat to add to the executive board, Reagan's austerity drive has hit the black population first and foremost. More than 50 percent of black teenagers are without jobs, not counting those who have given up looking for work. Welfare and food stamps have been slashed and job training has been "zeroed out."

The basis of Kirkland, Fraser & Co.'s new New Deal with the Democrats is *not* the usual liberal/reformist "butter vs. guns" promises. Now the bureaucrats and Democrats unite on the impossible program of guns *and* butter: *more missiles* along with the restoration of some of the social services cuts. This would be paid for either by higher taxes—as Mondale now proposes—or the kind of banana republic-style inflation experienced in early 1980 under Carter. In either case it is the workers and poor who will continue to pay for the anti-Soviet war drive.

This policy is not popular among the union ranks. The memory of the grim economic conditions under Carter hasn't been erased by Reaganomics. If

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Racist Provocation at Wayne State

SYL: "Run Out Racist South End Editor!"

DETROIT—An outcry at Wayne State University has been sparked by the racist "cartoon" published in the *South End* student newspaper November 18. The "cartoon" printed by editor E. Dale Lee, entitled "How many honkies are in this picture?" and depicting five stereotyped black players dribbling basketballs around a white-sheeted club-wielding KKKer, is a racist provocation. Last week the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) initiated a "Committee to Oust Racist Editor Lee" at a meeting attended by over 30 black students, Arabs, Jews and socialists. The Committee has called a rally/demonstration at Wayne State on Thursday, December 3 to run out the racist FBI-loving editor.

Activists in the Committee have already been subjected to physical threats and attacks for protesting this atrocity. An organized group of Lee's supporters repeatedly disrupted a November 24 meeting to form the Committee and refused to leave when asked to. At the meeting's end, a hefty white male thug in his forties suddenly burst into the room and asked a Lee supporter, "Did you get it all down?" referring to his copious note-taking at the meeting. When both men left, a photographer for the Committee and a black Committee organizer sought to take a picture of the racist disrupters. Moments later the thug charged at the woman photographer, trying to grab the camera and forcing her against a banister over a two-story drop where she could have been killed. He then reached into his pocket as if he had a gun and repeatedly physically threatened the black Committee member.

Last year the SYL initiated the Ad Hoc Committee to Oust *South End* Apologists for Klan/Nazi Murder, in order to remove the editors of the *South End* who wrote an editorial cheering the acquittal of the KKK/Nazi killers in Greensboro, North Carolina. Now the new editor Lee is an open sympathizer of the FBI. Lee not only brags he has a girlfriend working for the feds, but also sports an FBI T-shirt and decorates his office with FBI paraphernalia from mugs to an FBI target with authentic bullet holes. However, many blacks know the murderous history of FBI racism—from the COINTELPRO attacks on Martin Luther King, Jr. to the secret police involvement in the KKK/Nazi Greensboro massacre.

In response to the outrage, Lee printed the cartoon again and commented snidely, "I never had slaves and I don't want them." "Racial discrimination is more fallacy than fact," he added, and Detroit black mayor "Coleman Young... is racist." This business is no joke. Lee's provocative racist "cartoon" fits neatly into a pattern of KKK/Nazi attacks against blacks and other minorities in Michigan and throughout the country. Recently, Robert Guy of Battle Creek, a leader of the Coalition Against Police Brutality, was killed in a bomb explosion. An SYL leaflet pointed out:

> "Enough! The editor thinks 'racial discrimination is more fallacy than fact.' This in Reagan's America where the Klan/Nazi terrorists are growing. Remember Cynthia Steele! She had her hand blown off when the KKK threw a pipebomb into her home on Detroit's west side last winter. Maybe Lee thinks the Nazi death camps are a 'fallacy' too. Jewish concentration camp survivors in Southfield tried to stop a Nazi provocation there last spring. In October 1979, two foremen paraded around the Rouge plant in KKK hoods. Later they claimed it was a big joke too. Thousands of black, white and Arab auto workers didn't think so. They drove them the hell out of the plant. E. Dale Lee must get the same treatment!"

Given the provocative and potentially explosive character of the "cartoon" incident at this largely minority and working-class school in the heart of black Detroit, the campaign to oust racist editor Lee has received wide attention. This included a front-page *Detroit Free Press* article and coverage in the *Houston Chronicle* which, given skyrocketing unemployment in Detroit, is widely read here for its want ads section.

The Committee rally is scheduled the same day as a meeting of the student council which has called on Lee to appear to explain his "cartoon." Because of the furor, the student council has tabled the budget of the *South End*. The Committee calls on all those who stand against racism, who want to stop Klan/Nazi terror, who defend democratic rights for minorities and workers, to attend the rally and the student council meeting to ensure the ouster of racist FBI-lover Lee. ■

SL Court Suit Gains Support

Defeat California McCarthyite Smear!

SAN FRANCISCO, December 1—Congressman Ron Dellums has become the most recent endorser of the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League's civil suit against California attorney general George Deukmejian. Filed last July, the suit demands that Deukmejian retract the inclusion of the SL/SYL in his 1979 report on "Organized Crime in California—Part 2, Terrorism." The report wrongfully and viciously labeled the SL/SYL as "terrorists" and as a "dangerous faction with which law enforcement will have to deal," targeting us for persecution and violence by police agencies and right-wing outfits.

Support for the suit by Dellums, a nationally known black Democrat and a leading spokesman for Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, helps gain a hearing for the lawsuit in broader circles.

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), which has undertaken to support this case, has been meeting with public officials, civil liberties activists and others who, while not sharing the SL/SYL's Marxist views, nevertheless know by experience and reputation that the SL/SYL are neither "terrorists" nor "criminals.". Not surprisingly given the targeting of blacks and minorities by Reaganite reaction, the case has evoked interest and sympathy from black spokesmen. Northern California NAACP counsel Oliver Jones endorsed the suit. Oakland City Councilman Wilson Riles, Jr. and Alameda County Supervisor John George, both black Democrats, have also endorsed. George also authored a letter (see accompanying box) to help raise the thousands of dollars necessary to win the case.

PDC representatives also got a good response from many of the delegates at the statewide conference of the Black American Political Association of California, held in Sacramento November 6. A common reaction was that Deukmejian's attacks threaten another period of McCarthyism. One black Superior Court judge who went to law school with Deukmejian said he would personally call the attorney general demanding the retraction be made.

With Deukmejian mounting an aggressive right-wing campaign for the governor's office in next year's election, there are many who know that Deukmejian's attacks are not limited to the SL/SYL. One state Democratic Party central committee member who has assisted in the fundraising remarked, "Hell, Deukmejian's so right-wing he thinks *we're* terrorist!"

There may be a settlement in the works, but the case has already cost many thousands of dollars. Your help is urgently needed. As the PDC states in its most recent fund appeal mailing:

> "The Partisan Defense Committee believes it is of the utmost importance that this suit be fought to a successful conclusion. Reagan and Deukmejian may dream of the post-World War II period of loyalty oaths, McCarthy and Un-American Committees, but that is not the same as getting it. The Moral Majority and Reagan/Haig have not yet been able to mobilize national sentiment in favor of a McCarthyite witchhunt. The time to fight back is now. Retraction of the labeling of the SL/SYL as 'terrorist/criminal' organizations will be a blow against renascent McCarthyism of Deukmejian and Reagan.
> "Your generous support is urgently needed to ensure that victory. The SL/SYL suit faces the resources of the State of California as well as right-wing agribusiness tycoons who call the tune for the new McCarthyites. Already we are thousands of dollars in debt. This suit is important. Please help. Make the checks payable to: PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE."

Send contributions to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5555, San Francisco CA 94101. ■

BOARD OF SUPERVISORS

JOHN GEORGE
SUPERVISOR, FIFTH DISTRICT

November 25, 1981

Dear Friend:

I encourage you to read the enclosed letter regarding a civil suit filed against Attorney General George Deukmejian by the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL). The case is in response to the Attorney General's annual report entitled "Organized Crime in California - - 1979" in which, as the suit stetes, the SL/SYL were falsely branded as "terrorists" and as "dangerous and violent" organizations.

I have already endorsed the case, which demands that Deukmejian retract his wrongful and defamatory characterizations end publicize this retraction. On occasion, I have participated in united front ectivities sponsored by these organizations - - most recently by speaking at a public protest against the acquittal of KKK/Nezi members who shot dead five anti-fascist demonstretors in Greensboro - - and I find Deukmejian's characterizations of the SL/SYL to be totally unfounded.

Personally, I welcome the opportunity to support this cese which I see as part of the fight against right-wing attacks on civil liberties and the threat of a new McCerthyism in this Country. I trust thet you will aid the efforts being made by the Partisen Defense Committee to bring this case to a successful conclusion.

Very truly yours,

John George

JOHN GEORGE

JG/emw

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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"Former" Agents Arm Qaddafi

The CIA's Libya Connection

According to the newly concocted Cold War myth of Soviet "international terrorism," Muammar Qaddafi, the unsavory Islamic dictator of Libya, is behind every terrorist bomb and bullet, and the Kremlin is behind Qaddafi. General Haig calls him the "patron saint of terror." The bible for this propaganda campaign is Claire Sterling's *The Terror Network*, which devotes an entire chapter to Qaddafi, whom she calls the "Daddy Warbucks of international terrorism." This chapter was recently reprinted by *The New Republic* under the headline: "A murderer, a maniac—and Moscow's man." Hardly a week goes by without a new charge from Washington of Qaddafi-sponsored terrorism: alleged plots against U.S. ambassadors in Europe and now even supposed plans to assassinate Reagan (*Newsweek*, 30 November).

Haig has been repeatedly (and unsuccessfully) ordering reports on the Soviet master plot. But at last the evidence of a Qaddafi connection is in. Exposés in the *New York Times* and other major newspapers show where Libya gets explosives, detonators and experts to turn them into sophisticated bombs—not to mention training terrorists and serving as hitmen against Qaddafi's opponents—and where it got the planes to supply Libya's intervention in Chad last year and the pilots to fly them. But it isn't the Russians who are exposed as the Libyan connection. It's Wilson & Terpil, Inc.—described as just a couple of home-grown entrepreneurs peddling the wares of Terrorism Made in U.S.A. And behind all the allegedly former CIA agents, munitions makers and Green Berets involved there looms the whole murky apparatus of what is called the U.S. "intelligence community."

Pushed into a federal investigation of the affair, a U.S. government confidential report stated bluntly: "The United States, in effect, has become a major supplier of [military] hardware and technology in support of worldwide terrorism. Former Central Intelligence Agency personnel, military special forces personnel and U.S. corporations combine to supply products and expertise to whomever can pay the price" (*Boston Globe Magazine*, 22 March). At a time when the supposed Russian international terror operation is the excuse to "unleash" the CIA and the rest of U.S. imperialism's secret agents, this evidence is more embarrassing to the government than no evidence at all.

New York Times

New York Times

Cameron/Sygma

CIA "Old Boys" Edwin Wilson (above left), Francis Terpil (above right) delivered for Libyan dictator Qaddafi.

Which is why they've tried to keep the lid on it for years, and they're now trying to limit the damage by blaming it all on rogue "former CIA operatives" run amok.

To the Shores of Tripoli

At the center of the CIA's Libyan connection are two of these "former" CIA agents, Edwin Wilson and Francis Terpil. Beginning last summer the *New York Times* launched a major series on the affair. Two long articles in the *New York Times Magazine* (9 and 16 August) by one of the favorite journalists of leakers, Seymour Hersh, and regular coverage of the case in the daily *Times* have extensively detailed the exploits of Wilson and Terpil. Five years ago, Hersh reported, these spooks-for-hire "made a deal with Col. Muammar el Qaddafi to supply the Libyan strongman with explosives for huge sums of cash. They also hired former Green Berets to set up a training school to teach the Libyans the latest techniques in assassination and international terrorism."

The articles related stories of former Wilson/Terpil employees such as the CIA-trained bomb technician who told how Americans "had constructed a laboratory [in the former palace of deposed King Idris] and were manufacturing assassination bombs disguised as rock formations, ashtrays, lamps and tea kettles." Wilson's arms buying for Qaddafi, the *Times* reported, was run through a series of CIA-connected businesses and long-time suppliers (among them J.S. Brower & Associates in California, which illegally shipped over 20 tons of explosive plastique—almost the entire U.S. surplus available at the time—to Libya on passenger flights, marked as "drilling mud").

The Wilson/Terpil affair is still news: Eugene Tafoya, currently on trial for the attempted assassination last year of a Libyan student opposed to Qaddafi, claims he was working for the CIA and that Wilson was his agency contact. Tafoya stayed for four months at an English farm owned by Wilson, and Tafoya's bank, telephone and personal records all indicate his connection to Wilson (*New York Times*, 2 November).

On Company Time?

It is interesting that while the American bourgeoisie is closing ranks behind a campaign to patch up the tattered moral authority of the U.S. secret police for the anti-Soviet war drive, the *New York Times* is pushing its exposé of Wilson and Terpil. For years neither the government nor the bourgeois press wanted to bring attention to this case. A *Washington Post* editorial noted with some pique that "four years ago reporter Bob Woodward disclosed information suggesting that at least a small handful of former covert operatives, including a man named Edwin P. Wilson and some anti-Castro Cubans" had "gone into the terrorism business" for Qaddafi. "The same story, elaborated, is enjoying a new life."

The case was forced into the open by one Kevin Mulcahy, a former CIA agent from a CIA-loyal family who worked for Wilson in Libya in 1976. After defecting from the operation, he went to the U.S. government to demand the Qaddafi connection be investigated. He

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"A Buck Is a Buck Is a Buck"

The dirty details of the CIA agent business have been compiled in the histories of Edwin Wilson and Frank Terpil. Wilson made a fortune in the covert action business, becoming a multi-millionaire while serving as a CIA operative and naval intelligence agent. A member of Washington's Georgetown Club, he had purchased his 2,000 acre gentleman's farm in Virginia (currently valued at over $9 million) before he officially left the secret service. Here he entertained the Washington elite at fox hunts and barbecues.

"I'm just a little man here, a little man who runs a business," says millionaire Wilson from his Tripoli base, sounding like the Meyer Lansky figure in *Godfather II*. Wilson started off working for the CIA's office of security in 1951, after a stint as a marine in Korea becoming a full-time CIA contract agent in 1955. Early on his assignment was as an officer of the Seafarers International Union, which he described as "an unwitting U.S. labor organization" (*New York Times*, 8 November). According to the *Times* account, "In his capacity as a union official, Mr. Wilson helped coordinate various C.I.A. activities against Cuba, including the Bay of Pigs invasion. He supplied foreign agents with arms and took part in operations designed to harass Fidel Castro...." He was also involved in the hunt for Che Guevara in Bolivia (*Los Angeles Times*, 28 August).

In 1971 Wilson joined "Task Force 157," a Navy covert action and spy group, while simultaneously setting up private businesses with CIA associates and suppliers. There have also been allegations that Wilson was involved in the assassination of Chilean former ambassador Orlando Letelier. According to Donald Freed (*Death in Washington* [1980]) an investigation by the Institute for Policy Studies suggested Wilson as a possible supplier of the blasting caps (C-4 plastique explosive detonators) used by Michael Townley in the murder of Letelier. Freed states categorically that "Townley met with Frank Terpil one week before the Letelier murder...."

Wilson claims to have met Terpil, who set up the business with Qaddafi, at a party in 1976. A former CIA employee supposedly dumped in 1971, apparently either for counterfeiting money in Tibet or smuggling liquor into India, Terpil says, "A buck is a buck is a buck." He's patriotic, though: "If you're knocking off Americans it'll cost you 40 percent more," he told undercover agents posing as South American guerrillas. Didn't help: a New York judge sentenced him *in absentio* to 53 years in prison last May on gun-running charges. Besides his Libyan operations, according to documents found in Ugandan ex-dictator Idi Amin's files after his overthrow, Terpil sold Amin $3.2 million worth of equipment in August 1977, including explosives, tape recorders, remote-controlled radio detonators and a "variety of interrogation devices" (*Boston Globe*, 22 March).

Terpil told Mike Wallace on CBS's "60 Minutes" he sat through a state dinner in Uganda which began with Amin serving the severed head of an opponent on a silver platter. "He served the security problem on the plate," Terpil said with peculiar humor. "I think it was the defense minister, not too sure." The second course saw another minister fall into his soup, shot dead by Amin with a gun Terpil said he had given him.

Exploding the Anti-Soviet Myth

The Warsaw Uprising of 1944

Ullstein Bilderdienst

300,000 dead, 90 percent of Warsaw devastated by Nazis; anti-Communist Polish "Home Army" leadership must share responsibility.

In Poland today, history has become a political battlefield of the class struggle. American liberal academic Robert Darnton reported that "when the strikers in Gdansk met to assess their victory over the government last August [1980], they discussed not only practical questions about how to organize their new union but also the need for a 'new history'" ("Poland Rewrites History," *New York Review of Books*, 16 July 1981). "New history" turns out to be an interpretation of the Polish past to reinforce the present nationalist, pro-Western and anti-Soviet fervor of Solidarność.

One of the most controversial questions, reports Darnton, is the Warsaw Uprising of 1944:

> "A film shown every day in the Warsaw Historical Museum shows German troops leveling the city after the uprising of 1944. Finally the Soviet troops liberate the rubble, having been detained on the east bank of the Vistula, as official history would have it, by overextended lines of communication. According to accounts that circulate by word of mouth, the 'liberators' let the Germans do their dirty work for them, in order to encounter no opposition when they extended their empire to the west. That version is generally accepted in the West, but nothing could be more heretical in Communist Poland...."

This "history" is anything but new. Rather, it is an old anti-Soviet myth which has been peddled for years by "captive nations" emigrés and Radio Free Europe. Stanislaw Mikolajczyk, premier of the Polish capitalist exile government in London during World War II, gives the standard version in his book, *Rape of Poland*. Mikolajczyk refers to the Red Army as being "in the suburbs of Warsaw from which it wouldn't budge." He implies that *if they had wanted to* the Russians could have easily captured Warsaw and saved the city from destruction, also saving the lives of many of the 300,000 Poles who died in the two months of fighting.

But it is not just the Pilsudskite emigrés who push this tale. The London-Polish version is accepted without qualification by "third camp" social democrats, like those of the British International Socialists:

> "Stalin's fear of any kind of spontaneous action was demonstrated clearly in August 1944 when an armed insurrection against the Germans broke out in Warsaw. Although the initial decision was taken by Poles exiled in London, the rising was a magnificent display of courage and mass activity. Not only did Stalin refuse to alter the plans of the Red Army to liberate Warsaw; he even refused to allow British planes to use Russian airfields to bring arms and supplies to the insurgents. The Germans were given a free hand to burn and massacre. The callowness of the Russian leaders can be explained only by the fact that they were concerned to prevent at all costs the emergence of any anti-Nazi movement that was not under their political control."
>
> —Ian H. Birchall, *Workers Against the Monolith* (1974)

What is the truth? The evidence indicates that it was heavy German counterattacks, not conscious Russian sabotage, that prevented the Soviets from entering Warsaw in early August 1944. Whether the Red Army could have smashed through the panzer ring to link up with the insurgents while fighting was still underway in Warsaw is less certain. What *is* clear, however, is that this did not begin as a spontaneous revolt. The Polish bourgeois exile government in London and the pro-London leadership of the Home Army (Armija Krajowa—AK) launched a criminal adventure whose purpose was to *prevent* the Red Army from liberating Warsaw. They wanted to receive the Soviets as a sovereign authority, resting on the laurels of a victory won (ostensibly) by a people in arms, in order to assure the capitalist politicians of prewar Poland a place in a postwar government. But at no point did the Home Army possess the strength to defeat or even hold the Nazis militarily; their only hope was a German collapse or a Red Army victory. It was an anti-Communist gamble that backfired—with horrendous consequences.

Storm Against the East

The political strategy which motivated the Home Army's Warsaw Uprising had been formulated long before. The "doctrine of two enemies," namely against both Germany and Russia, had been articulated by AK commander Grot-Rowecki as the strategy of the internal resistance even while the London exile government was formally allied with the USSR against the Hitler regime. Fearing the assumption of power by a pro-Moscow regime in postwar Poland, the pro-London AK commanders refused *all* cooperation with the Polish Workers Party (PPR)—established in 1942, some years after Stalin had dissolved the Communist Party of Poland on charges of Trotskyism—and with the PPR's partisan force, the People's Army (AL).

When the "doctrine of two enemies" was first put forward, the Nazis had complete control of Poland and were pushing to the gates of Moscow, Leningrad and Stalingrad. But as heroic battles by the Soviet Red Army against the German imperialist attack drove the Wehrmacht back, the Home Army's policy became openly one-sided... against the Soviets. The internal resistance issued a statement on 8 September 1943 declaring: "The Germans have ceased to be the No. 1 enemy.... The struggle against communism is today our essential task and perhaps even our only task." And AK's confrontations with the Communists were not restricted to a political level.

In 1943 Home Army commander Grot-Rowecki advocated anti-Soviet military operations—sabotage activities in the east, destroying lines of communication as far as the Vistula and San, pitched battles against the Soviets in areas where even minimal opportunities for success existed. In the event of decisive Soviet victory in the east Grot-Rowecki felt that the Home Army *should refrain from fighting the Germans, remain underground and await further developments*. This was the very tactic that the pro-London Poles accused the Russians of carrying out in Warsaw!

By the spring of 1944 a campaign of "intensified diversionary activity," code-named *Burza* (Tempest) was underway in the east under Home Army commander Tadeusz Bor-Komorowski (who succeeded Grot-Rowecki after his capture by the Gestapo in July 1943). Commanders were to carry out operations independently of Soviet forces: coordination with the Red Army would reduce the political impact that AK units would gain by posing as the "liberator" of a particular city or town. Already, Bor-Komorowski was preparing for confrontation with the Soviets. On 19 April 1944 he wrote to the London government:

> "...we must be prepared for an open collision between Poland and the Soviets, and on our part we would have to demonstrate to the full, in this collision, the independent position of Poland."
>
> —quoted in Jan Ciechanowski, *The Warsaw Rising of 1944* (1974)

Der Spiegel

Polish Red Army Marshal Rokossovsky in liberated Lublin, 1944.

The Preparations

Burza failed in the east. After the Soviet army occupied Wilno and Lwow, the London Poles looked upon Warsaw as the last chance for a major battle with the Germans. The Warsaw Uprising was to be a final confrontation with Stalin to assert the hegemony of the Home Army and prepare for the postwar return of the London government. When AK commander Bor-Komorowski asked for authorization from his political superiors the question was formulated: "Whether the representatives of the Council of National Unity believe that the entry of the Soviet troops into Warsaw should be forestalled by the seizure of the capital by the Home Army?" And General Monter, Home Army commander in the Warsaw region during the rising, later wrote:

> "The political aim was to be achieved by the seizure of the capital by our own forces before the entry of the Red Army. In the liberated capital of the sovereign state, power over the entire country was to be assumed by the legal authorities.... The idea was to manifest to the entire world that the Government was in its place and that there was no need for the installation of candidates imported from the East to govern the country."
>
> —quoted in *ibid.*

As for the timing, according to Ciechanowski: "Bor-Komorowski and his staff feared that procrastination on their part might lead, at the moment of the Red Army's entry into the city, to a spontaneous or Communist-inspired outbreak of fighting, impossible for them to control or exploit." Or, as one of the AK commander's chief lieutenants put it, "After five years of bloody German occupation the hearts of the inhabitants of the Polish capital would have been open to temptation"—of supporting a Communist-led Soviet-backed insurrection. A participant in the uprising recorded in his diary the response of Home Army soldiers to an

announcement by Radio Moscow that the liberation of Warsaw was at hand: "We have been sitting here for almost a week, and now the Communists are going to beat us to the fight" (Julian Kulski, *Dying We Live* [1979]).

The political purpose of this action was clear, but what of the military situation? On 14 July 1944 the AK commander reported to London, "In view of the present state of the German forces in Poland and their anti-insurrectionary preparations...the rising has no prospect of success." Their arms were wholly inadequate—almost no mortars and antitank guns of any sort, and a large part of their stock of submachine guns and ammunition had been sent east for the failed *Burza* campaign. Yet on 21 July 1944, Bor-Komorowski ordered AK troops on a "state of alertness for the uprising." This decision coincided with the formation in Lublin of the Polish Committee of National Liberation, which was supported by the Polish Communists and backed by the Soviet Union. The Lublin committee would act as a provisional government and nominal head of a new Polish army resulting from a merger between Polish forces recruited in Russia and the Polish Communists' AL.

On July 26 Mikolajczyk in London authorized the Home Army to launch a general insurrection when appropriate. On July 31 the Home Army command met to discuss the possibility of beginning operations in Warsaw. Bor-Komorowski reported on the military situation: in view of the state of the German forces in Warsaw, estimated at 12 first-class divisions (including two crack SS armored divisions), and the Home Army's lack of weapons and ammunition (only enough for 3-4 days), operations planned for the last day of the German retreat were not feasible in the immediate future. Yet later that day Bor-Komorowski issued the order to prepare the rising after receiving a report (incorrect as it soon turned out) that Russian tanks were already arriving in Praga, the eastern suburb across the Vistula from Warsaw.

The decision to act was influenced by the false assumption that the Germans would abandon Warsaw under the first Soviet attack. The London leaders thought the Nazi regime was on the point of collapse, that the defeats in the East which had led to the destruction of 25 German divisions, Anglo-American successes in Normandy and an attempt on Hitler's life in late July signaled catastrophe for the Germans. But they were wrong.

The Uprising

The success of the Warsaw operation depended on the Polish victory being secured by the Red Army. The timing of the rising was therefore critical, and close military coordination between the Home Army and the Soviets was of the greatest importance. But the Poles deliberately had *no communication* with the Russians. In fact they had cut all lines to the PPR-led partisans in Warsaw. It was from Mikolajczyk (who was in Moscow at the time for talks with Stalin) that the Russians first learned of the Home Army's plans for Warsaw on July 31, *three hours after Bor-Komorowski had given the order to begin*. Not even the command of the People's Army detachments in Warsaw had been informed of the uprising, but their units immediately joined the fight once it had begun.

Bor-Komorowski's call to arms coincided, not with the crossing of the Vistula by the Red Army, but with heavy German counterattacks on the advancing Soviet troops. The Wehrmacht command decided to throw in all its reserves to stop the Russians. On July 30 the right flank of the First Byelorussian Front clashed with the Germans on the approaches to Praga, east of the Vistula. On August 1 the Second Soviet Armored Army was forced to break off its attack here and go on the defensive. The left flank of the First Byelorussian Army managed to cross the Vistula 60 kilometers southeast of Warsaw. German attacks did not dislodge the Russians, but they were unable to extend the bridgeheads.

In the next weeks, 50,000 Polish combatants fought alone in desperate conditions. The Soviet army was thrown back from Praga by the German counteroffensive "nearly 100 kilometers" (65 miles) according to the Soviet

Eastfoto

Soviet-sponsored Polish army reaches devastated Warsaw, 1945.

commander, Marshal Rokossovsky. Moscow refused to allow English and American aircraft to land on Soviet territory after dropping supplies to the AK insurgents because it "did not wish to associate themselves either directly or indirectly with the Warsaw adventure" (Foreign Minister Vyshinsky). However, the British *did not intend to send supplies* and Bor-Komorowski was informed of this two days *before* the uprising (Ciechanowski, *The Warsaw Rising of 1944*). The first supplies from the West were air-dropped only three weeks after the outbreak of the fighting, and 2,000 Polish paratroopers in England who volunteered to go to Warsaw were refused permission (*Militant*, 25 November 1944). From mid-September Soviet airplanes dropped considerable arms, food and other materiel on Warsaw, but by then it was too late.

The Red Army finally captured Praga on September 14, and between September 16 and 19 General Z. Berling, commander of the new Soviet-sponsored Polish army, managed to put across the Vistula and into the Czerniakow district of Warsaw six battalions. These battalions were instructed to make contact with the insurgents in that district, carry out reconnaissance and create a bridgehead. But Warsaw is a natural strong point, situated on bluffs overlooking the floodplain of the Vistula, and overwhelming German artillery fire prevented their success. The forces that had been able to cross were beaten back to a narrow strip along the river, and on September 21 Marshal Rokossovsky decided to withdraw the forces with heavy casualties.

The initial Home Army attack within the city itself was met with blistering German resistance. The AK suffered heavy losses and was forced to call off the attack. As early as the second day it

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Cannon vs. "Third Campism" on the Warsaw Uprising

The initial response of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the United States to the Warsaw Uprising was an editorial (*Militant*, 5 August 1944) hailing the Warsaw workers who "have not fought for the predatory interests of British imperialism and its Polish henchmen of the London 'government-in-exile.' Nor have they battled in order to submit to the reactionary rule of Stalin's bureaucracy and his Polish puppets." A second *Militant* (19 August 1944) editorial, entitled "Warsaw Betrayed," claimed:

> "No sooner did the Red Army approach the outskirts of Warsaw, than the Warsaw proletariat rose up and arms in hand, launched a full-scale battle to drive out the Nazi oppressors....
>
> "Undoubtedly, the Warsaw proletariat expected that the Red Army would hasten its assault on the city, and thus through their joint efforts, from within and without, the Nazi tyrants would be driven out and destroyed.
>
> "But instead of launching more energetically the military onslaught and redoubling their efforts, the Red Army attack was brought to a sudden standstill, by order of Stalin's generals....
>
> "The Warsaw proletariat must draw the lessons.... Only through their independent revolutionary actions will they be able to organize fraternization with the Red Army soldiers and help the Soviet masses to settle accounts with the bloody Bonapartist dictatorship of Stalin."

This line, which uncritically accepted Western accounts of the Warsaw Uprising, put forward in particular by Churchill, was sharply challenged within the party. A letter written on 16 August 1944 by an associate of James P. Cannon (the founder of American Trotskyism, then imprisoned for the SWP's revolutionary opposition to the imperialist Second World War) was sent to the Political Committee protesting this abandonment of the party's unconditional defense of the Soviet Union:

> "In our opinion, the editorial on Poland in the August 5 *Militant* falls into error through a tendency to leap over the incompleted stage of European events—the Soviet Union's life and death struggles against the armies of Hitler. 'With their own armed forces they [the Polish workers] must continue their independent revolutionary struggle' the editorial states, and adds in a later paragraph 'against all the agents...of the counter-revolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy.' This sweeping statement can be understood as implying armed struggle against the Red Army.... We must not forget that as long as the Red Army remains locked in combat with the armies of a capitalist Germany, our slogan 'Unconditional defense of the Soviet Union' retains its full content, regardless of Stalin's counter-revolutionary policies in occupied areas beyond the Soviet borders."

A second letter from Cannon's associate dated 23 August 1944 protested:

> "The August 19 *Militant* editorial, 'Warsaw Betrayed,' goes even further afield than the previous editorial we wrote about in muddling up our line of 'Unconditional Defense of the Soviet Union' in the struggle against the Nazi-imperialist invaders. To call upon the revolutionary Polish workers to 'organize fraternization' with the Red Army soldiers, as the editorial does, is to think in terms of establishing contact with the rank and file of a hostile military force. *But the Polish workers must be the allies of the Red Army in its war against Hitler's armies*, no matter how reactionary Stalin's policy is.... The editorial also takes for granted a version of the Warsaw events about which there is little information, none of it reliable and many uncertainties. A *full-scale* battle against the Nazis by the Warsaw proletariat is assumed, as is the 'order of Stalin's generals' in halting the Red Army attack on the city. The Moscow charge that the London 'Polish government in exile' ordered the uprising without consulting the Red Army command is brushed aside without being clearly stated, much less analyzed in the light of the current Soviet-Polish negotiations. No consideration is given to the question of whether or not the Red Army was *able* at the moment to launch an all-out attack on Warsaw in view of its long-sustained offensive, the Nazi defensive preparations along the Vistula, the necessity to regroup forces and mass for new attacks after the not inconsiderable expenditure of men and material in reaching the outskirts of Warsaw, the fact that there was a lull along virtually the entire Eastern front concurrent with the halt before Warsaw, etc. *Nor does the editorial take up the question of the duty of the guerrilla forces—and in the circumstances that is what the Warsaw detachments are—to subordinate themselves to the high command of the main army*, the Red Army, in timing such an important battle as the siege of Warsaw. On the contrary, the editorial appears to take as its point of departure the assumption that a full-scale proletarian uprising occurred in Warsaw and that Stalin deliberately maneuvered to permit Hitler to crush the revolt."

It is remarkable how these two letters, described in an SWP Internal Bulletin as written "in the name of Martin [Cannon] and his collaborators," focus precisely on the crucial fallacies of the anti-Soviet myth of the Warsaw Uprising. Most important, however, is the political heart of Cannon's critique.

The Warsaw Uprising of 1944 posed one of the first battles between the Trotskyist majority of the SWP, led by Cannon, and the Goldman-Morrow minority which had succumbed to the democratic pretenses of Anglo-American imperialism. A. Roland (Jack Weber) explains the background of the Martin (Cannon) letters on the Warsaw Uprising: "Those members of the

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Trotskyism and the Labor Party Question

"Dump the Bureaucrats! For a Workers Party!"

We reprint below a transcription of a talk on the labor party question given by comrade James Robertson of the Spartacist League Central Committee at a 5 October 1972 internal youth educational in Boston. The speech centers on the SL slogan, "Oust the Bureaucrats! Build a Workers Party, to Fight for a Workers Government!" and is directed against various reformists and centrists who look to the American union bureaucracy to form a reformist labor party. This program is not only absurd (the Meanyite gang of labor fakers will never break with the bourgeois parties), it is reactionary.

The "labor party question" has long engendered controversy in the American socialist movement. As pointed out below, it is the American version of the united front, a tactic for revolutionaries to gain authority through the struggle for proletarian unity against the capitalist class. The slogan was suggested by the Comintern in 1922 as a way to bridge the gap between the small size of the communist vanguard in the U.S. and the need for an independent political party representing the interests of the working class. However, this correct objective was soon perverted as opportunist leaders of the CP used it to justify their reformist maneuvering for a "farmer-labor party" in 1924. After this fiasco, the labor party slogan was shelved until the 1930s.

At the beginning of that decade the expelled Trotskyist Left Opposition of the CP rejected the call for a labor party in the belief that American workers could make a leap over the heads of the arch-reactionary AFL craft union leadership. In contrast, the former CP Right Opposition, the Lovestoneites, were always agitating for a labor party "in general"—so much so that they were commonly dismissed as the "labor-party party." As labor struggles picked up, in 1934 there were three citywide general strikes (Minneapolis, San Francisco, Toledo) led by ostensible socialists and communists. But then came the rise of the mass industrial unions, and in 1938 the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) revived the labor party slogan. Even so, Trotsky did not repudiate their earlier stand:

WV Photo

Fake-lefts tail Democrat "socialist" IAM president William Winpisinger, who talks "labor party" while stabbing PATCO in the back.

> "When for the first time the League [Communist League of America, the U.S. Trotskyist organization in the early 1930s] considered this question, some seven or eight years ago—whether we should favor a labor party or not, whether we should develop initiative on this score—then the prevailing sentiment was not to do it, and that was absolutely correct. The perspective for development was not clear. I believed that the majority of us hoped that the development of our own organization [would] be more speedy. On the other hand I believe no one in our ranks foresaw during that period the appearance of the CIO with this rapidity and this power."
>
> —"Discussion in Mexico City, April, 1938," in *Leon Trotsky on the Labor Party in the United States*

The Trotskyists underlined that the labor party slogan was inseparable from a revolutionary program. As Trotsky had put it, "A Marxist, a proletarian revolutionist, cannot present himself before the working class with two banners. He cannot say at a workers' meeting: 'I have a ticket for a first-class party and another, cheaper ticket for the backward workers'" ("Letter from Prinkipo, Turkey, May 19, 1932"). In raising the call for a labor party in 1938, the SWP did so on the basis of "*a program of revolutionary transitional demands*":

> "We propose, in order to advance the Labor party movement toward class struggle and not class collaboration, that you [the workers] adopt a program calling for workers' control of production, for militant Labor Defense Guards to protect our democratic rights and combat fascism, for the expropriation of the industrial and financial dictators of the country, etc., etc."
>
> —James Burnham and Max Shachtman, "The Question of a Labor Party," reprinted in *WV* No. 248, 25 January 1980

This program retains its validity today in the struggle to break the stranglehold of the pro-capitalist labor traitors on the workers movement. Under present conditions, the labor party tactic is essentially a propagandistic expression of working-class independence, as part of the struggle for a workers government.

For the many varieties of reformists and centrists, however, the labor party slogan has commonly been applied as a way to capitulate to the union bureaucracy. In the early 1970s the Healyite political bandits of the Workers League (WL)—whose rightward motion eventually took them out of the workers movement altogether to become messengers of Libyan Islamic dictator Qaddafi—ludicrously projected a "labor party" based on complaints against the Democratic Party from George Meany and Steelworkers head I.W. Abel. A typical headline of the WL's *Bulletin* (17 July 1972) trumpeted: "AFL-CIO Tops Threaten Labor Party at Miami." No matter to these cynics that Meany/Abel represented the most reactionary wing of American labor officialdom, protesting that the Democrats had been invaded by commies, pinkos, homosexuals and women's libbers! The Healyites' call was for a party of racist Cold War anti-Communism.

Recently there has been a flurry of "labor party" talk from some union tops as they found it difficult to sell the unappetizing bourgeois "alternatives," Reagan and Carter. In California, state

WV Photo

NYC Labor Day march, September 7: SL called on labor to shut down the airports.

AFL-CIO secretary-treasurer John Henning endlessly threatens to "consider" a labor party while remaining a close ally of Democratic governor Jerry Brown. Last year Machinists leader William Winpisinger theatrically walked out of the Democratic convention (wearing a "Kennedy in '84" button!), and instantly reformists from the CP to the now anti-Trotskyist SWP heralded Wimpy's cheap talk about a labor party (see "Social Democrats' Labor Party Hoax," *WV* No. 269, 28 November 1980). And this September, when the union tops mobilized 500,000 demonstrators in Washington to listen to empty anti-Reagan rhetoric, virtually every fake-socialist in the country waved the "labor party" as their solution—devoid of a class-struggle program against the sellout bureaucrats, of course.

Meanwhile, the ghost of "labor-party parties" past has emerged in the shape of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), a centrist-posing lash-up of the Ann Arbor cult/sect of Peter Sollenberger and a tiny ex-Healyite clot in the Bay Area, Steve Bryant's now-defunct Socialist League Democratic-Centralist (SL-DC). The Sollenbergerites are wont to lift Spartacist slogans out of *WV*, while carefully stripping away the communist cutting edge. Thus an RWL/SL-DC joint leaflet for the May 3 El Salvador demonstrations repeated the SL call to dump the bureaucrats, break with the Democrats and build a workers party. But one of their fusion documents, "Resolution on the Struggle for a Labor Party in the U.S.," contains only a pro-forma criticism of *sections* of the union bureaucracy, and elevates the labor/workers party from a tactic to a "decisive question for the American working class." Regardless of historical circumstances, the RWL is committed to a labor party:

> "While we fight for socialist policies as the program of a workers party, Trotskyists must critically support the formation of a mass workers party, even if that party initially lacks a clear socialist program."
>
> —*Fighting Worker*, July 1981

For the RWL, a labor party, even an anti-communist reformist labor party, is a necessary *stage* which the American working class must go through. And here they are in direct contradiction to Trotsky, who wrote in 1932:

> "I will never assume the responsibility to affirm abstractly and dogmatically that the creation of a labor party would be a 'progressive step' even in the United States, because I do not know under what circumstances, under what guidance, and for what purposes that party would be created. It seems to me more probable that especially in America, which does not possess any important traditions of independent political action by the working class (as Chartism in England, for example) and where the trade union bureaucracy is more reactionary and corrupted than it was at the height of the British Empire, the creation of a labor party could be provoked only by mighty revolutionary pressure from the working masses and by the growing threat of Communism. It is absolutely clear that under these conditions the labor party would signify, not a progressive step but a hindrance to the progressive evolution of the working class."
>
> —"Letter from Prinkipo"

But one can't accuse the RWL of ignorance. Its Healyite "method" of calling on the present union bureaucracy to form a reformist labor party comes straight from Bryant, who once wrote that "Trotsky's initial perspective towards the Labor Party question was very similar to the sectarians of the Trotskyist movement today" (*Labor News*, January 1976).

Over the years, Bryant has consistently opposed any "sectarian" program for his Meanyite labor party—even busing for school integration! Today the

RWL's Bay Area Committee for a Labor Party spends its time trying to get John Henning to run for public office. But a reformist labor party led by the Hennings and Winpisingers would mean a stab in the back for the air controllers, the miners and any other workers who dare to wage militant labor action. A class-struggle workers party will be built over the political corpse of the "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class."

This report is intended to be a presentation of a series of interlocked home-truths and a comment on the search for deviations, of which in a hardened way we seem to have discovered only two. Its origins are that in the West Coast Labor Day pre-conference discussion the issue of the labor party quite thoroughly dominated the discussion. A great deal of uncertainty, confusion and a very considerable spread of opinion on the labor party question presented themselves there, and we had to thrash them out.

At this point the slogan which I have been defending and want to defend here is the slogan "Dump the Bureaucrats! For a Workers Party Based on the Trade Unions." Another slogan which was debated and which presents an aspect of rank and file-ism, of syndicalism, would be the slogan "For a Labor Party Without Bureaucrats." Now that slogan lacks the contradictory tension of a struggle and suggests simply rank and file-ism and possibly, by implication, the development of an organized, mass workers party counterposed to the trade unions: perhaps the political equivalent of the red unions of the CP's third period.

I gather that on the Coast there is perhaps a comrade who objects to the first part of the slogan, "Dump the Bureaucrats," and just wants to have a slogan "For a Labor Party Based on the Trade Unions." In New York there is a comrade who just wants to have the slogan "Dump the Bureaucrats! For a Communist Party."

There is a great deal of confusion. The confusion centers along two separate axes, and that's why it's a great deal of confusion, or rather, complicated confusion. Furthermore, in the last debate in New York, I spent all my time in the decisions of the Third and Fourth Congresses [of the Communist International]. I'm going to evade that this time and simply point out that the labor party slogan is the current American version of the issue of the united front. It's posed in the absence of a massive political expression of reformism or Stalinism in the United States. Rather, with the organization of industrial unions with a deeply committed pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, it is toward them [that] the issue of proletarian unity and the process of communist triumph in struggle is centered on the labor party question.

There are two axes of confusion over the labor party. One is the importance of realizing that this is a propagandistic demand for us today, *which has no relationship to what will happen in the future*. That is, today, the Workers League to the contrary notwithstanding, the idiots who think that Meany because he does not like Negroes, homosexuals or abortion laws is therefore building a labor party in order to carry out these anti-capitalist demands—it's nonsense. There has to be a sense of proportion, which the Communist Party originally lost in 1924. In the first place, the labor party is not the issue for propaganda. The workers government is. Now we stumbled into this. If you read the early issues of *Workers' Action*, you will find out that the final, triumphant, ultimate statement of position in the *Workers' Action* program was for a labor party. Uh-uh. We are for a workers government, in the unions, in the plants and in our general education and approaching students with the conception of proletarian power. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a formulation which suffers certain problems. A popular understanding of the dictatorship of the proletariat is that the workers are going to be put into concentration camps, like in Russia. If you talk of some kind of socialism, you get an image of happy Sweden maintaining its high alcoholism and suicide rates through victoriously staying out of two world wars. [Laughter] But what should be clear in *every* way, over every kind of issue, is that the working people need their own government.

Monad

SWP trade-union leader Farrell Dobbs meets Leon Trotsky in Mexico: "What counts is the content of the labor party"—Trotsky.

But—how do you get a government? That implies a political party of the working people—a class party. And it is as a subordinate element of the achievement of a workers government, which is an algebraic expression, as the saying goes, for the concrete realization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, that they require a workers or a labor party, which in its concrete, arithmetical expression is a revolutionary labor party: a Bolshevik party.

That's a propaganda presentation.

Now what's really going to happen in this country? Who knows?... Only [NCLC guru] Lynn Marcus. [Laughter] I'll give you some variants.

One is: we have an unpolitical, extremely combative working class, with a bureaucracy that at present and without the aid of a thousand YSAers, is incapable at any serious level of struggle of controlling this class. Part of the residue of the enormous class struggles in Europe is the presence of an extremely sophisticated, able, political bureaucracy in depth. Can you imagine the capacity of a George Meany to cope with an American general strike the way that the CP did in France in '68? It's impossible. Which is where [SWP honcho] Jack Barnes and his gang think they've got their opening.

So it's entirely possible now, as indicated in the fundamental premises of the Transformation Memo, now that American hegemony has been lost, reducing the United States to merely a very effective, the most powerful of the capitalist/imperialists and with the fundamental preconditions for severe social crisis laid down on the planet, that the American working class may be impelled into massive political actions without a party, without a revolutionary party, without any party at all and overwhelm the bureaucracy. That will be in the best case a fruitful catastrophe, rather akin to the Paris Commune and the 1905 Revolution. It is not something, therefore, that we work for. But as a smaller propagandistic group we'll do our job. If it comes to that, if we are unable to have the capacity as revolutionists to place ourselves at the head of insurgent masses, we will fight anyhow, even if we have to go through an experience as the Spartakusbund did in 1918/1919. The next time around it will be different, then.

That's a possibility—that's if the motion at the base in the class accelerates.

It is possible to go to the other extreme—given an orderly, stretched-out intensification of social crisis, the capacity of the growing communist movement to keep ahead of developments, a thing which had begun to suggest itself classically in 1934 in this country when three [ostensibly] communist organizations led three city-wide general strikes (in Toledo, San Francisco and in Minneapolis): the possibility that the communist party could simply grow in linear fashion.

The other possibility would be the realization of a labor party either of a revolutionary or of a reformist character. That is, under the accumulated mounting pressures of social struggle, the bureaucracy begins to be torn asunder through the pressure from below, [from] developing class antagonisms, and it becomes stretched. With a successful communist agitation at the same time, the labor party could be formed in what will be a very convulsive act.

What is behind so much of the conceptual garbage that the Workers League puts out is that the labor party is an easy thing. (By the way, there's a book by Henry Pelling, *Origins of the Labor Party*, which is useful for guidelines.) If you study the history of the achievement of political class consciousness by *any* proletariat, you'll see that it is a convulsive, historically monumental act—sometimes compressed, sometimes stretched out—but always enormous in character, even if the outcome after the dust begins to settle is the restabilization of a pro-capitalist bureaucracy. The impact of ripping the mass of the working people away from capitalism, so that the assertion is: we need a society in which the working people govern, the productive property is nationalized, is enormous. And on top of this is laid the reformist and Stalinist labor skates. That will be a convulsive period in American history, substantially larger than that of the sit-down period from '35 to '37.

But what will happen bears no particular relationship to our present advocacy, which is a way to pose the question of working people becoming the government and developing the political instrument to achieve this, to link up that objective, fundamental need with the present consciousness of the bulk of trade-union-conscious American workers. The attempts to telescope with "what ifs," as though there is a particular relationship, a linear connection, between what we say today and what will happen in mass motion is the source of a great deal of confusion and error.

I left open the question of the outcome, of the character of the labor party in the third case. In the Bay Area somebody said, "Ah, but how can there be a revolutionary labor party? Obviously by definition it's reformist." And immediately there came to mind the examples of the transformations of the Italian and French mass Socialist parties into Communist parties and, more engagingly, because of the similarity in name and origins, the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party (Majority) is commonly taken to be a revolutionary labor party. But that depends on

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Trotskyists lead Minneapolis General Strike, 1934.

Labor Party...

(continued from page 7)

the relationship of forces in the development between the revolutionists and the reformists who associate themselves with such an insurgent move on the political plane—approximately the same way that John L. Lewis and a section of the AFL bureaucracy did with the CIO industrial organizing in 1935. So that's one kind of confusion.

The other axis of confusion is over the question of why advocate a labor party and what is the relationship between the advocacy of a labor party and its political character? Will it represent the general historic interests of the proletariat, i.e., be a revolutionary labor party or will it represent special, partial, narrow, limited, aristocratic, chauvinist and nationalist appetites within the proletariat, i.e., [be] a reformist labor party? And therefore, why advocate a labor party at all since it seems to have a kaleidoscopic character?

There is, of course, a perfectly good circumstance in which [our] present propagandist and limitedly agitational advocacy of a labor party would be abandoned. And that is if we began to see that a communist party began to be recognized by advanced sections of the proletariat, not even very large ones but significant layers, and had the capacity to struggle in a linear way, by bootstrap operation, to become the authentic and literal vanguard of the class. At that juncture we would probably see a section of the bureaucracy form a labor party very fast in an attempt to head this off. The progressive wing of the bureaucracy would counterpose the development of a labor party. And it would be necessarily, from its birth its essential purpose would be that of an anti-communist labor party. We would fight such a thing in every way. We would try to united-front it to death, we would denounce it to death, we would raid it to death, we would do everything we could to smash it in the egg at every step.

But that is a far cry from the present situation. It is literally not possible by qualitative orders of magnitude—not just one, but qualitative orders of magnitude—to advance at this juncture the Spartacist League as the answer to the felt mass problems of the proletariat. But those felt mass problems exist. [And] what does exist in a mass way is the trade-union movement. Therefore one can point out (and should!) that the trade-union movement, the economic organization of a section of the working class, has the responsibility to offer the political as well as the economic answers to the plight of the working people. And so it is an address made to that one institution that exists in the United States—the organized labor movement.

Now I've got a couple of other points to make in this connection. To go back to the workers government slogan, which is the purpose of the labor party agitation, we should be clear what is meant by a workers government. It is nothing other than the dictatorship of the proletariat. There have appeared some speculations or projections either in a hypothetical way or at one point as an ephemeral possibility in history that a workers government is not simply a synonym for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Interestingly enough, in the formulations of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International, where there was a vagueness and an abstraction about the projection of the conditions under which a workers government would be achieved, both Hal Draper and Joe Hansen zeroed in on that material as they did on a phrase in the *Transitional Program* in order to "prove" that from the British Labour Party [government] of 1945 to [Ben Bella in Algeria] to Fidel Castro's Cuban government—[all] were workers governments.

The concrete possibilities that Trotsky posed in the *Transitional Program* were roughly of the following formulation: it is conceivable that under mass revolutionary pressure reformist elements might go much further in the direction of a workers government than they ever conceived they would at the outset. That was a "what if" question, a generalization on the following condition that took place in the Russian Revolution between February and October: the slogan of the Bolsheviks addressed to the Provisional Government, which was a coalition government of Social Revolutionaries, Mensheviks, the minuscule Trudoviks of Kerensky and the Kadet Party, that is, the Constitutional Democrats, the effective liberal bourgeois party, was the slogan "Down with the ten capitalist ministers, form a government purely of the workers parties," coupled of course with the social and political and economic demands that the Bolsheviks were raising. Posed in a "what if" way, the question is, what if under mass pressure the Kadets had been thrown out of the government? You would have a murky period at that point, something not very stable, in the context of what already is inherently a historical episode of a dual power situation between a bourgeois government and the existence of organized nationwide soviets. What that would represent is not a workers government separate and apart from the dictatorship of the proletariat, but an episode immediately on the way. But of course the centrists make much out of non-viable episodes possible in the histories of revolutions in order to try to construct a sort of third camp between the dictatorship of the proletariat and the administration of a bourgeois state by the reformists.

Now another question's been raised, just lately: a useful question has been

New York Times

George Meany, Lane Kirkland, Thomas Gleason. Reformists call on AFL-CIO superhawk Cold Warriors to form a labor party.

posed by comrade Seymour's article on the labor party, I think, because it's not a clear-cut case and it shows some problems in actual application. And that's the experience of the Communist Party in 1923-24 with the Farmer-Labor Party and the Federated Farmer-Labor Party and the general issue of the possibility of a bloc between the communists and, as Cannon put it, the progressive section of the labor movement. You know, apparently it is never too late to learn something, because after 25 years, while reading Seymour's piece, it suddenly occurred to me, Farmer-Labor Party—wait a minute, that's a *two-class party, we're opposed to a two-class party*, what the hell are we doing in a two-class party situation? "One step forward...." Furthermore, the thing has got to be reformist: because if you think, what kind of interests of both workers and farmers could be contained within a common program? The farmers produce their commodities, they sell them themselves, they're interested in high prices, squeezing out the middlemen, getting to the export market directly, all this kind of stuff is the economic program of the farmers. Sometimes of course farmers can be pretty restless and make a lot of trouble. But those interests of the workers that you could possibly put together could only be extremely narrow, the circumscribed interests of the American working class, even if you just sat down and said, "Let's cook up a Farmer-Labor Party." Necessarily it would have to be episodic and limited in a reformist way because there are a lot of antagonisms between petty- and not so petty-bourgeois producers, which is what farmers are, and the proletariat. And that's the key to what was wrong in 1924 with the Communist bloc with the Chicago Federation of Labor. From the outset it was preordained that the struggle was going to be for a *reformist* labor party, i.e., throwing in the farmers to boot. And it was on that basis that a bloc was constructed then: that the Communists would simulate a reformist party hoping to maneuver on the inside, courtesy of Brother Pepper. It's on that basis and probably from that experience that Shachtman wrote his excellent article in 1935, where he asked, "Who needs a second-class, fake, reformist, hidden Communist Party?"

Now we, for our part, should have no reason to be opposed to a bloc with a section of the labor movement, including the labor officialdom, providing that bloc goes in the direction we want it to go.

But looking back to 1923, on what basis for heaven's sake is this Chicago Federation of Labor going to give us what we want? That is, an agreement to struggle for a labor party together in the first place and in the second place to struggle with each other over the character of its program and its cadres. On that basis we'll make a bloc with people. If Meany says, "I'm for a labor party—you guys are for a labor party," fine: we'll all go and organize for a labor party and we'll fight like hell to determine its program.

Yeah, we'd accept such a bloc and we'd fight—we'd seek such a bloc. The problem with a bloc is the nice old phrase of Bismarck that every alliance consists of two components—the horse and the rider. [Laughter] So that I do not know how we would realize the bloc because I'm afraid our projected horse would bolt. And the Communist Party clearly was doing the donkey work—or proposing simulating doing the donkey work for the trade-union officialdom except that they also wanted organization control by the Communists plus a reformist program. This is not in aid of anything, and that's the basic reason why they got such a mess out of it.

So that in reviewing the historical experience—we aren't *ever* for a Farmer-Labor Party—we *oppose* it. [But] a Farmer-Labor Party—it's not going to happen in America. An interesting point that James Burnham made in 1938: he said, "Comrades, the *Transitional Program* says that we should be for a workers and farmers government in the United States." But he observed already then, I believe, that there were more dentists than farmers in the United States, and therefore why not a workers and dentists government? [Laughter] Comrade Gordon waxes irate with me because I find the formula of a workers and "x" government very useful while on national tour. You know, there's a workers and students government if you're speaking on a campus—you go out to the military base, it's a workers and soldiers government, you know, and you gradually move through all sections of the population. I suppose in Berkeley a few years ago it would have been a workers and women's government. The final achievement is one that boggled my *own* mind. The Argentine Pabloists came out a few years ago for a workers and peoples government. [Laughter]

Well, we're for a workers and "x" government, all right, the problem with motley America is that "x" stands for a wide variety. But behind that is a truism: that the dictatorship of the proletariat will be centrally, but not simply or purely, proletarian. There is a wide layer of oppressed sections in American society—racially, ethnically, socially oppressed, ranging from old people to Latins, blacks, students, soldiers. This is quite real, it's quite true, although a workers and peoples government is not exactly the formulation that one wants. But it senses something that's particularly important: if one says a labor movement or a labor party right now, there is very good reason to see it right now in the most encrusted, aristocratic, racist, chauvinist, George Meany-like fashion. It's extremely important and one of the reasons for the formulation "Dump the bureaucrats! For a Workers Party!"

There's no difference in conception between a workers party based on the trade unions and a labor party based on the trade unions, except that the terminology projects a somewhat different conception. ■

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Labor: Protest Killer Cops!

Black Outrage in L.A.'s "Signal Hell"

LOS ANGELES—Black outrage continues to boil over the cop murder of Ron Settles last July in the mean little oil town of Signal Hill. Settles was a 21-year-old black college football star who was killed in his jail cell by local cops after being picked up for speeding. Scores of blacks and Chicanos suffer the same fate every year in the L.A. area. But Settles was not just another nameless, faceless victim of police terror. Five months after his death, protest demonstrations continue to draw hundreds of angry minority students and youth who are fed up with beatings and murder by the racist cops.

Now even the bourgeois press treats the Ron Settles murder as front-page news. They're afraid that this cold-blooded killing could trigger another Watts upheaval, so they try to head it off. They have reported the vicious brutality of Jerry Lee Brown, the uniformed thug who arrested Settles. They have documented the racism of the local police, the town's history of one-family rule. They want to make Signal Hill cops look like an isolated exception. But they are only small-town imitations of the notorious LAPD, which has killed more than a hundred victims (most of them black and Latin) in the last several years.

Even though a coroner's jury ruled that Ron Settles' death was homicide rather than the suicide claimed by the Signal Hill police, even though several cops have been granted immunity in exchange for testimony, district attorney Van de Kamp still refuses to prosecute the killer cops. He says he needs two more months to review the evidence. Actually the DA just hopes that with a little more time the publicity and demonstrations will die down, and yet another cop killing of a black youth can be swept under the rug. In the last 29 years not a single policeman in Los Angeles has been prosecuted for murder.

A Countywide Coalition for Justice has called a march on Signal Hill for December 5. But cries of outrage are not enough—the issue is how to fight racist murder. Michael Zinzun, one of the main organizers of the protests, talks about black self-defense and then cynically helps organize a movement to ...replace the DA. Stokely Carmichael's black-nationalist AARPR calls to "pick up the gun or pick up the pen" to write your congressman! And once again Zinzun's Coalition Against Police Abuse along with the reformist Communist Party raises the impotent call for a civilian police review board. Investigations, boards, letters will do nothing. The killers are known. The point is to stop this racist cop terror.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has actively participated in protests around the Settles murder. The SYL points out that in Reagan's America, cop terror is on the rise as union busting and race hate go hand in hand with the imperialist war drive against the Soviet Union. We call for labor and blacks to mobilize against racist attacks. It can be done. Signal Hill is surrounded by the integrated industrial city of Long Beach with its docks and refineries. Labor demonstrated its strength last summer when 20,000 workers shut down Long Beach and San Pedro ports for one day to protest Reagan cutbacks. The powerful labor unions—ILWU, OCAW, Teamsters—many of them with large minority memberships, must lead the ghetto masses in the fight against racist murder.

WV Photo

SL/SYL protests Ron Settles murder in demo outside DA's office in Los Angeles, October 27.

The sadistic badge-toting killers in blue are spawned by the capitalist system. Their job is to keep labor and minorities down, to protect the life and property of the rich. Only through the struggle for socialist revolution against racist American capitalism can the deaths of Ron Settles and thousands of other victims of cop terror be avenged. Jail the killer cops! For labor/black mobilizations against racist terror! ■

Libya...

(continued from page 3)

hit a stone wall. The case was deliberately ignored as Wilson and Terpil expanded their activities in Libya. A mountain of evidence was available to prosecute Wilson and Terpil on obviously criminal charges. But the government refused to prosecute. Fearing for his life, Mulcahy blew the whistle so loud the government took up the case.

Yet it took four years to finally indict the pair in 1980 on federal charges that included illegal export of explosives as well as conspiracy and solicitation to commit murder. And even after Wilson and Terpil became fugitives they continued to travel freely in and about the U.S., Europe, Africa and the Middle East observed by many people, but never picked up. Wilson was even seen dining within a famous Washington restaurant with former employees. Terpil was able to jump bail. Hersh writes that the embittered Mulcahy is "deeply disturbed by what he regards as a monumental lack of resolve, competence and communication within the Federal Government in handling the case." Mulcahy and the *Times* are careful not to offer the more obvious explanation of a government cover-up.

Much of the story as presented by the *New York Times* is an attempt to show that former agent Mulcahy thought he was still working for the CIA, but that Wilson and Terpil were not agency, just "former" CIA agents. Thus the media campaign to "expose" Wilson/Terpil serves to limit the damage of this case to the U.S. secret police. For the ever-"responsible" *Times* the vexing problem is what to do about "rogue" retirees such as Wilson and Terpil. The *Boston Globe* article by Stephen Kurkjian and Ben Bradlee, published some months prior to the *Times* series, throws the same facts in a much sharper light:

> "In the murky world of intelligence, few things are certain, but several elements of this case point to government knowledge, if not participation, in the scheme.... Two civilian engineers conducting top-secret research for the CIA and other government agencies were given leaves from their jobs at the China Lake Naval Weapons Station in California to go to Libya, and later returned to their posts. And finally, a Green Beret at Fort Bragg was also given a leave from active duty to go to Libya, and military intelligence personnel at the base were thoroughly briefed on the affair at all times."

There is plenty of evidence to back up their suspicion of official complicity.

- Putting together a deal for some thousands of delayed-timer devices for explosives for Libya, Mulcahy and Wilson had meetings with Theodore G. Shackley, the deputy director of CIA clandestine operations.
- When the Libyan operation needed 300,000 timers, Wilson arranged a meeting at a Virginia bar. Mulcahy met there with long-time CIA supplier Scientific Communications Inc. At this meeting was William Weisenburger, a branch chief in the CIA. At the bar that night Wilson sat with senior CIA official Thomas Clines, with Mulcahy spending the night "table-hopping" as the plans were worked out.
- Kurkjian and Bradlee report that one of the Green Berets involved in setting up the military training camp in Libya became suspicious that the Wilson/Terpil operation might be the work of agents provocateurs, so he informed military intelligence at Fort Bragg of their overture. The *Globe* article quotes him: "I was told they had checked the operation out and there was nothing wrong with it.... They said it was legal and ahovehoard and to go ahead and pursue it. I assumed that they meant I was going to do a job for the (CIA). I laid out the story to a colonel and he said to me, 'You're working for the agency'." To participate in the project, the Green Beret was immediately granted a 30-day leave.

Even the *New York Times* (14 Septemher) acknowledged that "although the agency has repeatedly denied any knowledge of or involvement in Mr. Wilson's activities, questions linger about unofficial links between Mr. Wilson and senior agency employees. Some federal investigators believe that Mr. Wilson may have received tacit approval from agency officials to establish his ties to Libya in the hope that they would produce intelligence unavailable from other sources." And the CIA's own "plausible denial" on the Wilson/Terpil affair was practically an admission: "The investigation establishes that there was no official encouragement or involvement by the C.I.A.," said the agency statement (*New York Times*, 27 August). But what is official and unofficial in the underworld of "dirty tricks" by the imperialist spy agency? And what does it matter?

It has always been convenient for the murderous and illegal work of the CIA to maintain people of authority on and off its official payroll. To paraphrase the voice on the "Mission Impossible" tapes, it is understood that if caught the agency denies any responsibility. This has become more difficult as disaffected agents have begun to tell what they know. Moreover, after 1975, following the post-Watergate exposés of some of the CIA's dirty work, the agency was required by law to inform a leaky Congress about its covert actions. The CIA found it useful to maintain contract agents and a semi-permeable network of agents symbiotically connected to various "private" gun runners and businessmen, who it was generally understood had the blessings of the CIA. With Wilson and Terpil types the CIA has complete deniability.

And the "intelligence community" guards this practice very jealously. The same agency for whom no job of international terror is too large or small, from tapping phones and opening mail to the assassinations of heads of state and junta coups, becomes very concerned about the rights of citizens to sell C-4 plastique explosives, detonation timers and terrorist training on the international market. General Vernon Walters, former deputy director of the CIA, now Reagan's ambassador at large to Latin American dictators, last year made $300,000 for his role in one weapons deal. As far as attempts to restrict Wilson/Terpil activities, this top spy sounds like the white knight of the Bill of Rights: "I think that would be a restriction on the individual's freedom" (*New York Times*, 22 September). And even Alexander Haig, recently confronted with the Wilson/Terpil Libya connection at a House Foreign Relations Committee hearing, replied that after all it was a "free society."

There is now talk of laws to restrict the actions of "former" agents. The targets of this legislation are not Wilson and Terpil, but Philip Agee and other ex-CIA agents who publicly blow the whistle on their former employers. Hence the consummate hypocrisy of the ruling class striving to protect and cover up their dirty work, not least their blunders and stupidities. The more "mature," now geriatric, British rulers codified all this in their "Official Secrets Act." Now the CIA wants theirs. Down with secret police terror! ■

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Warsaw Uprising...

(continued from page 5)

was clear that only the entry of the Soviet troops could save the city. But as a result of the treacherous adventure of the Home Army leaders, the population now had no choice—it was fight to the end or die on their knees. Hitler ordered his commanders to wipe Warsaw off the face of the earth, which they proceeded to do. The Warsovians heroically continued the battle for two months despite terrific odds and extreme shortages of weapons, ammunition, food and water. When on October 2 Bor-Komorowski surrendered to the Germans he had only 10,000 soldiers left.

Three months later, the Russians crossed a now solidly frozen Vistula and entered a city of graves and ruins. Three hundred thousand had been killed during the fighting and nine-tenths of the city destroyed.

Stalin and the Warsaw Uprising

According to the London Polish government in exile, the Russians could have prevented this massacre, if they had wanted to. The Stalinist bureaucracy certainly *did* want to control and even avoid a popular rising, in favor of iron-fisted Russian military and bureaucratic control. But the destruction of Warsaw and its population was not part of their plan—it cost millions of rubles to rebuild the Polish capital. In response to a joint appeal from Roosevelt and Churchill warning Stalin of the repercussions of world public opinion "if the anti-Nazis in Warsaw are in effect abandoned," Stalin replied on August 22:

> "Sooner or later the truth about the group of individuals who have embarked on the Warsaw adventure in order to seize power will become known to everybody. These people have exploited the good faith of the inhabitants of Warsaw, throwing many almost unarmed people against the German guns, tanks and aircraft. A situation has arisen in which each new day serves, not the Poles for the liberation of Warsaw, but the Hitlerites who are inhumanly shooting down the inhabitants of Warsaw.
>
> "From the military point of view, the situation which has arisen, by increasingly directing the attention of the Germans to Warsaw, is just as unprofitable for the Red Army as the Poles."
>
> —quoted in George Bruce, *The Warsaw Uprising*

Stalin's comments in themselves are hardly decisive, but they are repeated even more emphatically by Marshal Rokossovsky, a Pole who had joined the Red Army during the 1918-21 Russian Civil War and was now commanding Soviet forces on the threshold of liberating the capital of his homeland. On August 26 he said that the Russians would have taken the city earlier in the month if it had been possible to do so. "A fearful mistake was made by the AK leadership," he went on:

> "Bor-Komorowski and the people around him have butted in—*kak ryzhy v tsirke*—like the clown in the circus who pops up at the wrong moment and only gets rolled up in the carpet.... If it were only a piece of clowning it wouldn't matter, but the political stunt is going to cost Poland hundreds of thousands of lives. It is an appalling tragedy, and now they are trying to put the blame on us. It makes me pretty sick when I think of the many thousands of men we have already lost in our fight for the liberation of Poland."
>
> —quoted in Alexander Werth, *Russia at War*

German accounts of the Warsaw Uprising corroborate the Russians'. General Heinz Guderian, then chief of the German General Staff, wrote in his memoirs (*Panzer Leader* [1951]): "We Germans had the impression that it was our defense which halted the enemy rather than a Russian desire to sabotage the Warsaw uprising." He added, "The Polish uprising... had, from the enemy's point of view, been begun too soon." Most significantly, some later statements by leaders of the Home Army agree with this assessment. According to Ciechanowski, officers of AK General Okulicki's staff in October 1944 "unequivocally ascribed the Russian failure to take Warsaw to 'the general collapse of the Soviet offensive on the Vistula'"; in 1965 Bor-Komorowski wrote that the Germans had managed to "check the Russian attack on the capital" by August 5.

Once before, the Red Army had been stopped on the banks of the Vistula—in 1920, under Lenin and Trotsky, when no one doubted their will to take Warsaw and defeat Pilsudski's French-backed anti-Soviet regime (see "The Bolsheviks and the Export of Revolution," *Spartacist* No. 29, Summer 1980). Contrary to the anti-Soviet myth which has the Red Army leisurely waiting on the east bank while Warsaw freedom fighters were mercilessly slaughtered by German firepower during August-September 1944, this period saw some of the bloodiest fighting of the last year of the war. Between August 1 and September 15, the First Byelorussian Front took 166,000 casualties in Poland; in August alone the Second Ukrainian Front lost 122,000 men. Altogether 600,000 Red Army soldiers died fighting for the liberation of Poland from the Nazi yoke.

This historic achievement was made not by Stalin—who had repeatedly sought to conciliate the imperialists, both fascist and "democratic"—but by a Soviet army founded by Trotsky which for the second time fought a terrible war to defend the achievements of the October Revolution from obliteration. Many of its top officers were among those who held firm while Stalin, the gravedigger of revolutions, sabotaged the defense of the USSR. Marshal Rokossovsky, who commanded the Soviet troops at Warsaw, had been purged along with Tukhachevsky and other top Soviet generals in 1937. Later rehabilitated, he was among those who sounded the alarm in June 1941 when Stalin refused to believe Hitler was about to attack. And in October 1941 when the Generalissimo panicked and fled Moscow, it was Rokossovsky who saved the Soviet capital by throwing in the last reserves as they disembarked from the troop trains. This authentic Soviet war hero remarked: "Do you think that we would not have taken Warsaw if we had been able to do it? The whole idea that we are in any sense afraid of the AK is too idiotically absurd" (Werth, *Russia at War*).

But it was the Stalinists who ruled in the Kremlin, not Lenin and Trotsky, and the policy they dictated was that of nationalist bureaucrats rather than internationalist communists. The advance of the Red Army through Nazi-occupied East Europe unleashed revolutionary hopes among the working masses—and Stalin, along with the rest of the usurpers, feared an upheaval of the proletariat would "infect" the Soviet workers and threaten their own privileged position atop the socialized economic foundations of the bureaucratically degenerated workers state. That is why Stalin sold out the Greek revolution, tried to do the same in Yugoslavia and why the program of the Moscow-backed Lublin Committee pledged to uphold capitalist property.

We will never know the full truth about the Warsaw Uprising until the Soviet (and imperialist) military archives are open. Certainly it was German armor rather than Stalinist treachery that prevented the Russians from taking the Polish capital in early August. It is indisputable that the uprising was called for *counterrevolutionary* purposes. But once the fighting had begun, the existence of the Warsaw proletariat was at stake. This was nothing to a Stalin, a bonaparte who relied on the army's guns not the workers' will and ability to fight. For Trotskyists, however, the preservation of the proletariat is a vital goal; a genuine communist leadership would have committed itself to relieving the city—if that were possible. Had they succeeded, the Red Army would have been welcomed with open arms—and then the AK generals would have tasted proletarian justice for their monstrous crime. Instead they became martyrs, to be used 35 years later by a new generation of anti-Soviet Polish nationalists in the service of capitalist counterrevolution.

Prologue-Epilogue

It was the politics of the London Poles and the anti-Communist Home Army leadership which led to the bloody massacre. They must share responsibility for the Nazi destruction of Warsaw and its inhabitants. Their hypocrisy in blaming the Russians is dramatically underscored by events which took place the year before. During the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising in 1943 the Home Army was guilty of the very act of which it later accused the Russians. AK officers stood by and watched the extermination of Warsaw's Jews.

Then Home Army commander Grot-Rowecki argued that to rise against the Germans to help the Jews would result in terrible losses and only help the Soviets. This argument was merely a shallow cover for the virulent anti-Semitism of many of the Polish underground leaders. A bulletin published by Antyk (acronym for Anti-Communist Agency—an organ of the underground administration) in 1942 at the time of the great liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto (the transport of thousands of Jews to the gas chambers of Treblinka) said that Poles must not save "Jewish brats" or "curly Benjamins" and that the liquidatinn of the ghetto was bound to weaken the Communist movement in Poland and was therefore a "positive development" (Reuben Ainsztein, *The Warsaw Ghetto Revolt* [1979]). Antyk also published the names and addresses of Poles belonging to the Home Army whose crime was to take part in the work of the Council for Helping Jews. This information might as well have been turned over to the Gestapo directly.

Only under pressure from Jewish organizations abroad and the threat of publicity in the British press, did Grot-Rowecki recognize the Jewish Fighting Organization (ZOB) which led the anti-Nazi resistance in the ghetto. In December 1942, after repeated pleas, the Home Army command ordered ten (!) pistols with a small amount of ammunition to be supplied to the ZOB. Grot-Rowecki argued that providing the Jews with weapons was a waste since they wouldn't know how or have the courage to use them! The rescue of 30 Jews from the ghetto sewers by an unknown Home Army detachment is the only known case confirming Bor-Komorowski's claim that the AK saved some of the ghetto fighters.

When the Warsaw Uprising of 1944 broke out, Isaac Zuckerman, as commander of the ZOB, offered the services of the ghetto survivors to the Home Army command. After waiting 24 hours for a reply, Zuckerman was told that there was no room for Jews in the AK. As many as 2,000 Jews fought in this new uprising against the Nazi butchers. But those who fought in the Home Army units did so almost without exception under false names which they assumed when they became "Aryans."

* * * * *

The agony of the Warsaw uprising has been portrayed in Andrzy Wiazda's film *Kanal*: the tragedy of a hopeless battle, which ended in the sewers just as in 1943; the heroism of many fighters (despite the perfidious calculations of their commanders, which are never mentioned). The epilogue is seen in another Wiazda film, *Ashes and Diamonds*, which tells of a student veteran of the AK underground who (on orders) assassinates a popular Communist official in the turbulent days following liberation. In the months after the Soviets swept the Germans out of Poland, this was a common occurrence as the Armija Krajowa became a network of anti-Communist terrorists. Bor-Komorowski's successor, Okulicki, formally dissolved the Home Army in January 1945, but it was replaced by the secret NIE (for Niepodleglosc—Independence) organization, still headed by General Okulicki, which was responsible for the murder of over 100 Soviet army men and scores of officials of the PPR/Lublin Committee. The NIE was gradually mopped up; Okulicki was captured and tried in Moscow, but amnestied in 1946 as part of the negotiations for a short-lived coalition government. Only three years after the Soviet army's victory did Stalin finally move to expropriate the Polish capitalists and landlords and carry out a bureaucratically controlled social revolution from above, in response to Washington's Cold War offensive which began even before Germany and Japan capitulated.

This is the history of the Warsaw uprising that neither Solidarność nor the Stalinists will tell. ■

"Third Campism"...

(continued from page 5)

[Political] Committee who still held to the old line, who did not know what had transpired at the center [because they were locked up in Sandstone Federal Prison!], immediately recognized that there had been a change, one with which they disagreed" ("We Arrive at a Line," [SWP] *Internal Bulletin*, December 1944). The "old line" was that of Soviet defensism against imperialism, despite the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy. The "new line," was, as Roland put it, that due to Red Army victories "our unconditional defense must begin to retire to the background." So a good year before the defeat of Hitler, this revisionist tendency wanted to "retire" the defense of the USSR!

This anti-revolutionary program was not limited to East Europe. The Goldman-Morrow faction claimed that the main danger in the Fourth International was ultraleftism. Predicting a period of bourgeois-democratic illusions among the masses, based on the "less rapacious" character of American imperialism, they stressed "more democracy." Their program for Italy was summed up in the slogan for a republic (Felix Morrow, "The Political Position of the Minority in the SWP," *Fourth International*, May 1945). Thus while calling for armed struggle in East Europe "completely apart from, and in opposition to, the Stalinists" at a time when the Soviet Army was fighting crucial battles against the Nazis, in West Europe they considered calls for soviets "ultraleft" even as France and Italy were in the throes of revolutionary crises, the fascist and collaborator regimes in ruins and the economy shattered. It took the combined resources of American capitalism and Stalinist treachery to put West European capitalism back on its feet.

The Goldman-Morrow faction, represented by the *Militant*'s August 1944 editorials on the Warsaw Uprising, capitulated before "democratic" imperialism. It was not surprising, therefore, to find that they had engaged in secret discussions with Max Shachtman's Workers Party, which refused to defend the USSR with the line that it was no longer a workers state of any sort. In May 1946 Goldman and Morrow left the SWP to join Shachtman's WP, and after a brief sojourn went over to the bourgeoisie directly—Goldman politically, by joining the Cold Warrior Socialist Party, and Morrow financially in a quest for cash. Thus the political struggle over the Warsaw Uprising presaged a general battle for the Marxist political program of the Trotskyist movement. ■

Reagan...

(continued from page 1)

real take-home pay for the average worker has fallen 4.5 percent under Reagan, what about the incredible *14 percent* decline under Carter between late 1978 and mid-1980! This nearly unprecedented fall in the living standards of U.S. workers was the work of union leaders who imposed "voluntary wage restraints" on their own members in the face of rapidly accelerating inflation. Such was the cost, in dollars and cents, of the labor movement's support to the Democratic Party.

Bosses Demand Givebacks

The founding father of American business unionism, Samuel Gompers, once summed up his philosophy of the labor movement as "more." Today in labor negotiations it is the *capitalists* who are demanding more from the unions *and getting it*. The *New York Times* (12 October) observes:

> "Confronted with management assertions that jobs, plants and perhaps the viability of industries are at stake, labor unions are agreeing at what appears to be a record rate to reopen contracts and to accept reduced wages and benefits for their members."

The class traitors on the platform at the AFL-CIO convention have run the powerful American labor movement into the ground. Union membership, which was 25 percent of the workforce in 1970, is less than 20 percent now. Strikes are at the lowest level in decades, emboldening the bosses' anti-labor assault. The once-powerful United Auto Workers now has more than a quarter of its membership on the dole!

Pointing to the UAW's concessions in the 1979 Chrysler bailout, Ford and GM are now demanding that the union accept wage and benefit reductions making labor costs comparable to those in Japan. Other depressed industries like steel and rubber are extorting similar givebacks. Even the Teamsters, which used to posture as a tough business union which really delivered for its members, has offered to forego any wage increase in its upcoming master freight contract (with inflation this means a real wage cut).

In contrast to the union bureaucrats, social democrats and Stalinists who tied the workers' fate to a bankrupt Chrysler and relied on the capitalist government to bail it out, the Spartacist League advocated militant class struggle to defend the workers' interests. While the reformists called for the bourgeois "nationalization" of Chrysler, the SL said, Workers: Seize the plants! If Chrysler's broke, then sell it off and keep the proceeds. The seizure of Chrysler by its workforce could have sparked a class-struggle response to capitalist austerity, layoffs and plant closures.

Oust the Bureaucrats

Today the policies that built the industrial unions in the 1930s are urgently necessary to prevent a throwback to the days when unionists were shot down with impunity. But the AFL-CIO's alliance with the Democratic Party is predicated on the union leaders' willingness to *prevent* proletarian militancy. Now this alliance cannot even promise crumbs for the poor: it means layoffs, wage cuts, givebacks and war build-up. Working-class self-defense requires a struggle to break with the Democrats through ousting their agents in the labor movement, the Kirklands, Frasers and Winpisingers.

Reagan's assault on the working class is linked directly to his anti-Soviet war drive. His attacks on the unions and the poor cannot be fought without confronting head-on his drive to overthrow the lasting gains of the October Revolution. But most of the American left joins Lane Kirkland in hailing Solidarność' counterrevolution in Poland. Defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism is integral to the defense of labor rights against Reagan's domestic war drive!

"Pure and simple" union militancy is no alternative to the bureaucrats' class collaboration. As the capitalist government gets more and more directly involved in the business of union busting and war against the Soviet Union, every workers' struggle becomes a political fight requiring class-struggle leadership. Union militants must therefore link the fight to oust the labor misleaders to the building of a party that can serve as a revolutionary vanguard.

In 1934 the Trotskyists showed what a workers party with a revolutionary program could do, when they led the Minneapolis labor movement in a powerful and victorious general strike. Today such a mass workers party would organize to shut down the airports tight until the air controllers were rehired and all their demands met. It would lead a labor drive into the open-shop South, mobilizing black and white workers in a joint struggle to smash the remnants of Jim Crow. It would mobilize tens of thousands to crush the Klan wherever it came into the open. It would prevent black and labor cities like Detroit from turning into ghost towns by organizing plant seizures against mass layoffs.

A class-struggle workers party would smash the Reagan/Democratic war drive and fight any imperialist attempt to restore capitalism in Cuba, Poland or the Soviet Union. It would fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism and end once and for all the irrational social system that turns the enormous industrial wealth squeezed out of the blood of the working class into misery, poverty and the threat of global nuclear holocaust. For workers' action to bring down Reagan! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! ■

Racist Cop Terror in Battle Creek

DETROIT, November 25—A court inquest last week placed the stamp of approval on the racist murder of prominent black activist Robert Guy, Jr. in Battle Creek, Michigan. Guy, head of the local Coalition to End Police Brutality, was killed August 31 in an explosion outside the El Grotto Lounge. An all-white jury of the Calhoun County district court claimed that Guy died at his own hands, supposedly when a pipe bomb he was said to be carrying blew up in his face. But Coalition spokesmen insist he was killed in a planned assassination. According to the *Michigan Chronicle* (24 October):

> "A woman companion told police, as they pulled into the El Grotto lot they noted three men in a black car. One got out and went behind a gray van, she said, and as Guy approached the Lounge, she heard a loud explosion and saw Guy fall. The man then re-entered the car and the occupants drove away laughing."

Robert Guy's death was the culmination of a long campaign of police violence and terror directed at Guy and other black activists in Battle Creek, a company town in southwestern Michigan owned lock, stock and barrel by the Kellogg Corporation. The racist police force is heavily infiltrated by the Klan—cops regularly stop black youths, put on KKK hoods and then beat them to a pulp. Even conservative black ministers, NAACP and city officials—as well as the Guy family—have had crosses burned on their front lawns. Guy's Coalition had futilely asked the Justice Department to intervene to curb the racists in blue. Indeed, things were so bad that the FBI put the Battle Creek cops under "surveillance" for several years.

The cop vendetta against Robert Guy began several years ago when his brother Larry started investigating incidents of police brutality. Then a member of the youth group of the NAACP, Guy came across an autopsy report that revealed a black man had been shot in the back, contrary to police reports. Two years ago Larry Guy was beaten into unconsciousness by five cops who then planted a gun on him and sent him to prison for five years on a phony concealed weapons charge. Shortly after, two policemen were caught in the act of placing a car filled with explosives outside the Guy home. According to the *Chronicle*:

> "Former police officer Larry Shouldice admitted that he and another officer, Bruce Harvey, had planned to throw dynamite on Guy's front lawn and shoot him when he came out of the house. As a result they were both asked to resign."

The two cops incredibly got off without legal action, and one is now a cop in Grand Rapids!

With Robert murdered and Larry in jail on frame-up charges, the Guy family has now received several anonymous phone calls threatening that "the rest of you" are next. This is how they stop courageous black activists from protesting cop terror in Kellogg's town. But these fighters of racist cop terror in Battle Creek must not stand alone! Michigan is a labor stronghold, and the unions—from the Grain Millers to the UAW with its many thousands of black members in the Detroit area—must take the lead in fighting the racists in white sheets and blue uniforms.

Nicaragua...

(continued from page 12)

America is the hottest spot in the anti-Soviet Cold War.

Conservative columnist William Safire recently noted that the administration will have to look to labor for "support for the mining of Nicaragua's harbors" as well as for "wage restraint" when the economic crisis "begins to bite next year." If it depends on Lane Kirkland, Reagan won't be disappointed. The AFL-CIO convention last month passed a resolution condemning the Sandinistas for trying to establish a "Marxist-Leninist totalitarian dictatorship" that would be "more oppressive" than the Somoza tyranny. While hypocritically criticizing the ban on strikes (the two AFL-CIO-affiliated labor federations in Nicaragua are closely linked to the CIA), these veteran Cold Warriors naturally say nothing about the arrest of more than 100 Communist Party militants in the Sandinistas' futile attempt to carve out a "middle road" between capitalism and workers revolution.

The American workers movement must militantly oppose the war plans of U.S. imperialism. Reagan wants to give the PATCO treatment to everyone from Harlem welfare mothers to Salvadoran guerrillas, Nicaragua's Sandinistas and the Cuban and Soviet deformed/degenerated workers states. Labor militants must call for and implement a boycott of all military goods to El Salvador and other Central American right-wing dictatorships. We demand: Down with Reagan/Haig war threats! No Cold War blockade! Hands off Nicaragua! Military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador! For workers revolution! Defense of Cuba and the Soviet Union begins in Central America! ■

Reformists Call Cops...

(continued from page 12)

Fedayeen supporters to lock arms in an attempt to separate off the SL contingent and its banner "For Workers Revolution Throughout Central America! Hands Off Nicaragua! No Blockades!" To no avail. In Chicago a spirited 50-strong Spartacist contingent contrasted sharply with the miserable turnout of the official coalition. Even though we made up one half of the entire demo, the organizers refused a speaker to the SL. But as the rally broke up, an SL spokesman took the podium, calling for defense of the gains of the Cuban and Soviet revolutions and for workers and peasants governments to expropriate the bourgeoisie throughout Central America.

As the reformist flops call the cops, they only show their treacherous colors. Bringing in the class enemy against a workers organization is gross provocation, particularly at a Latin American demonstration where the police could go after undocumented Latins. Now of course the SWP would like to slide out of taking responsibility for blocking with the cops—the racist enemies of all workers—against the revolutionaries. No doubt the SWP is scurrying around looking for others to blame it on. What others? The SWP's own front groups? The Communist Party, whose mobilization for this demo was obviously subminimal? In any case the SWP hasn't even managed a hypocritical objection in its press to the use of the cops. How different it would be if something genuinely unauthorized had occurred. Imagine, for instance, that an SWP-built demo had been the occasion for some adventurist types to throw bricks through UN windows. Does anybody doubt the SWP's *Militant* would have rushed into print with a condemnation? The SWP and all its bloc partners stand condemned by their deeds and by their silence.

For the past year the reformists have tried in vain to seal off the movement from the revolutionary politics of the Spartacist League. But it will not work. We alone have told the plain truth, and fought Reagan/Haig's anti-Soviet war drive instead of trying to pretend it doesn't exist. Everybody knows there can be no deal with the butcher Duarte—in El Salvador the leftist rebels must win or they will die. And today the imperialists are openly saying that while their Cold War sights are trained on El Salvador and Nicaragua, they are targetting the "source": the deformed/degenerated workers states of Cuba and the Soviet Union. Now more than ever: Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists! Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Stop Reagan/Haig Cold War Blockade!

Hands Off Nicaragua!

The Reaganite warhawks' threats of military action against U.S. imperialism's enemies in the Caribbean intensified last week as top administration spokesmen warned, in the words of General Haig (on ABC's "This Week with David Brinkley," 22 November), that "the hours are growing rather short" to stop Sandinista Nicaragua's "drift toward totalitarianism." In a coordinated "message," the same words were used on the same day by top presidential aide Edwin Meese 3d, interviewed on CBS' "Face the Nation," who said that the "hour is late" in Nicaragua and, "Whether we'd utilize a naval blockade or not would depend on circumstances." War secretary Weinberger (on NBC's "Meet the Press") was a little cagier, talking of "a number of options" for military moves in Central America.

Trying to head off a public outcry, Reagan at his November 10 press conference said the U.S. had no "plans" for sending American ground troops into combat. Presumably the intended victims are supposed to be thankful that they are facing gunboat diplomacy, large-scale naval maneuvers, a "quarantine" on arms shipments or a full-scale blockade. Meanwhile, Haig calls on the "forces of freedom" in Nicaragua and "especially those in neighboring states" (Salvadoran death squads, the Honduran army and Somozaist mercenaries) to work with the U.S. in "security areas." A week later Meese again said a blockade "has not been precluded." When a reporter asked if all this bluster might make Washington look like a paper tiger if not carried out, Meese replied, "I don't think we'll look like a paper tiger."

It is crystal clear that the threats against Nicaragua are aimed at Cuba and the Soviet Union, falsely labeled the "source" of arms for Salvadoran leftist rebels. Reagan/Haig are trying to bring down the petty-bourgeois Sandinista regime installed after the overthrow of the hated U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship. In the latest episode of this campaign of "destabilization" by starvation, Washington just this month canceled a $30 million loan from the Inter-American Development Bank. The problem for Yankee imperialism is that the more it tries to "punish" the Sandinistas, the more they are forced to seek help from Cuba and the Soviet Union. Thus, with El Salvador in flames and Nicaragua under the Pentagon's guns, Central

continued on page 11

WV Photo

SL demands "Break with the bourgeoisie! Workers to power!"

SL: "Defense of Cuba, USSR Begins in El Salvador!"

Reformists Call Cops on Reds

Small demonstrations were held across the country over the weekend of November 21 to protest Reagan/Haig's threats of blockade and other military action against Cuba and Nicaragua. But as defense of Cuba and Nicaragua is now placed at center stage of world politics by the war threats of U.S. imperialism, the reformists and popular frontists are doing everything they can to avoid siding openly with "the enemy." The various sponsoring coalitions even refused to call for "Hands Off Cuba" and called on the cops to exclude the revolutionaries, so concerned were the opportunists to keep their movement "Ready for Teddy" Kennedy and the other imperialist "doves."

At El Salvador demonstrations last spring they violently opposed our demand "Military Victory to Leftist Insurgents," even attempting to physically block protesters at the May 3 march on the Pentagon from attending an Anti-Imperialist rally sponsored by the Spartacist League (SL). Against our call that "Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador" they screamed "provocation." And after their anti-communist exclusions failed, they appeal to the guns and the clubs of the imperialist state to do their dirty work. They did it in Chicago May 30 and again in New York November 21.

Last week's "Stop U.S. intervention" demonstrations were a pathetic response to the war threats emanating from Washington. This was in part due to the squabbling and maneuvers of their reformist sponsors. The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) after boycotting May 3 figured it would steal a march by initiating the November 21 demos. But the Communist Party (CP), Workers World and various El Salvador solidarity committees countered by refusing to mobilize. The only thing they could agree on is keeping out the reds.

Thus in New York the organizers of the "Emergency Campaign Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean" called in the police to keep the Trotskyist politics of the SL out of their liberal peace crawl. As the Spartacist contingent arrived at the Times Square assembly point, CP/SWP goons ineffectually tried to block us and force the SL to the other side of the street. When this didn't work representatives of the Antonio Maceo Brigade asked us to take down our banner, "Defense of Cuba and USSR Begins in El Salvador," but backed away when met with a flat refusal. Thereupon "Emergency Campaign" spokesmen called the cops to keep out the communists. When the SL protested, the police went back to the "Emergency Campaign" spokesmen who once again appealed to the armed thugs of the class enemy to cordon off the revolutionaries.

WV Photo

November 12, NYC: Reformists use cops to exclude SL contingent, which called for defense of Cuba, USSR against imperialist war threats.

But at the rally site, the 70-strong SL contingent marched in with our red flags flying, alongside the Cuban flag and the FMLN banner of the Salvadoran insurgents, chanting "No Cold War Blockade, Workers Bring Down Reagan/Haig!" "Our Political Solution—Workers Revolution!" and "Junta Butchers on the Run, Leftist Rebels Need Russian Guns!" While the 600 or so demonstrators stood around listening to desultory speeches, Spartacist salesmen and supporters permeated the crowd, making dozens of contacts and drawing them into animated discussions around the SL literature table. Many protesters were upset at the cop exclusion and a number of people crossed the police barricades to join us, including some high school students from Brooklyn and a group of college students from Queens.

In San Francisco some 600 demonstrators picketed and marched under a steady rain. At one point "monitors" dispatched a half dozen Stalinist and

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 295 18 December 1981

Solidarność Counterrevolution Checked

Power Bid Spiked

DECEMBER 15—With the imposition of a "state of war" in Poland, a counterrevolutionary grab for power has been checked. Just hours before the proclamation of military rule, the clerical-nationalist leadership of Solidarność announced it was organizing a national referendum on forming an anti-Communist government and breaking the military alliance with the Soviet Union against Western imperialism. The Warsaw regime was ready to take up the challenge. The actual steps taken go far beyond those usually described as martial law, and they seem to have made considerable preparations for the crackdown. So while Reagan and Haig were chasing their Qaddafi will-o'-the-wisp, the Polish government, at what appears to have been the last possible moment to make a move based on power, launched a virtual counter coup.

The Polish Stalinists managed to pull off an effective coup d'état in their own country. Contrary to every instinct and appetite of the ruling bureaucracy, constantly seeking accommodation with imperialism, they were forced to take measures defending historic gains of the proletariat. For it must be recognized that Lech Walesa's Solidarność was moving to overthrow not merely the corrupt and discredited Stalinist regime, but social gains inherited from the Bolshevik Revolution—centrally a collectivized planned economy—which were bureaucratically extended to Poland after the Red Army liberated the country from Nazi occupation. That is why this Polish "free trade union" is supported by the forces of imperialist reaction—from Wall Street to the Common Market and the Vatican—and why Ronald Reagan declared that the Polish crisis represented "the beginning of the end of Communism."

With such inflammatory statements, the U.S. imperialist chief sought to provoke a bloodbath in Poland, in order to fuel his anti-Soviet war drive to a white heat. It is in the interests of the working class, in Poland and internationally, that the present suppression of Solidarity's counterrevolution remain "cold"—that is, without bloodshed. The Polish workers must be warned that strikes, protests and other acts of defiance against the martial law would only play into the hands of reactionary adventurers. Massive violence would lead either to the reimposition of a Stalinist totalitarian police state, crushing the workers movement for years, or the victory of capitalist counterrevolution, a world-historic defeat for the socialist cause. Trotskyists seek above all to maintain a relatively open situation, so that a process of recrystallization can begin to take place to forge a proletarian and internationalist vanguard.

If the present crackdown restores something like the tenuous social equilibrium which existed in Poland before the Gdansk strikes last August—a tacit understanding that if the people left the government alone, the government would leave the people alone—conditions will be opened again for the crystallization of a Leninist-Trotskyist party. Especially in a country as historically evolved as Poland, the proletariat has the capacity to recognize its own historic interests, given time and a relatively open political situation. There must be elements—outside Solidarność, within Solidarność, in the Communist party—with genuinely socialist impulses which have been smothered by the particular confrontation that has dominated Poland over the last year. They must be won to the program of defending proletarian state power against the kind of clerical-nationalist mobilization that brought Poland to the brink of counterrevolution, while fighting for a proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Sipa/Black Star

Polish police surround Solidarność headquarters in Wroclaw.

Solidarność Bids for Power

At its first national congress, held in Gdansk in September, Solidarność consolidated around a program of open counterrevolution. Its appeal for "free trade unions" in the Soviet bloc, long a central slogan for Cold War anti-Communism, was a deliberate provocation to Moscow. Behind its call for "free elections" to the Sejm (parliament) was the program of "Western-style democracy"—that is, capitalist restoration under the guise of parliamentary government. To underscore their ties to the West, Solidarność even demanded that Poland join the world bankers' cartel, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and invited to its congress Lane Kirkland, the hardline Cold Warrior head of the American AFL-CIO, and notorious CIA operative Irving Brown, chief of the AFL-CIO's European operations.

Certainly the mass of deluded workers in Solidarność did not and do not consciously seek the chronic unemployment, wage gouging and deterioration of safety conditions that capitalism would bring. If the IMF ever got its hands firmly around the neck of the Polish economy, the workers would soon hanker after the "good old days" under Gomulka and Gierek. It would presage the reunification of Germany on a capitalist basis, and set the stage fairly directly for a nuclear Third World War, one way or another. In keeping with the Catholic spirit of Solidarność, one can say: "Forgive them father, for they know not what they do."

In their own way the Stalinists recognized that Solidarność was bent on a final confrontation, but nonetheless they temporized. Negotiations between Jaruzelski and Walesa finally broke down centrally over Solidarność' demand for free elections to local government bodies. Under existing conditions in Poland, this would have meant placing governmental power at the base of society in the hands of anti-Communist nationalists such as the neo-Pilsudskiite and anti-Semitic Confederation for an Independent Poland.

The event which led directly to the crackdown was Solidarity's attempt to organize the firefighter cadets in Warsaw, a group whose legal status (as throughout Europe) is similar to that of the police. This was one remove away from organizing in the armed forces and militia. The night after police dispersed the cadets' sit-in on December 2, the Solidarność leadership met in Radom in a closed meeting where they made plans for a counterrevolutionary seizure of power. The head of the powerful Warsaw region, Zbigniew Bujak, declared that "the government should be finally overthrown" and proposed the organization of a Solidarność militia for that purpose. Someone turned the tapes of this meeting over to the government, which repeatedly played them on state radio (see "Solidarność Counterrevolutionary Plot Exposed" on page 10). Many Poles were no doubt shocked, especially at the duplicity of the "moderate" Walesa who told his colleagues to keep saying, "we love you socialism," while plotting the government's overthrow.

With their secret plans exposed, the

continued on page 10

"The Libyans are Coming, The Libyans are Coming!"

Having failed to uncover a made-in-Moscow "international terrorist conspiracy" in the United States, the Reagan regime came up with the Libyan Plot. A five-man hit squad (or ten-man, if you read the *Washington Post*) has supposedly been sent by Colonel Qaddafi of Libya to assassinate the American president in revenge for stuff like the U.S. shooting down two Libyan aircraft over the Gulf of Sidra in August and earlier shutting up Billy Carter. The Libyan plans involve (take your pick) "shooting down Air Force One, the Presidential jet, with a surface-to-air missile, blowing up the President's limousine with a rocket or attacking the President at close range with small arms" (*New York Times*, 4 December).

Behind it all, it's now revealed, lurks elusive superterrorist "Carlos the Jackal" (whom no one has ever seen for sure) publicized by Claire Sterling in the Reaganite bible, *The Terror Network*. But the only "evidence" so far of Libyan terrorists going after U.S. officials is an alleged attack on the American chargé d'affaires in Paris last month. In an article entitled "He Came from Central Casting," social-democratic journalist Diana Johnstone noted that the purported assassin missed hitting anything with seven shots fired at pointblank range against the unprotected diplomat (*In These Times*, 25 November-1 December). It all sounds like a script for Efrem Zimbalist, Jr. in "The FBI," but it's an all-too-real attempt to generate xenophobic hysteria as part of Reagan's anti-Soviet war drive.

Il Mondo

Under Reagan's bed?

The Libyan Plot is such a clumsy production that not even the gullible bourgeois press is buying it wholesale. The *Washington Post* (8 December) carried a front-page analysis by Haynes Johnson calling it "The Believe It or Not Show" and concluding that the reports "are setting a new standard of incredibility." Moreover, they are "reminiscent of the talk about Castro in the days when the United States was planning the Bay of Pigs invasion, and, in fact, commissioning 100 assassination schemes against Castro." The *New York Times* (11 December) noted that "European spokesmen seemed more amused than alarmed at the reports of the assassination squads...." And ABC's Ted Koppel on "Nightline" remarked how reminiscent it all was of the 1964 Gulf of Tonkin incident, later proved to be a U.S. government fabrication designed to whip up pro-war sentiment.

The absurdity of it all is not that Qaddafi is incapable of dreaming up such a plot—he is a messianic Muslim fundamentalist dictator who has supported terrorists from the PLO to Idi Amin—but that the imperialist U.S. government has become fixated on the threat of Libya, a country of barely two million. With Washington threatening a naval blockade in the Caribbean and after its provocation against Libya in the Mediterranean last August, Reagan's charges of "unlawfulness" against Qaddafi are like Hitler condemning Al Capone for brutality. As for terrorism, CIA-trained gusanos are the biggest assassins around, and don't forget what the "land of the free and home of the brave" did to the peasants and workers of Vietnam.

Qaddafi complains, with rather more justification, that the United States is trying to assassinate *him*. Reports have been circulating for months of current CIA plots for the "ultimate" removal of the Libyan strongman: the plan as presented to the House Select Committee on Intelligence reportedly includes a "disinformation" campaign, the creation of a "counter-government" and "an escalating paramilitary campaign" (*Newsweek*, 3 August). Just last month the U.S. "Rapid Deployment Force" mounted "Operation Brightstar," a joint military exercise with the Egyptian army along the Libyan border. In another twist of this complex script, Qaddafi, as everyone now knows, has armed himself with the help of "retired" CIA operatives Wilson and Terpil, who have remarkably escaped prosecution by the massive apparatus of the U.S. government (see "The CIA's Libya Connection," *Workers Vanguard* No. 294, 4 December). Ironically, there is considerable evidence that the U.S. originally sponsored their current Libyan bogeyman as an anti-Communist prop in the Arab world.

The anti-Libya campaign is linked to administration plans to justify increased domestic police power for the CIA, a move which even has former Agency director Stansfield Turner worried ("the ethic of intelligence is to get the job done in spite of local laws"). And it's all part of the anti-Soviet war drive begun by Carter and rolling ahead full steam under Reagan. Qaddafi is no flower child, but he's certainly small fry compared to U.S. imperialism, the most monstrously armed terrorist power ever, whose nuclear war aims are a clear and present danger to all the peoples of the world. Only revolutionary action by the international working class can prevent the American imperialists from embarking on new adventures that may end in World War III.

A little while ago, Qaddafi's menace was held to be concentrated above all in his takeover of Chad, the key domino to Central Africa. Hence the panicky call from the anti-communist Sudan to hold the Libyan threat at bay. But Qaddafi's feelings were hurt by Chad's president, who demanded hundreds of millions of dollars in aid, and the few thousand Libyan troops left, doubtless flown out as they'd been flown in—by freelance Americans. P.S. to General Haig—the southern fringe of the Sahara is the road to nowhere and even harder to get out of than into, as the new African "peacekeeping" force for Chad is surely finding out. ■

Village Voice Redbaits Transit Militants

We reprint below two letters you probably won't see in the Village Voice.

New York City
14 December 1981

To the editor of the *Village Voice*:

We tried to have a letter printed in the *Voice* protesting your dirty little piece of red-baiting by Joe Conason against militant candidates in the Transit Workers Union elections and the Spartacist League. However, you insisted in making editorial changes not dictated by questions of space. Our purpose in writing was not to go through your editorial process but to protest against it. Since that is not possible anyone who is interested in seeing what we had to say can read the letter in *Workers Vanguard*.

Jan Norden
for the Spartacist League

New York City
11 December 1981

To the Editor of the *Village Voice*:

Your article "TWU Reformers Split Again" penned by Joe Conason simply dismisses the campaign of Arthur [sic] Kartsen as a "token campaign," "supported by the Trotskyist splinter group known as the Spartacist League." If the author had even taken the time to peruse Kartsen's election material he would have at least realized his name was Ed not Arthur, and that Arnold Cherry is not, as your article claims, the only black candidate for president.

Of course the Spartacist League supports the candidacy of Ed Kartsen. What's wrong with a labor socialist organization endorsing candidates for union office? It's a question of program. In fact throughout the union there are a number of slates that correspond to a number of political programs. "No-strike, Giveback" Lawe who's done his best to destroy the militant traditions of this union is the preferred candidate of some of the city's financial powers. The anti-labor *Post* supports Mike Warren whose specialty is dragging the bosses courts into union affairs. It is correct and logical that the wretchedly reformist Communist Party backs Arnold Cherry. Their programs coincide: reliance on the Democratic Party and the government—and everything flows from this. Cherry was one of the founders and leading spokesmen for the Citywide Coalition of Blacks for Barbaro, the phony "friend of labor" the CP hustled votes for throughout the unions and ghettos of this city. Cherry runs to the courts as a substitute for mobilizing the ranks of the union to fight just as the CP calls on the racist bourgeois state to ban the Klan rather than mobilize labor and blacks to smash these vermin.

We stand for working class independence from the capitalist parties and for the mobilization of labor to defend workers rights. That's why we support Ed Kartsen and David Brewer, who is running for executive board of the car maintenance division. They are the only candidates who recognize the need to strike, the need to mobilize the power of the union to fight the attacks on the TWU and the racist cutbacks of Reagan and Koch. Their class struggle program demonstrates that the workers must rely on their own mobilized strength to get what they need: bust the Taylor Law through strike action, get the bosses courts out of the union, for union action to fight racial discrimination, break with the Democrats—build a workers party to fight for a workers government. Last July, when black motorman Jesse Cole bled to death in his crumpled cab, Kartsen and Brewer fought to shut the system down and make the funeral a massive protest. More recently, they fought for union action to shut down the "Train to the Plane" to defend the right to strike and support PATCO. Why wouldn't we just like every other political tendency in the labor movement want to see candidates who share our program run for union office?

While you rushed to the defense of Arnold Cherry against the smear attack of Lynn Marcus' "New Solidarity International Press Service" which charges that the dissidents are "mushy headed disrupters controlled from the outside," you dismiss the Kartsen campaign with the same kind of swipe. You singled us out in particular. It's just gratuitous, gutter red-baiting in the best traditions of your owner, Rupert Murdoch. You sure work for the right guy.

George Crawford
for the Spartacist League

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Reds on REDS

Paramount

"Well, Jack got serious on us," says the dilettante left-wing editor Max Eastman in *Reds*. He was consoling John Reed's wife Louise Bryant, distraught over her husband's intense plunge into building the American Communist movement. Such scenes make Warren Beatty's *Reds* particularly interesting to revolutionaries. Part of the film's obvious popularity surely is due to the careful construction of a film that allows for many levels of perception, including the one that communists bring to it. Although the Reed/Bryant love story is the film's focus—it is not really a political film—nonetheless its political background is extraordinary in Ronald Reagan's America: sympathetic treatment of the Russian Revolution and the founding of the American Communist movement. There is the Reed/Bryant/Eugene O'Neill triangle, but the powerful impact of the Russian Revolution itself becomes almost a third party to Reed and Bryant's affair, a field against which character is developed and tested.

A Review
by Pat Kincaid

Beatty treats the stormy politics of the First World War and postwar revolutionary upheavals seriously because his hero becomes a serious Communist. Unusually, Beatty takes more liberties with the love story than with the socialist politics. The events of the Russian October 1917 Revolution, the subject matter of Reed's stirring *Ten Days That Shook the World* (see box, page 10), appear only briefly. But there is a good deal of politics in *Reds*. Not only the politics of *Reds* reflect Reed; the film also reflects his romanticism and sometimes, to its detriment, his sentimentality. Beatty is interested in what made Reed different from Eastman and Louise Bryant, from the frustrated liberal muckraker Lincoln Steffens and the rest of his libertarian Greenwich Village friends. From Harvard gadfly and culture hero, Reed raised reporting to an art, and then graduated from theatricality to the social drama of the greatest events of the class struggle. Beatty is clearly fascinated by the tension in Reed between the artist-rebel and the revolutionary who decides for the disciplined vanguard party against his temperament. However, the film does not emphasize Reed's participation in the Paterson, New Jersey textile strike and IWW miners strikes in the West, where he came first-to a working-class perspective of struggle.

John Reed as war correspondent, 1915.

Many reviewers place *Reds* in the "*Zhivago* tradition" of counterrevolutionary heroes whose private lives are tragically torn apart by great historical events (*Nicholas and Alexandra*). But *Reds* is something of an anti-*Zhivago* whose hero resolves his conflict between private and public life with ever-deepening political commitment. Thus many reviewers like the movie despite its political background. We like *Reds* because of it.

We have become used to the anti-Communist distortions and primitive class prejudice that characterize Hollywood's product, the stupidity and massive disregard of historical truth, the unerring ability to get the politics wrong—in the service of ideology. We do not expect Hollywood movies to realistically present meetings of militant workers and socialists, nor to characterize political confrontations fairly in tone and substance, movies peopled by recognizably serious socialists. Still less do we imagine Hollywood can present arguments on the left with anything resembling honesty or generosity to the actual historical characters. We were surprised by *Reds*. The political arguments, though condensed, are powerful, as Beatty has his hero answer the best arguments of his opponents. This is particularly true in the confrontation between Reed and the anarchist Emma Goldman in the midst of the bitter cold, misery and starvation of revolutionary Russia. There he effectively defends the Bolsheviks' struggle to consolidate the revolution against the efforts by 16 imperialist armies and the Russian White Guards to strangle it.

More surprising still was that Beatty took on directly the shaping influence of the Russian Revolution on American radicals. Here is a film that comes along in Reagan's America, amid the most massive war build-up in history with the deepest bourgeois consensus since McCarthyism. In Cold War II, the film presents a hero who struggles against capitalism and defends the Russian Revolution. U.S. audiences aren't likely to leave the theater humming the "Internationale" or "Trotsky's Red Army," but coming from the man who made *Shampoo*, *Reds* is quite an accomplishment.

If leftists are likely to enjoy *Reds* and respect Beatty's research, feminists shouldn't be too happy with the portrayal of Louise Bryant. Beatty is true to the accounts of her as a self-centered, rather flaky "emancipated" woman. Against the great political events of the period, her all-consuming desire to make a name for herself is shown as petty, narrow egotism. For the first part of *Reds* she is a pill, carping about her self-development even on the train to Petrograd, 1917: Annie Hall goes to the Russian Revolution. With Bryant and the boy scout portrayal of Reed, Beatty shows the difficulty, indeed the general failure of a layer of romantic libertarians to emancipate themselves from sexual jealousy and to actually make lives out of their notions of "free love." Bryant's real development in *Reds* comes with the recognition of the importance of the Russian Revolution and some perspective on her own life with Reed. She rejects the cynically individualist Eugene O'Neill to enact what Beatty portrays as a heroic act of love for Reed.

Despite its sympathetic portrayal of left-wing causes in right-wing America, *Reds* hasn't generated political controversy—even Ronald Reagan, who saw it in a private showing with Beatty, reportedly liked it. (Although according to the *New York Times* he was "hoping for a happy ending." For Reagan doubtless this means the defeat of the gains of October and a victory of the White armies which he and his class have been working for since 1917.) Of course the love story dominates the film, but Beatty's shrewd and artistically brilliant use of a "chorus" of aged real-life "witnesses" also acts to lend distance from the political present. The various speakers are contradictory: Henry Miller is a beaten solipcist, George Jessel sings "Yankee Doodle Dandy" in uniform, the ex-Trotskyist Arne Swabeck explains how revolutionary Russia was surrounded by the imperialist armies like a noose. The overall effect is to fix the events in a distant, dimly if at all remembered past.

But the ideas and impetus to class struggle cannot be relegated to a romantic past, a lost American innocence. *Reds* is no mere nostalgia piece, or as one movie critic put it, "radical chic antique." If simple expositions of class-struggle politics sound strange to most Americans, it is not because of some increased "sophistication" in end-century America, nor the result of time and aging. Fundamental class counterpositions remain; it is the degeneration of the left, the result of massive defeats and the betrayals of Stalinism, which has changed the political terrain. What is needed now is exactly the sort of forthright class opposition shown by the early Communist movement.

The American Communist Party today is no less reformist and pro-

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 295 18 December 1981

Chicago Transit Crisis:

Bust "Battle-Ax" Byrne!

Martha Leonard

Jane Byrne's blues for Chicago workers, blacks

CHICAGO—Once this city's mass transit system was a showpiece of "the city that works." Now it's a rotten mess, and mayor Jane Byrne along with the banks and industrial capitalists she represents has decided that the primarily black transit workers and the riding public will pay.

The Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) has savagely cut service and turned maintenance into a joke. The fare was recently raised to 90¢—the highest in the country. As another harsh Chicago winter begins everyone knows they're in for hell on the CTA. As usual, the black areas will be victimized the worst.

The bosses' campaign to make working people pay for the city's financial crisis is spearheaded by an escalating war on the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU, which represents CTA workers. Having effectively cut off all city aid to the transit system, "Battle-ax" Byrne now intends to make up for the CTA's $138 million deficit by slashing service, imposing layoffs and freezing wages. Byrne even demands that the ATU reopen its contract, which doesn't expire until next December, to pave the way for massive contractual takeaways.

Despite this attack on a key section of the Chicago city labor movement, Byrne is being criticized by such capitalist mouthpieces as the Civic Federation for being *soft*. Clearly, all sections of the city workforce will come under the cutback ax if Byrne wins this critical test of strength.

There's only one way to repel such all-out assaults on working people: plain old-fashioned class struggle. But union leaders continue to preach reliance on the capitalist Democratic Party at a time when it's Democrats like Byrne who administer Reagan austerity in the form of municipal misery for blacks, Latinos and the entire working class..

Under Byrne, the racist, brutal Chicago police force has broken the grisly record for prisoners "committing suicide"—more than New York and Los Angeles put together! In two years, 23 men—mostly black or Latino and typically arrested only hours before on minor charges—have allegedly hanged themselves in jails throughout the city. And trigger-happy, racist transit police shoot CTA riders for such "crimes" as smoking.

The December 19 "Solidarity Day II" rally called by the ATU is intended only to let off steam and rebuild faith in the racist anti-labor Democrats. Such class collaborationism is the road of utter defeat for minorities and other working people. ATU Local 241 president John Weatherspoon has consented to *a wage freeze through 1984* because the Democrats in the state legislature won't answer his pleas for aid unless transit workers "sacrifice." Back in '79 Weatherspoon and other misleaders of the Chicago ATU locals came to Byrne's assistance by ending a powerful four-day strike without a contract. Such agents of the bosses must be booted out in the struggle to break labor's ties to the Democratic Party.

The 1979 defeat was a minor episode compared to what the bosses have in store for city workers today. And the attack won't stop with transit. The betrayal of two years ago helped the bosses pick off the municipal unions—transit, teachers and firemen—one at a time. Now joint class-struggle action by the city unions is even more necessary. Only strike action will ensure that every cut is restored, that every "eliminated" city worker is rehired and that Chicago's working people finally win high-quality *free* mass transit.

It's reached the point under Byrne that you have to chuck a buck into the fare box to take an express bus to work. But it's not just Chicago. Soon they may bring back the Susan B. Anthony "tin" dollar, which everyone knows was intended to serve as a subway token. What's happening is the decay and deliberate ruin of America's inner cities. And as usual it's blacks and other minorities who are told to ride at the back of the bus. The Spartacist League rejects the "New Deal" illusions perpetuated by reformists and liberals to keep the working class politically disarmed. For class struggle to bust the Reagan/Byrne offensive! ■

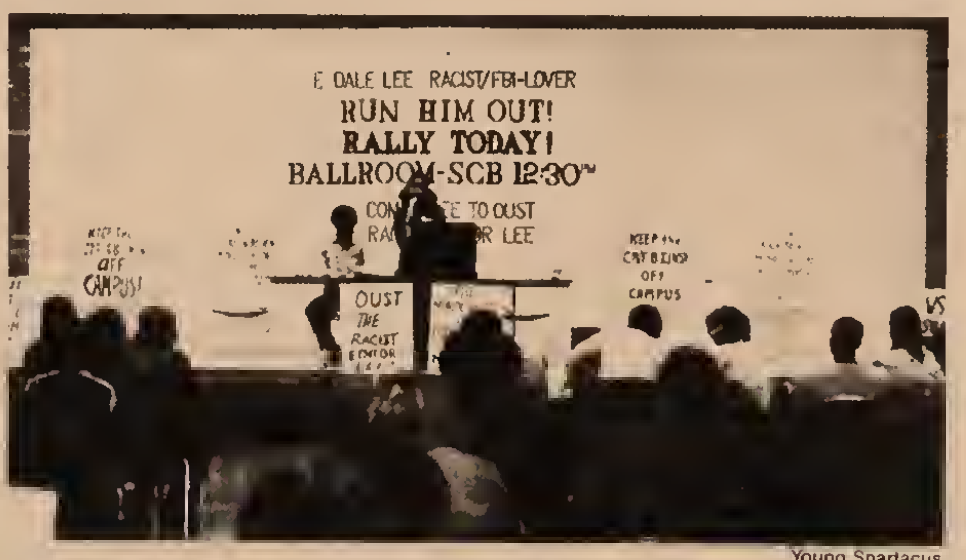
Detroit Labor, Blacks, Students:

Clean Out South End Racist Nest!

DETROIT, 15 December—After two weeks of turmoil over racist provocations in the Wayne State campus newspaper, the *South End*, the Student Newspaper Publications Board today tried to hide from black outrage behind closed doors and a barricade of police. A public hearing called to rule on the status of racist FBI-loving editor E. Dale Lee had been moved to a secret location. But the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which brought out some 60 black and white students and auto workers from several Detroit-area plants, found out and the whole group marched over to the meeting. They found the room blocked with riot-equipped Detroit cops, but to no avail. For over an hour the spirited crowd rallied in the hallway, chanting, discussing strategy to fight the fascists. Finally, they spotted the Publications Board sneaking out a side door and forced them to hold the public meeting.

Succumbing to pressure from the SYL, which had initiated a student Committee to Oust Racist Editor Lee, the board had earlier announced Lee's temporary suspension. On Monday the SYL forced them to agree to hold Lee's hearing publicly. But when they finally faced the students, it was only to announce they were postponing any decision until next Tuesday, by which time classes will be over and the students scattered or embroiled in exams!

The protests were sparked by Lee's publication in the *South End* of a vile racist "cartoon" entitled "How Many Honkies Are in This Picture?" and depicting five identical black basketball players and a white-sheeted Klansman. Even after this "cartoon" generated widespread outrage, Lee kept up his provocative filth. "I personally do support what the FBI does," he announced (*Detroit Free Press*, 26 November) at the very time three Klansmen, one an admitted FBI informer, stand trial here for conspiring to kill a black man. Last week the *South End* published an interview with a Klansman which waxed lyrical on a cross-burning and "failed" to mention that the KKKer served six years in prison for firebombing school buses in Pontiac, Michigan; an article on Hitler which never mentioned the Nazis' murder of six million Jews; and yet another racist "cartoon," this time on a rape case at WSU. The front-page drawing showed a weeping blond girl menaced by sinister eyes from the surrounding darkness.



Young Spartacus

SYL-initiated rally December 3 mobilizes Wayne State students in anti-racist campaign.

On December 3, a protest by the Committee brought out some 100 people (see "*South End* Racist Editor Has to Go!" *Young Spartacus* No. 96, December 1981/January 1982). And militants in the giant Ford River Rouge plant here have circulated a leaflet calling on unionists to join the campaign:

> "Auto workers slave on the assembly line so our kids can get out of the ghettos and out of the plants. Now as layoffs mount and tuition goes up, black students are being driven out of Wayne State. The racists don't want to stop there. They want a lily-white school in the middle of a black city."

Last Friday the protest against *South End* racist provocations was taken to the Detroit city council by Spartacist League spokesman Don Andrews. However, the council members refused to take a position, using bogus arguments about freedom of the press. (This is not surprising coming from a body which permits fascists to parade their swastikas and KKK paraphernalia in downtown Detroit while arresting anti-fascist demonstrators.) And the ACLU is now defending racist Lee. But free speech is not the issue—a nest of racist provocateurs has taken over the official student newspaper of WSU. As angry students proclaimed today, Wayne State is becoming a breeding ground for the Klan. This is intolerable. Run the racists out of the *South End*!

Even while support for the SYL-initiated campaign to oust the racist editor has grown, a wretched black nationalist outfit and some scab "socialists" finally came out into the open to direct their main fire... against the SYL. The tiny pan-Africanist "Association of Black Students" (ABS) drew 25 people to a rally December 10 with a leaflet advertising their "principal [sic] struggle against Spartacism." The rally was co-sponsored by Peter Sollenberger's miserable Revolutionary Workers League (RWL).

This disgusting policy comes from two groups who have abstained on every recent struggle by black students at WSU, starting with last year's successful campaign by the SYL which drove out the *South End* editors who applauded the acquittal of KKK/Nazi murderers in Greensboro. The ABS' paper, *Spirit and Drum*, says openly: "Should we demand 'fire the editor'? No." And at the December 3 rally by the Committee to Oust Lee, one RWLer tried unsuccessfully to circumvent the security measures undertaken to protect against possible right-wing violence, an act which provided an opening for the cops to harass the meeting. At a time when the campus is polarized over the issue of the *South End*'s racist editor, when Committee supporters have been physically attacked by racist thugs, their actions go beyond sectarianism to *objectively aiding the Klan and the FBI!*

The *South End* must not be allowed to continue as a racist mouthpiece! Remove Lee and all those responsible for the *South End*'s racist provocations! ■

The Russian Question Pointblank

SL/SYL Faces the Reagan Years

The Central Committee of the Spartacist League recently held a major and full meeting of its membership in the Midwest. This was the second plenum of the sixth SL CC. Some 200 comrades attended the weekend's proceedings, including visitors from several other sections of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The main political report by SL National Chairman James Robertson took place on Friday evening and was open to attendance by all SL and Spartacus Youth League members. The next day was reserved for the Central Committee plenary session to which all full members of SL Midwest branches were invited. Over 90 SYL members and various interested party observers attended the SYL Active Workers Conference held on Sunday. Youth members from as far away as California and Massachusetts made the trek so as to be able to participate in the SYL conference.

A memorandum prepared for the gathering entitled "SL/U.S. Faces the Reagan Years: The Russian Question Pointblank, For Workers Action to Bring Down Reagan! For a Workers Party!" provided the primary focus for the plenum discussion. The plenum unanimously adopted the memorandum, noting the necessity to add to it a particular section on the black struggle and to more decisively set the section on Poland into an international context. Also approved by the Central Committee were a series of personnel shifts aimed at strengthening party branches in the industrial heartland of the Midwest. Due to the combination of pronounced inflation and the corresponding sharp increases in federal income taxes, which have resulted in a two-sided financial squeeze on the party membership and on the organization as a whole, the CC also approved a necessary reduction in the minimum sustaining pledge each comrade is expected to pay.

The SYL conference included a spirited discussion on recruitment opportunities, particularly among black youth, and the task of education and assimilation of the large number of new comrades recruited last spring and summer out of our intervention into the protest activism ignited over El Salvador.

"We are entering a period of considerable opportunity and considerable danger," the SL memorandum noted. "It is this combination which challenges our small fighting propaganda group struggling to meet the tasks of a vanguard nucleus in the changed climate of the Reagan years." In light of the rapid political changes which have occurred in the U.S. since Reagan's election—with considerable effect on the world at large—the ability of the SL leadership to discuss and quickly adopt a series of analyses, observations on and a guide to action for the immediate period demonstrates a cohesiveness of both program and cadre in this critical juncture for the party.

Reagan's election meant a turn further to the right on all political and social questions. But now with PATCO-style union busting and drastic social programs which economically threaten every known sector including the aged and the crippled, the mood is beginning to crack. And it is tending to crack along class lines. While the politics of sectoralism dominated the radical opposition in the late 1960s and '70s, when each oppressed group was urged to organize on the basis of its own oppression, opposition to Reagan is differentiated depending on whether one is a petty-bourgeois university student with a chance at the "good life" or a proletarian backed up against the wall. The half million workers who marched in Washington on September 19 showed that what has long been true for the black population is now becoming true for broad layers of the working class: they know they have an enemy in the White House. Thus the adoption by the party Central Committee of a fighting perspective:

> "The objective possibility exists to bring Reagan down in sharp class struggle by the proletariat leading the oppressed. We remember that despite U.S. constitutional peculiarities, Nixon was dumped one jump ahead of a jail sentence and more significantly that LBJ was effectively brought down after the Tet offensive of 1968.... It was the heroism of the Vietnamese that brought Johnson down. Our perspective is a fighting labor movement to do the same to Reagan."

SYL holds Active Workers Conference to assimilate new recruits.

WV Photo

Poland and the Russian Question

Central to a revolutionary opposition to Reagan reaction is defense of the Soviet Union against the U.S. drive toward imperialist war aimed at the heart of the Soviet degenerated workers state. The Russian Question is *the* question of proletarian revolution in the U.S. and internationally. Appropriately, both the main report to the Central Committee plenary session and a special educational point at the SYL conference took up crucial aspects of our demand that Polish Solidarity's counterrevolution must be crushed by any means necessary.

Reagan's embracing of Solidarność occurs within the context of U.S. imperialism's campaign to forge a global anti-Soviet war axis. From Central America (where the murderous right-wing Salvadoran junta is backed by the U.S. as a bulwark against "Soviet/Cuban aggression" even as Haig steps up threats to blockade Nicaragua and Cuba) to the brutal apartheid regime of South Africa which has now taken its real place as a bastion of the "free world" (i.e., U.S. surrogate in the region) the anti-Soviet war drums beat loudly. The memorandum states:

> "It is in Poland that Reagan sees the best possibility to realize his revanchist appetites toward the Soviet Union by rolling back the social and economic gains of the postwar transformation of Eastern Europe carried out as a 'cold' process by the Russian army in the wake of the defeat of Nazi Germany. The Polish crisis is seen as well as a choice opportunity for the U.S. ruling class to finally slough off the effects of 'Vietnam syndrome' with an aggressive propaganda campaign to refurbish the discredited slogans of the Cold War ('free trade unions') and enlist the American people in an anti-Communist crusade."

There has been surprisingly little overt internal trouble over the party's line on Poland throughout the iSt. Rightist impulses to flinch in the U.S. tended to be posed as excessive worry about world reaction to Russian intervention, with the implication that it might not be worth the popularity cost. While our position will send our opponents into Stalinophobic spasms and isolate us somewhat in the U.S., there is no reason to assume its universal unpopularity—particularly in countries with a mass Stalinist base and a traditional antagonism to the church among advanced workers (e.g., Italy, France).

In any case, the need to stop the threat of bloody capitalist restoration and the establishment of a NATO eastern front is the decisive criterion for the formulation of our line. As the reporter on the document commented:

> "We do not like and do not find it an ordinary experience in history, but certainly when the program of the emancipation of the working class is in flat contradiction with a section of the working class our loyalties reside with the program."

That the bulk of the working class in Poland has embarked on a counterrevolutionary course behind the clerical/nationalist, pro-imperialist Solidarność is one of the great crimes of Stalinism. An account of the destruction of the once-superior Polish party by the Stalinist usurpers given in the main presentation underlined this:

> "In the old days of the Communist International under Lenin and later the saying was, as I remember Shachtman quoting from back when he was a Communist, 'We used to say that the German party is the biggest and the Polish the best.' Well, comrades, the Polish party really was the best. It was the biggest of the main Cominern parties that, when the issue that Trotsky is not so hot came out in 1923, abstained on the question in their Political Bureau pending receipt of the documents. That was the regime of the three W's [Warski, Walecki, Wera Kostrzewa].
>
> "They were purged. There were two more purges, complete purges of the Polish Central Committee, and still Stalin was not satisfied with the Polish Communist Party; and in about 1938 he liquidated it on the grounds that it was nothing but a nest of police spies and provocateurs, i.e., Trotskyites....
>
> "It had the interesting effect that when in 1944 the Russian army rolled through Poland fighting the Germans they created completely fresh from the egg a brand new bureaucratic apparatus completely in the image—completely, utterly without a trace of hypocrisy due to old norms and old forms—in the image of then Stalin's Russia. So while I don't think this has any particular decisive qualities compared to the Stalinist party of Romania, Hungary or the rest of them, at least these other parties had cadres who were old Stalinists and who knew better....
>
> "Certainly the Polish Stalinist party that took over the administration of Poland were simply guys that they grabbed from around who were willing to do the job. And they had to be, therefore, overwhelmingly scoundrels without even an honorable past to live down, an enormous gang of careerists who were willing to become quislings for one of the historic enemies of Poland.
>
> "And one has to have some sort of motive—so what's the motive going to be? Massive corruption that would shame the chief of the KGB.
>
> "The irony is that in that sector of the tsarist empire which first produced a good workers party, the party Proletariat, born in Warsaw a decade or two before they had a party circle in Petersburg, and that produced what used to be called the best party in the Communist International—had to be so thoroughly destroyed root and branch that the Polish Workers Party of today has less nominal continuity than the American CP, small though it is."

Against the Anti-Soviet Popular Front!

The Russian question is key not only because of direct military threats from the White House, but also because the developing class-collaborationist anti-Reagan mood has an explicit or implicit anti-Soviet thrust as well. The Democratic Party and its labor lieutenants are just as anti-Soviet as is Reagan. Supporting the military buildup against the Soviets, Kirkland & Co. can have no consistent economic program, can mount no credible opposition to Reagan's austerity drive. Their anti-Sovietism can be the millstone that sinks them; it is our opening. Our sales of some 9,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard* at the September 19 AFL-CIO demonstrations indicated more than the power of our unique call to shut the airports and win the strike. Among the up to 500,000 workers at the Washington, D.C. march called by a frightened and brittle labor officialdom, there was at least an openness to pro-union socialists. There is a huge political vacuum in the labor movement between ourselves

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Kappa/Liaison

Hapless Eurocommunist Santiago Carrillo.

Carrillo Pays the Price of Eurocommunism

Spanish CP Rips Apart

Cambio 16

At PCE 10th Congress last July Carrillo admitted, "This party could self-destruct."

The most spectacular blowup in a mass Communist Party since World War II is tearing apart the Spanish Communist Party (PCE). The latest act in this escalating drama came on December 10 when the leadership of the PCE's Catalan affiliate (PSUC) expelled or suspended 29 central committee members on charges of factionalism. The purge victims are the heads of a so-called "pro-Soviet" left wing representing possibly half the party ranks in Catalonia and especially its working-class base.

Earlier this fall, the Basque Communist Party split in two as its leaders moved to dissolve into a social-democratic nationalist coalition. This move was supported by the ultra-"Eurocommunist" right wing of the PCE. In response, Communist Party chief Santiago Carrillo not only dissolved the Basque central committee (which thereupon declared its independence) but dumped six right wingers from the national CC and booted half the PCE city councilors in Madrid out of the party. This in turn provoked protests, resignations and expulsions in every CP stronghold in Spain.

Already party membership had fallen drastically, from 200,000 in 1977 to 100,000 today, and the current explosion could easily cut that number in half. The PCE is not so much hemorrhaging as breaking up along every conceivable line of division—and there are plenty. The origins of the crisis lie in the abysmal failure of Eurocommunism, a product of the long process of social-democratization of once-Stalinist parties who despite their reformism are still considered pariahs by their "own" bourgeoisie. Carrillo was the standard-bearer of this tendency, breaking his last ties to Moscow and sloughing off vestiges of Leninist terminology in the hopes of gaining acceptance from the capitalist state. But in the climate of renewed Cold War, the imperialist bourgeoisies have not been interested in a deal.

So the PCE has been left out in the cold, with marginal electoral strength, outflanked by the Socialists and nothing to show for its concessions on everything from wages to democratic rights. Now petty-bourgeois sectors want to go all the way and complete the liquidation into social democracy. Sectors of the working class, however, facing international capitalist economic crisis and the threat of a bonapartist military takeover in Spain, are pressing in a confused and contradictory way for a more militant policy of class struggle. That gives the present crisis of the PCE special importance for authentic Trotskyists, who alone have an international communist program to sweep away the legacy of Francoist dictatorship and open the road to European revolution.

Act I: PSUC and the "Afghans"

When Jimmy Carter unleashed a Cold War barrage over Afghanistan in early 1980, Carrillo was the most shameless of the Eurocommunists in toeing the State Department line. A "Condemnation of the Intervention of Soviet Troops in Afghanistan" was published in the PCE's *Nuestra Bandera* (March-April 1980) alongside a photo featuring a placard calling for "Death to Russia—Get Out of Afghanistan." But this virulent anti-Sovietism did not go down well with much of the Communist ranks. District and local organizations of the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya (PSUC) in the Barcelona industrial belt (notably Baix Llobregat and Vallès Occidental) issued resolutions *supporting* Soviet aid to Kabul against the CIA-armed Islamic reactionaries. Soon a wing of the PSUC had crystallized which became known as the "Afghans" and was based on sections of the leadership of the CP-led labor federation, Comisiones Obreras (CC.OO.). The "Afghans" were not merely or even mainly old Stalinist hardliners left over from the Civil War years, but younger union leaders who had built Comisiones in the clandestine struggle against Francoism.

Discontent in the Catalan party against Carrillo and his policies reached the flashpoint last January 5-6 at the Fifth Congress of the PSUC. By a vote of 424-359 all references to Eurocommunism were struck from the party's programmatic theses. A motion withdrawing earlier PSUC criticism of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was defeated, but altogether 19 amendments by the "pro-Soviets" were adopted. Among them were calls for a referendum on Spanish entry into the Common Market (the PCE is for entry), for dismantling U.S. bases in Spain (the PCE is silent on the issue), and for relations of "friendship and solidarity" with the USSR. This strong offensive by the "Afghans" led to the resignation of the Eurocommunist PSUC general secretary Antoni Gutiérrez Diaz, who was replaced by the "Leninist" Francesc Frutos. (At the PCE's Ninth Congress in 1978, Frutos was the minority spokesman against Thesis 15 which eliminated references to Leninism in the party program.) The challenge to Carrillo was crystal clear. But for all the ideological thunder, the PSUC had not broken politically with Eurocommunism, much less gone over to anything resembling Leninism.

The liberal weekly *Cambio 16* (19 January) noted the confused nature of polemics at the PSUC congress, commenting that the CP was rent by several overlapping divisions: "Eurocommunists vs. pro-Soviets, intellectuals vs. workerists, Carrilloists vs. anti-Carrilloists, centralists vs. federalists, old vs. young, party vs. trade union." The political distinctions were far from clear. The "Leninists," for example, had split from the Eurocommunist leadership over Carrillo's Thesis 15; otherwise they were virtually politically identical with Gutiérrez & Co. On the other hand, the "Leninists" are based on the Catalan Comisiones where they had joined with "Afghans" in throwing out the Carrilloists in mid-1980. On the hottest issue the new general secretary voted with the minority for *retaining* the term Eurocommunism. Yet Frutos and a whole group of his "Leninist" cohorts were elected to run the PSUC with the support of the "Afghans," in horse trading aimed at keeping out both "Euros" and the even more right-wing social-democratic grouping known as the *banderas blancas* (white flags).*

As a result of the "Leninist"/"Afghan" rotten bloc, even after this spectacular rebellion which was greeted with enthusiastic support in the PSUC ranks, the new central committee ended up with a majority that fundamentally supports Carrillo. (While "pro-Soviets" won many of the policy fights at the "upset congress," when it came time to elect a CC they took only 25-30 seats out of 110.) This time the wages of opportunism were paid on the barrelhead. Madrid's *El País* (8 January) headlined that "Eurocommunists Support New PSUC Leadership to Contain Pro-Soviets." Frutos immediately turned on his allies, removing the organizational secretariat from "Afghan" hands. PCE tops began spreading rumors of connections with the Soviet embassy and complaints that the weekly Madrid-Acroflot flights were booked up with Catalans. After a few months of this kind of dirty pool, a PSUC central committee meeting simply brushed

*So-called because they are the remnants of a Maoist split from the '60s, known by the name of their paper *Bandera Roja* (Red Flag), who returned to the PSUC fold in the '70s on a rapid rightward course.

aside the Fifth Congress, declaring Eurocommunism "synonymous with a revolution of the majority" and again condemning Soviet intervention in Afghanistan (*El Periòdico*, 17 May).

What really took the wind out of the "Afghan" sails, however, was the PSUC's limp response to the February 23 coup attempt, ostensibly by a couple dozen Guardia Civil troops who seized the Cortes (parliament), but actually backed by top military leaders. That night the working class all over Spain was ready to fight, yet the PCE and Comisiones refused to mobilize and only called for a two-hour strike the next day. In Catalonia the PSUC/CC.OO. originally called for a 48-hour general strike, but by the morning of the 24th this had been reduced to the token two-hour stoppage with workers to stay at their jobs (i.e., no demonstrations). There were local general strikes in the "Afghan" strongholds around Barcelona, but the "Leninists" followed the PCE line of "serenity." Expressing confidence that normalcy reigned despite the *tejerazo*, the PSUC tops even held a meeting in their own headquarters. To top it off, the May CC meeting that "recuperated" Eurocommunism voted to show its faith in the "democratic" military by participating in Armed Forces Day! The Catalan working class logically concluded that the "new" PSUC was no different from the old.

At Fifth Congress of Catalan PSUC, left-wing "Afghans" rebelled against Eurocommunists.

J. Gol

Act II: The PCE Tenth Congress and the "Renovators"

With the left-wing "Afghans" held in check, the right wing of the PCE, the so-called "renovating Eurocommunists," began making noises. Beginning last December, long-time party leader and CP deputy mayor of Madrid Ramón Tamames launched a campaign for a "profound democratization" of the party and to "kick out the Old Guard"—in the first instance Carrillo himself. Having gotten nowhere, Tamames quit the party in early May. But the "renovators" drew up a platform calling for the right to form "currents of opinion" in place of the PCE's Stalinist ban on factions. This tendency is based in particular on the CP municipal councilors, who hold office in coalition with Felipe González' Socialists (PSOE). Thus they represent that layer of the party which is most integrated into the capitalist state apparatus, and their aim is to carry Eurocommunism to its logical conclusion by dissolving the PCE altogether and liquidating into social democracy. A leading "renovator" (and PSUC *bandera blanca*) Jordi Borja expressed this clearly in an article entitled, "What Are CPs Good For in Europe?":

> "In our time it will only be possible to construct a solid left alternative, in the countries where the Socialist and Communist parties are strong, by overcoming the tragic and absurd break of the 1920s.... For our part, we Communists have already said what this means in our opinion: a complete break with the Soviet model, accepting an international policy in the framework of West Europe."
>
> —*La Calle*, June 1981

Carrillo refused to publish the document of this "critical tendency," but the "renovators" won a majority at the Madrid regional conference in early July. At the PCE's Tenth Congress (28-31 July) the Carrilloists trained their sights on this liquidationist social-democratic current, which (with about a quarter of the votes) was easily beaten. The "pro-Soviets," with only 6 percent of the delegates, thanks to Frutos & Co., took a dive, not even answering direct attacks or the expulsion of one of their leaders, García Salve, from the party. *Cambio 16* (10 August) called it the *carrillazo*, although there was one hitch in Carrillo's coup: the general secretary himself only came in 15th in voting for the CC.

In his report Carrillo made some "self-critical" gestures to assuage discontent over the poor results of the CP's "policy of concentration" (amounting to partial support of the reformed Francoist governments of Suárez and Calvo Sotelo). Taking note of the "Mitterrand syndrome" and appealing to the "renovating Eurocommunist" ranks, he called vaguely for a "new political formation" along the lines of British Labourism. With an eye on the "Afghan" ranks he twice made positive remarks about the Russian October Revolution. To reassure the generals he made explicit the PCE's renunciation even of "democratic propaganda" in the military (*Mundo Obrero*, 26 July). But toward "renovator" and "pro-Soviet" leaders he made it clear that at the Tenth Congress there would be winners and losers. If the formation of tendencies is not stopped, he said, "this party could self-destruct in a very short time." However, the tendencies had already formed...

Mundo Obrero

Parliamentary cretins of the PCE call for referendum on NATO antry.

Act III: Basques, Catalans, Everyone

...and the self-destruction of the Spanish Communist Party is under way. The chain reaction began in mid-September when Roberto Lerxundi and a majority of the leadership of the CP's Basque affiliate, the EPK, decided to liquidate into Euzkadiko Ezkerra (EE), a social-democratic nationalist group linked in the past with the "Political-Military" wing of the ETA Basque nationalist guerrillas (ETA-pm). A joint document by the leaders of the EPK and EE called for:

> "...the creation of a broad, mass, non-dogmatic class party, which would overcome in theory and practice the historic division within the working class between socialists and communists."

As a condition for "fusion" negotiations, Euzkadiko Ezkerra demanded that the EPK break all ties with the PCE and that the term "democratic socialism" replace "Eurocommunism." This in turn provoked opposition among the working-class sectors of the Basque Communists, which by and large are of non-Basque origins. When Lerxundi agreed to the EE *diktat*, Carrillo dissolved the EPK central committee and ordered a special conference.

As a result there are now two Basque CPs, roughly equal in size, one subordinate to Carrillo & Co. and the other preparing to dissolve into nationalist social democracy. However, at last July's PCE congress Lerxundi was a main spokesman for the "renovating Eurocommunists." So in early November he was invited to speak publicly in Madrid by six "renovator" CC members and five city councilmen of the same tendency. Carrillo thereupon demanded and obtained the ouster from the CC of the six offenders and the expulsion from the party of the Madrid councilmen who had sponsored Lerxundi. Among the CCers dumped were the PCE's leading anti-Soviet theoretician Manuel Azcárate, and several Cortes deputies. This sparked protests throughout the country. The CC of the Andalusian CP opposed the sanctions as did the Salamanca provincial council, all the PCE councilmen in Valladolid, hundreds of party members in Valencia, etc. Madrid locals representing 9,000 members demanded a special conference.

Meanwhile, the internal fights in the Catalan PSUC were boiling over. In May, party president Pere Ardiaca, a 74-year-old founder of the PSUC, was ousted for his "pro-Soviet" views. Then at the annual fair for the party newspaper *Treball* in September, several hundred "Afghans" drowned out Carrillo with shouts of "traitor" and "out, out!" The dissidents wore badges with the slogan, "I'm Communist. Long Live the Fifth Congress. PSUC." The Eurocommunist tops retaliated by cutting off electricity and water to stands belonging to the Baix Llobregat and Vallès Occidental districts, which were distributing Soviet-made handicrafts (*El Comunista*, 9 October). Shortly after, a number of left-wingers were expelled by the PSUC executive committee for booing Carrillo at a mass meeting in March.

With tendencies banned, the political fights take place in a counterpoint of physical attacks and bureaucratic abuse. When district party conferences in Barcelona's industrial belt returned big "pro-Soviet" majorities, PSUC's "Leninist" majority retaliated by simply dissolving them, putting dissident locals under its direct financial control. In early November the PSUC youth split in two. And at a CC meeting the Catalan party leadership set a special conference for next March in order to ratify "full support to the strategy of Eurocommunism." Delegate elections were rigged so two-thirds of the membership, in the big Barcelona-area locals, predominantly left-wing, received one-third of the delegates. When "Afghans" on the CC objected that these highhanded measures were undemocratic...all 29 of them were expelled or suspended from the PSUC. No one can say Carrillo didn't teach "Leninist" Frutos how to do it!

Eurocommunism on the Rocks

The debacle of Eurocommunism must be located firmly in the international context. It was U.S. imperialism's post-Vietnam anti-Soviet drive that ultimately led to the demise of the French popular front (see "Why the Union of the Left Fell Apart," *WV* No. 280, 8 May), and which relegated the PCE to the political ghetto. Early in 1978, Jimmy Carter's State Department announced it would not tolerate CP participation in West European governments, whether or not they called themselves Eurocommunists. Whatever his previous chances, that was the end of

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Spanish CP...

(continued from page 7)

Santiago Carrillo's hopes for a "government of national concentration" with Felipe González' Socialists and Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez' reformed Francoist UCD. The French and Italian CPs faced the same imperialist veto, but they had a solid electoral and trade-union base to fall back on, abandoning or toning down their Eurocommunist fervor. In Carrillo's fundamentally weaker position, the only card he could play was ever greater sellouts.

At the time of the PCE's Ninth Congress, in April 1978, we concluded that Carrillo's party had crossed the Rubicon in the direction of social democracy:

> "Although apparently the French and Italian CPs are not ready to take such a dramatic and showy step as the PCE's renouncing of 'Leninism,' it is clear that in the case of Carrillo's party there has been a definitive break with the Moscow bureaucracy such that it can no longer be called Stalinist."
>
> —"Spanish CP Goes 'Eurocommunist'," *WV* No. 205, 12 May 1978

And we predicted that after Carrillo's party officially chose the Spanish king over the Kremlin, "the level of dissidence poses the possibility of large splits to the left." Now this is occurring before our eyes. But the leftists do not have a Leninist program. The so-called "pro-Soviets" have no proletarian internationalist policy to replace Carrillo's Eurocommunist class-collaboration internationally; they had no answer to the February 23 coup attempt internally.

Trotskyism vs. Stalinism

In their amendments to the draft theses for the Catalan PSUC's Fifth Congress, the "Afghans" of the District Committee of Vallès Occidental simply proposed to eliminate criticism of Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. They admit the bourgeois character of the "Iranian Revolution," recognize the problems posed by the Iraq-Iran war (between two purportedly radical-nationalist Islamic regimes), but do not present a coherent international *class* line. Their criterion is the foreign-policy alignment toward the USSR of the bourgeois nationalist dictatorship in question (which would have made Egypt "progressive" under Nasser and reactionary under the latter-day Sadat). International questions are decisive—one need only look at the impact of the Polish events throughout Europe—and the Trotskyists of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) have been unique in fighting for a consistent Marxist analysis and program. The iSt calls for "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and "Stop Solidarność Counter-revolution!" in Poland, while struggling for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies throughout the degenerated/deformed workers states.

Leftist militants breaking from Carrillo's Eurocommunist fiasco must confront above all the question of Stalinism vs. Trotskyism. As Trotsky predicted as long ago as 1928 (in *The Third International After Lenin*), the definitive subordination of the Moscow-loyal Communist Parties to their "own" bourgeoisies is simply the logical extension of Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country." From this flows the class-collaborationist policy of the popular front, allying with the "national" bourgeoisie, and "national defense." It was under this sign that the PSUC was born in the mid-1930s. And it was on this platform that it played a decisive role in defeating the most important class mobilization of the Catalan proletariat—the May Days of 1937.

Today left-wing "Afghans" reject Carrillo's cringing oaths of loyalty to king and Carter. Yet the theses of the PSUC's Fifth Congress, which they defend, endorse the PCE's program of "national reconciliation" during the 1960s and early '70s—the Stalinist basis for today's Eurocommunist sellouts. PSUC left-wingers now object to the "implementation" of the Moncloa Pacts. And indeed, when the Pacts were first signed in 1977, 100,000 protested in Barcelona, led by the same CC.OO. leaders who today are called "pro-Soviets." Yet the protest stopped with a single march—for the latter-day "Leninists" and "Afghans" were not prepared to wage a head-on struggle with the Spanish state. They dissented from Carrillo & Co. but had no independent policy of their own.

Authentic Trotskyists (not the social-democratic imposters of the LCR) called repeatedly for a working-class offensive against the hated bonapartist dictatorship in the wake of Franco's death. The PCE in all its wings, Eurocommunist or neo-Stalinist, sought a pact with "democratic" sectors of the bourgeoisie. Carrillo settled for less, the "Afghans" want more—but the fundamental program is the same. Genuine communists fight not for a "neutral Spain," a slogan common to all wings of the PCE, but for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack, for socialist revolution throughout West Europe and workers political revolution in the Stalinist-ruled deformed/degenerated workers states of the Soviet bloc. "Pro-Soviets" only tail after the discredited bureaucracies, whose bankruptcy has been demonstrated in Poland, while the Euroecommunists (renovating or Carrilloist) tail after Reagan and Schmidt.

The anti-Carrillo "Afghans" in Spain have tapped widespread proletarian rejection of Eurocommunist class-collaboration. But only the program of Trotskyism provides a *revolutionary* answer to the bankruptcy of Stalinism.■

Free Fulani Sunni-Ali!

Cynthia Boston (Fulani Sunni-Ali), a leading member of the black nationalist Republic of New Africa (RNA), is back in jail in Manhattan—sentenced to up to 18 months in prison—although there are absolutely no criminal charges against her. She is being held "in contempt of court," as a result of the vicious government "Weather-witchhunt" and its grand jury inquisition in the wake of the Nyack Brinks robbery. It began when Sunni-Ali woke near dawn October 27 in her Mississippi farmhouse to see a land-and-air invasion—involving a helicopter, camouflaged tanks, hundreds of armed men, including SWAT teams, FBI agents and cops—surrounding her home. This mighty army managed to capture her, along with 12 children. "All the children down to age six were handcuffed. They simply had none small enough for the babies," she told a New York press conference November 6.

They claimed she was involved in the Nyack Brinks robbery, but they couldn't make it stick. After Fulani Sunni-Ali proved she was in New Orleans at the time, the government was forced to release her with all charges dropped. But the feds were out to teach a lesson in racist American "justice." Their instrument was the witchhunting grand jury with its power to slap "uncooperative" witnesses in jail without appeal as it conducts a fishing expedition under the draconian RICO laws which allow for virtually unlimited persecution of alleged "co-conspirators." These "racketeering" statutes are now being turned into a deadly weapon against the left in Reagan's Cold War America. So they dragged her back before the grand jury, denied her the right to representation by her lawyer, Chokwe Lumumba, and then jailed her again on December 7 for "contempt of court"—that is, for protesting the outrageous violation of her elementary right to her chosen counsel and refusing to provide hair and handwriting samples to these witchhunters!

Lumumba, a practicing member of the Michigan bar, is also a member of the RNA. In a dangerous ruling violating every constitutional amendment on the right of free speech and representation, a federal judge granted the prosecution's motion barring Lumumba on the grounds that he would bring politics into the courtroom! "One of the clear purposes of Mr. Lumumba's application is to enable him to carry on a propaganda campaign," said federal district judge Irving Ben Cooper (*New York Times*, 11 November). As if the federal prosecutors—who in their Brinks job investigation have tried to implicate Cuba, Vietnam and anyone who favors "the creation of a socialist state"—hadn't brought politics into the courtroom! Fulani Sunni-Ali is being railroaded on political charges, and she has a right to defend herself against this frame-up politically.

AP

Fulani Sunni-Ali

Now the attorney general and Rockland County prosecutors have backed down, saying they will withdraw objections to Lumumba. But he still hasn't been granted the right to represent his client, who remains behind bars in the Metropolitan Correctional Facility.

The federal government's attack on Sunni-Ali and her lawyer has ugly McCarthyite precedent. During the height of the post-war witchhunt, lawyers willing to defend left-wing clients faced attempts to disbar them, subpoenas for HUAC, and anti-Communist loyalty oaths by the American Bar Association. The lawyers who defended the CP in the 1948 Smith Act trials were themselves sentenced for contempt of court.

The Partisan Defense Committee has sent a telegram to the U.S. Attorney General demanding the immediate release of Fulani Sunni-Ali. This vicious state witchhunt must be opposed. Stop the Weather-Witchhunt!

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard skips a week in December. Our next issue will be dated January 8.

SL/SYL...

(continued from page 5)

and the mainline bureaucracy; the other ostensibly revolutionary organizations in industry have simply become social-democratic appendages to, or satellites of, the labor tops.

That section of the plenum document dealing with our left opponents is aptly titled "The U.S. Left Moves Right." Simply by remaining stable, the SL/SYL have become the only left opposition to pro-Democratic popular frontism.

> "The U.S. political terrain has become more 'traditional' with the effective disappearance of Maoism, the increasing irrelevance of the SWP, the splintering of the Shachtmanoids and the end of a definable black movement. The Russian question draws the line clearly. There is the 'State Department socialist' complex, the Stalinist orbit, and us."

Despite the fact that we are in an enviable political position to recruit radicalizing worker militants, the depressed condition of the U.S. economy has meant massive layoffs for much of the industrial proletariat and therefore a weakening of our industrial concentrations. This is a situation we urgently seek to rectify.

"On guard against routinism!" was a recurring theme throughout the plenum discussion and applies with full force in the trade-union arena. Episodic cynicism on the part of union militants about activity in the union is not uncommon, particularly where the bureaucracy is conjuncturally so discredited yet so entrenched (e.g., the United Auto Workers). In many such situations, the possibility of proletarian revolution may literally seem more realizable than ousting the bureaucrats and replacing them with a class-struggle leadership. Comrades must not therefore fetishize any particular trade-union tactic (e.g., elections) nor should we eschew the likelihood of recruiting directly to the party from the plants. *Workers Vanguard* readers circles—both in areas distant from established SL local committees and in locals with large concentrations of *WV* readers among workers—can serve as transitional organizations for recruitment.

Reagan Reaction and Repression

Our bourgeois opponents are not idle. They are instead preparing to suppress and repress the workers movement through lynchings "legal" and illegal. The single most important, though not by any means the only, protection we can have is our links to and the firm rooting of our organization in the labor movement. That we are being subjected to a systematic campaign of slander in the press from campus tabloids to prestigious bourgeois dailies is obvious. Equally obvious is that we can expect no "buffer" in the left milieu to stand between us and state repression—quite the opposite. The reformists and centrists are more than willing to act as cops for the bourgeoisie when it comes to the

Spartacist League/ Spartacus Youth League Public Offices

—MARXIST LITERATURE—

Bay Area
Fri 5:00-8:00 p.m., Sat 3:00-6:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph, 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland, California Phone (415) 835-1535

Chicago
Tues 5:30-9:00 p.m. Sat 2:00-5:30 p.m.
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Chicago, Illinois Phone (312) 427-0003

New York City
Tues 6:00-9:00 p.m.
Sat 12:00-4:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, N.Y. Phone (212) 267-1025

Trotskyist League of Canada

Toronto
Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
299 Queen St. W., Suite 502
Toronto, Ontario Phone (416) 593-4138

Trotskyist Spartacist League. We have faced a series of attempted exclusions from demonstrations and meetings including frequent use of the police: in Chicago by the CP, in Washington by the Marcyites, in New York by CISPES et al., everywhere they can by the SWP.

> "Particularly with our aggressive campaign against counterrevolutionary threats in Poland, the SL/U.S. is marked as 'Russia lovers' in an increasingly anti-Soviet period. The enemies of U.S. Cold War policies are branded according to the new coded vocabulary as 'international terrorists' and Kremlin 'surrogates' spreading KGB 'disinformation.' The code for us seems to be changing accordingly. Increasingly now the international bourgeois media refers to the SL as 'pro-Soviet'.... No less a bourgeois force than the *Wall Street Journal* (29 September) in a lead editorial described our anti-Solidarność picket as the sort of 'dirty business' that must be stopped, ending with an unmistakable threat...."

It was noted at the plenum that one is hard put to recall when the *Wall Street Journal* had previously undertaken to threaten a radical or socialist group.

With all proportions guarded, if we learned any single lesson from the brutal repression of the Communist Party in the 1950s it is this: better to fight. Bourgeois democracy, even if narrow and brittle, does mean that the state in mounting attacks on its critics and opponents will pay a certain price. It is our job to make it as difficult and costly as possible. We intend to bring our energy and resources to bear to make certain we are not nameless, faceless nobodies who can be blown away in the dead of night. Thus when California attorney general Deukmejian issued an official report on "Organized Crime in California, 1979" naming us as purported left-wing criminal terrorists, we not only brought suit against him but raised the slogan "Workers Party Has the Right to Organize!" We took the case to worried elements—in the labor movement, among the black community, liberal Democrats and civil libertarians—who rightly saw the threat as directed against much more than just the SL alone.

On Recruitment

Time is of the essence in politics. We enjoyed our largest single burst of recruitment since 1972 last spring and summer because our clear-cut and communist class-struggle line appealed to the best of the radical youth temporarily in political motion over the El Salvador issue, and because we struck while the iron was hot. At the same time, a number of cadre quit heading into the Reagan years, a reflection both of the "conjuncture" and of the aging process (the latter being at bottom a lack of energy and a tendency for personal difficulties to become keener and more keenly felt). Some were prominent union oppositionists uneasily aware of their personal "high profile" in a period of virulent bourgeois anti-Sovietism. As noted at the plenum, this places a greater burden on the party and youth cadre to direct the education and assimilation of our newly won comrades, the bulk of them student-aged youth. Party comrades in particular felt basic education on the fundamentals of revolutionary Marxism was an urgent necessity after repetitive instances of public misrepresentation of our line suggested that in and around the fringes of the youth organization a programmatic feeling containing elements of New Leftism had been brought into our movement along with some of the new recruits. As the memorandum states:

> "Impatience, spontaneism and a penchant for self-gratifying verbal extremism may be understandable diseases of youth but their political incarnation is counterposed to the program of scientific socialism. It is our political responsibility to educate our members in the politics of the organization they joined, not the least because the party as a whole can and will be victimized for the irresponsible statements of its newest candidate member."

Every new member is obligated to read and read again the article "FBI Targets the Spartacist League" in *Workers Vanguard* No. 151 (1 April 1977).

Continued augmented recruitment is not narrowly dependent on the issue of El Salvador. The Reagan years will not be years of domestic quiescence, and opportunities for a socialist propaganda group posing a labor-led struggle against capitalist economic crisis, racial oppression and imperialist war will occur. These opportunities will tend to be occasional and fleeting, requiring energetic and timely intervention as well as an intelligent combination of boldness and self-defense. Now as last spring, the "three whales" of contemporary Bolshevism (recalling Lenin's capsule program against tsarism), the bottom line for the recruitment drive, are: (1) "Build Picket Lines, Don't Cross Them!" (2) "Defend Cuba and the USSR!" and (3) "Smash Klan/Nazi Terror Through Labor/Black Defense!"

The last demand confronts the bourgeoisie's anti-communist drive at its fringe, indicating the strategy we have successfully demonstrated can interdict the fascists from the major northern industrial centers. The plenum noted in particular the acquisition of a Spartacist black cadre in both the party and youth organizations. Leading black comrades at the national and local levels will further enable the party to transform into recruits our powerful program for revolutionary integrationism and a class-struggle fight for the rights of the specially oppressed. Discussion on the special problems of black recruitment included the necessity to politically defeat the vestiges of black nationalism, that remain to act as psychological solace, perhaps, but offer no program for the forward motion of the black masses.

Our program, proven correct time and time again, indeed has the power to recruit. A qualitative transformation of the SL from a fighting propaganda group to a revolutionary workers party requires more than Marxist clarity, however. It requires our successful intervention into a major and victorious struggle of our class. A story about the early Trotskyist opposition recounted by the reporter on the document underlined that the struggle for revolutionary leadership is not an intellectual exercise abstracted from the conditions of the class struggle. Trotsky had correctly predicted that unless the Chinese Communists independently and in opposition to the bourgeoisie and the imperialists mobilized the proletariat, taking in tow the peasantry, there would be a disastrous defeat of the Chinese Revolution. Such a defeat in fact occurred for the very reasons the Trotskyists had warned of. When a number of the younger and less experienced members of the opposition had exclaimed that since their predictions had been proved correct, then surely new forces would be won to the opposition's faction, Trotsky is supposed to have replied to the effect that:

> "If only we'd been wrong, then we might have been heavily strengthened. Because we are the wing of Russian Bolshevism that is optimistic and revolutionary and depends for its forward motion on the expression of power of the working class on this planet. The expression of power has been put back by the defeat of the Chinese Revolution. Thus the conservatizing forces that cause people to cling to Stalin or Bukharin have been reinforced.... It's not an intellectual game in which we won the crossword puzzle fastest. Yes, perhaps a few score thoughtful youth capable of living a somewhat detached existence will come over to us. But the vast mass of the party will draw the conclusion 'Russia is thrown on herself and the theories of socialism in one country and the turn to the middle and upper peasants will be deepened...'."

Our perspective, as the plenum document concludes, is to "grow through quantum leaps to the point that we can, when the bourgeoisie is deeply split and demoralized, come forward as America's last, best hope to lead our class to victory."■

France...

(continued from page 12)

but also among students at the Ecole Normale (teachers college) and by immigrant and civil liberties organizations. The united-front appeal by the Mobilization Committee warned that the fascists threaten labor, racial minorities and democratic rights generally:

> "Today, still weak but determined, the fascists must be stopped before they grow and gain confidence. Behind the leaflets there are clubs and revolvers. The arms theft from the army base at Foix and the Danet affair underline the real danger.
>
> "The mass murderers of Auschwitz began their sinister careers by minor acts of intimidation, terror and appeals to racial hatred.
>
> "'Germany, wake up!' was the slogan of Hitler in 1926, then an obscure agitator bankrolled by big capital in a Germany in the midst of economic crisis, ravaged by unemployment.
>
> "'France, wake up!' was the slogan of the leaflet distributed by the fascists two weeks ago in Rouen. Everything must be done to prevent this slogan from becoming the banner of all the despairing elements to be hurled against democratic organizations and labor."

In the united-front committee it was nevertheless necessary to combat the reformist arguments advanced by the PSU (United Socialist Party, a decrepit left social-democratic outfit) to the effect that the LTF was "fantasizing" about the fascists or (like the PS nationally) "we don't want to give them any publicity." The same refrain was echoed by LCR "observers." Yet even organizations and union militants quite distant from revolutionary Marxism rejected these shameful arguments for passivity. It's quite sufficient to open the morning papers to see the need to act. The call for working-class mobilization to stop the fascists met with a response from class-conscious militants: a petition for labor action circulated by LTF supporters at Renault-Cléon was signed by some 50 workers. But the PCF and CGT bureaucrats turned a blind eye to these proposals, thus blocking a genuine mass mobilization.

Individual CP/CGT militants broke with their organizations' cowardly misleadership to join the demonstration. Yet some CGT union officials even uttered openly racist sentiments in opposition to the march, *agreeing* with the fascists that immigrants were responsible for unemployment. As the LTF leaflet pointed out, the Euro-Stalinists' chauvinist call to "Produce French" and their racist anti-immigrant provocation at Vitry are counterposed to and block mobilization of the working class against the fascists. The LTF banner at the Rouen march proclaimed: "The Popular Front Disarms the Working Class! Crush the Fascist Vermin! Workers Self-Defense!"

The question of actually implementing working-class mobilization against the fascists was sharply posed by an incident on December 9 at the teachers college campus. At a meeting called by students to build for the Friday demonstration, an LTF member of the defense squad was obliged to use the necessary force to eject a couple of provocateurs of the royalist Action Française. The LCR argued, in the worst reformist manner, that these scum should be allowed to present their "arguments." But this line was defeated and the defense squad carried out its duties.

"No to NATO Popular Front of Cold War and Austerity!"

It was not surprising that two of the major ostensibly Trotskyist organizations in France were notable for their absence: the social-democratic Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), with its enthusiastic Stalinophobic support to Mitterrand, and the latter-day worker-priests of Lutte Ouvrière (LO), one of whose leaders dropped by the demonstration to observe that he didn't like "political speeches." As for the LCR, which has several times the forces of the LTF in Rouen, it initially "failed" to come to the meetings to organize the Mobilization Committee. Only when the LTF initiative began to pick up support, especially among the social-democratic CFDT leaders so assiduously tailed by the LCR (and who in Rouen are often ex-LCR members), did the Pabloists even give paper support to the demonstration.

Yet the LCR repeatedly refused to endorse the Mobilization Committee or participate in the united-front defense squad. When an LCR delegation was pushed as to why they had initially boycotted the committee but now suddenly wanted to support the demonstration, their local leader responded in exasperation, "What do you want me to say, that the LTF built a mass campaign and that the LCR had to tag along?"

Poster of Trotskyist-initiated united front in France: "Stop the Fascists!"

After having minimized the importance of the fascist attacks, LCR spokesmen then argued they should be allowed to attend meetings to build the march! Up to the last minute the Pabloists did their clumsy best to brake the momentum of the campaign. And while they did manage to turn out for the demonstration, though not for the defense squad, during the rally they disappeared, not even bothering to accept an invitation to speak.

The LCR's despicable role was the result of its support to Mitterrand's anti-working-class popular front, which ties the workers to the class enemy in the name of bourgeois "democracy." In their parliamentary cretinist framework, the fascists are not seen as a mortal danger to the working class but rather minor auxiliaries of the bourgeois opposition to Mitterrand. The LCR claims that the latter are plotting a Pinochet-style coup. Capitalist opposition to Mitterrand is real and may indeed take extraparliamentary form. But at this point such an "analysis" is panic-mongering to cover political support to social democracy. As its answer to the coup danger, the LCR proposes its latest social-patriotic gimmick of six months compulsory military service.

The Ligue Trotskyste, French section of the international Spartacist tendency, did not limit its intervention to building the united-front committee, calling for workers self-defense and "no platform for fascists." The LTF speaker at the rally warned against any confidence in Mitterrand: "From the beginning, we called on the workers to use strikes to fight against this NATO popular front of austerity and anti-Sovietism." Instead, he said, "We must continue the tradition of the Black Sea revolt in 1919, when French sailors solidarized with the Russian Revolution against their 'own' bourgeoisie." The social democrats' anti-Sovietism, he pointed out, aids the fascists. "We revolutionaries say: Freedom of expression is not the question. The fascists don't discuss, they strike! Workers self-defense to crush the fascists in the egg!"■

Solidarność Counterrevolutionary Plans Exposed

If anyone doubted that the anti-Communist leadership of Poland's Solidarność was planning to seize power in the name of the eagle, the cross and "the free world," these doubts were certainly laid to rest when someone turned over to the government tapes of a secret Solidarność leadership meeting in Radom on December 3. The authenticity of the tapes, repeatedly broadcast over state radio, is not denied by the participants.

According to a December 7 UPI dispatch, Warsaw region Solidarność chief Zbigniew Bujak asserted: "The government should be finally overthrown, unmasked and deprived of any credibility." He then proposed the establishment of workers guards to counter the state police. Jan Rulewski demanded a "transitory government" to stabilize the situation before the election of a new parliament.

That Bujak and Rulewski said these things isn't likely to surprise anyone since they have a reputation of being Solidarność hardliners. The leader who was really exposed by the Radom tape is the "moderate" Lech Walesa, who is shown up as a total dissembler. Walesa cultivates an image of a simple, honest workers leader, soft-hearted and even a bit soft-headed. The tapes show that this is an act to disguise his counterrevolutionary aims. "We should not speak loudly about confrontation," he advises his colleagues. "We have to say, 'We love you, we love socialism and the party and of course we love the Soviet Union'." But all this love talk is just a stratagem to buy more time for a counterrevolutionary mobilization:

> "The confrontation is unavoidable.... I wanted to reach the confrontation in a natural way, when almost all social groups were with us. But I made a mistake because I thought we would keep it up longer and then we would overthrow these parliaments and councils and so on."

Right after the first part of the Solidarność congress in early September, we concluded that "decisive elements of Solidarity are now pushing a program of open counterrevolution" and that "the whole activity and spirit of Solidarity is that of an organization making a bid for power" ("Stop Solidarity's Counterrevolution!" *WV* No. 289, 25 September). We did not have nor need access to tapes of secret leadership meetings to recognize this. The actual goals and intent of Solidarność were readily available in Western sources for anyone not blind to reality.

Willfully blind to this reality are the fake-Trotskyist opportunist outfits, most of which simply call the pro-imperialist, counterrevolutionary mobilization of Solidarność a developing proletarian political revolution. Black is called white. A few fake-Trotskyist groups, however, notably Workers Power in Britain and Peter Sollenberger's Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) in the U.S., tried to cover up Solidarność' counterrevolution by maintaining the organization is *too conciliatory* to the Stalinist regime. *Workers Power* (October 1981) informs us that the dominant tendency in Solidarność, "articulated in nationalist and Trade Union colours," is "towards accommodation with the Stalinist bureaucracy."

Likewise, the Sollenberger outfit is, if anything, even more blatant in its whitewash. It held up publication of its "monthly" *Workers Struggle* for a month and a half, reportedly in order to work out a line article on Poland (its first since over a year ago). And then it only mentions the danger of counterrevolution to deny that it exists:

> "For their own reasons, the Western capitalist press, the Soviet bureaucratic press and some of the more crazed elements of the American left have seized upon these weaknesses, blown them out of all proportion, and deliberately lied about the Polish working class, making the absurd claim that it seeks the restoration of capitalism in Poland. A simple review of the actions of the Gdansk congress shows this to be a blatant lie.
>
> "In fact, the *major* weakness of the Solidarity congress was that even the opposition was too conciliatory to the Polish bureaucracy and to the Walesa leadership." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Workers Struggle*, November 1981

The Radom tapes expose the sophistries of Workers Power and the RWL as clearly as they expose Walesa. The difference between the so-called Solidarność "moderates" and "radicals" is over timing and public posture, not final aims. As Walesa explained to his colleagues at the Radom meeting, he wanted to make the seizure of power *appear* as a gradual escalation rather than a confrontation forced by Solidarność. As defenders of the proletarian dictatorship, even if bureaucratically deformed as in Poland, we didn't need access to secret tapes to understand the reality and raise the battle cry: Stop Solidarność' Counterrevolution! ■

Poland...

(continued from page 1)

Solidarność leadership made an open bid for power, announcing a national referendum for the establishment of a temporary government and "free elections." Hours later the regime struck back, declaring a "state of war" under a Military Council of National Salvation. A thousand Solidarność leaders were reportedly detained, and, as a sop, five former Communist party leaders arrested—ex-party leader Edward Gierek and his close associates. While General Jaruzelski, the prime minister and party leader, insists this is not an army takeover, there is here a disturbing element of military bonapartism. In this there is perhaps a concession to anti-Communist nationalism. While the Stalinist party is utterly discredited, the army retains a certain popular authority as the embodiment of the national state, supposedly above politics. The Stalinists only make hypocritical reference to socialist forms, the acknowledgment that vice gives to virtue. But compared to the naked armed fist, those forms are important.

Imperialism and "Liberal" Stalinism

"Free trade unions" and "free elections" *for Poland* have become key slogans in Reagan's Cold War II, and the imposition of martial law will certainly be used to fuel the anti-Soviet war drive, especially in West Europe. In France, in particular, mass pro-Solidarność demonstrations have been held, led by Socialist Party notables, producing a "holy union" running from the fascists, royalists and Gaullists to social democrats and Stalinophobic fake-Trotskyists like the OCI and LCR. In the U.S., imperialist war criminal Henry Kissinger, a man directly responsible for the murder of millions of defenseless Vietnamese, condemns the crackdown on Solidarność as "a very grave offense against human freedom." When Kissinger speaks of "freedom" he means freedom to exploit the workers and peasants of the world, a "freedom" maintained by mass terror.

In the name of countering "the export of revolution" to El Salvador, American war materiel and Green Berets are propping up a kill-crazed junta. The racist apartheid South African regime becomes a central part of the "free world" in attacking Angola with Israeli-supplied weapons. In Afghanistan, the CIA arms Islamic reactionaries fighting along the southern border of the USSR to maintain feudal and pre-feudal slavery. Washington's ally China constantly menaces Vietnam, which heroically fought U.S. imperialist barbarism for decades. But it is in Poland that Reagan sees the best possibility to realize his counterrevolutionary designs against the Soviet Union by "rolling back" the postwar social and economic gains in East Europe. The seizure of power by Solidarność would mean a victory for Wall Street and the Pentagon, for the Common Market and the IMF, for bloody Latin American dictators and South African racists. The creation of a "free world" Poland on the western borders of the USSR would bring much closer the dreadful prospect of anti-Soviet nuclear holocaust.

If today much of the Polish working class looks to Western imperialism for salvation, this is not simply a response to the terror of the Stalin period which gradually trailed off into abuse and mismanagement under Gomulka and then Gierek. An earlier crime of Stalinism destroyed the important traditions of international communism in Poland. Thousands of Polish Communist militants who fled to the USSR from the fascistic dictatorship of Pilsudski were killed in the purges of the late '30s. The Polish Communist Party itself was officially liquidated, and then Nazi occupation finished the job of beheading the Polish proletariat, especially its important Jewish component. The post-1945 ruling bureaucracy was, therefore, largely constructed from purely careerist elements who lacked even the degenerated Communist traditions of the old Stalinists.

The present crisis is, above all, a reaction to the bankruptcy of *liberal* Stalinism. When in 1956 Wladyslaw Gomulka came to power in the wake of the Poznan uprising, he promised the widest workers democracy. Then he turned and suppressed the workers councils and leftist intellectuals who had supported him against the hardline Stalinists, while at the same time strengthening the position of the Catholic church and the smallholding peasantry. When Gierek replaced Gomulka after the 1970 Baltic coast workers' uprising, he promised unparalleled prosperity. Then he ruinously mortgaged Poland's wealth to Western bankers and also ruinously subsidized the landowning peasants. So after this repeated experience, when the Polish workers rose again in the summer of 1980 they now looked to the powerful Catholic church opposition and nationalist dissidents, behind whom stands Western imperialism. For a year the clerical-reactionary leadership of Solidarność around Lech Walesa stopped short of calling for the overthrow of the official "Communist" system (a bureaucratically deformed workers state) and its replacement with (bourgeois) "democracy." Now the mask has fallen.

What Next in Poland?

The Warsaw regime's preventive coup is apparently effective. Solidarność activists at large are agitating for a nationwide general strike. While news reports from Poland are very scanty, reported strikes appear to be limited to particular Solidarność strongholds and there seems to be little serious active resistance to the martial law. It remains possible, especially given the desperate economic conditions, that anti-Communist agitators in and around Solidarność could provoke mass protests which could escalate into violence and even civil war. Under these conditions Soviet military intervention could well be the only available means to suppress counterrevolution. But it is by far in the best interests of the working class that Solidarity's counterrevolutionary bid for power be pushed aside as quietly, quickly and bloodlessly as possible.

In the course of heading off the bid for power by capitalist-restorationist elements, a number of Solidarność leaders have been arrested. The right to strike and protest have been suspended, a curfew imposed, Poland's borders sealed, telephone and telegraph communications interrupted or cut off. As the immediate counterrevolutionary threat passes, these martial law measures must be ended, including release of the Solidarność leaders. A Trotskyist vanguard seeks to defeat them *politically*, by mobilizing the Polish working class in its true class interests.

For Trotskyists, the current Polish crisis powerfully reaffirms the need for proletarian political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucracies, particularly brittle in East Europe. In its scale and *form*, the social mobilization around Solidarność demonstrates the power of the working class to take control of society. Yet coming under the influence of the Catholic church and the leadership of neo-Pilsudskiite nationalists and pro-Western social democrats, the social *content* of Solidarność is profoundly *anti*-proletarian. A proletarian-internationalist workers movement in Poland can be rebuilt only under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard with a program of revolutionary unity between the Polish and Russian workers. This unity, necessarily directed against the Stalinist bureaucracies, is key to defense of the collectivized economies and the gains of October. ■

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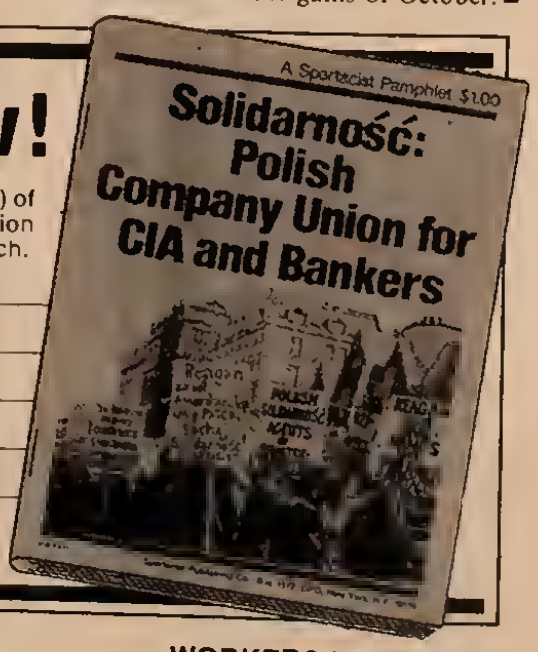

Reds...

(continued from page 3)

capitalist than the social democracy it split from to form revolutionary parties. In *Reds* we see an excellent scene portraying the famous Socialist Party split convention in Chicago, at which the SP leadership called the cops on Reed and the Communists. And we hear Reed denounce the social democrats for calling the cops, the armed fist of the capitalist state. There is a logic in reformists calling the cops on revolutionaries. They continue to do it today. On the streets of New York and Chicago it is the Stalinists of the CP who call the cops on the revolutionary Trotskyists of the Spartacist League.

John Reed and the Comintern

In *Reds*, history is seen through Reed's vision—which was sometimes right and sometimes wrong on the issues. Reed was right in his battle with Louis Fraina to stay in the Socialist Party, in order to win over militants who supported the Russian Revolution but were not yet ready to form a Communist Party. Fraina originally agreed with this perspective but capitulated to the sectarian foreign language federations whose members' hearts were really in South and East Europe. The split was premature and terribly crippling for the early American Communist movement. The Reed/Gitlow tendency was correct to insist on the importance of developing an American-born leadership.

Reds is accurate in pointing out the demagogic aspects of the Baku Congress of Peoples of the East in 1920. Zinoviev did indeed call for an Islamic "jihad" (holy war). This call for religious holy war was an aberration of Communist International (Comintern) policy toward the colonial regions. Surely Beatty was reflecting on Khomeini's Iran, as many reformist organizations hailed Khomeini's mullah "jihad" in part on the authority of the Baku Congress. But Reed was right: communists are for class war against imperialism, not holy war.

The film also stressed accurately the sharp political confrontation between Reed and some of the leaders of the Comintern. It is with the figure of Zinoviev, sharply insisting on the party's monopoly of truth, that Beatty does make some concessions to anti-Communist stereotype. Yet as Reed's desire to return home by the holidays is portrayed in the film, in the midst of the Russian Civil War, we do not find Zinoviev's sharp and angry objections to this powerful propagandist's taking off to be out of line.

Reds can leave the impression that Reed was always right and the Comintern always wrong. This was by no means the case. Taking Reed's view there is an implicit tendency to line up behind American exceptionalism against the Comintern, which was dominated by the enormous authority of the victorious Russian revolutionaries.

In fact the early Communist movement in America was sectarian, wooden and wrongheaded in all of its permanently warring factions. It is a very good thing for the cause of American communism that the Comintern and Lenin in particular intervened before it was too late. There was not a principled basis for two Communist parties, and the Comintern was quite correct to arrange the shotgun fusion between the Reed/Gitlow group and the Fraina group by refusing to recognize either as the official section. Each would have been qualitatively weaker than the fused party.

Reed and Fraina were united at the Second Congress of the Comintern on the American trade-union question—the entire American Communist movement was dual unionist, rejecting on "revolutionary" principle work in reactionary trade unions. After years of fighting the A.F. of L., they mistakenly clung either to passive propagandistic notions of revolution (the foreign language federations) or to an IWW syndicalist idea of mass action (Reed). The question was not the Wobblies (by 1919 in decline, in part due to state repression) versus the A.F. of L., as presented by Reed in *Reds*, but whether communist work in established reformist-led trade unions was needed at all. Essentially the U.S. section had to be fought with to adopt a realistic trade-union policy.

Another vital Comintern intervention—not dealt with by *Reds*—was on the black question. The early Communists, reflecting the Debsian Socialist Party policies of benign neglect or outright white chauvinism on the race question, ignored the special racial oppression of blacks, reducing it to simply an economic question. The Russian Bolsheviks, principally Lenin, cut through this, as James P. Cannon wrote:

> "Under constant prodding and pressure from the Russians in the Comintern, the party made a beginning with Negro work.... The old theory of American radicalism turned out in practice to be a formula for inaction on the Negro front, and—incidentally—a convenient shield for the dormant prejudices of the white radicals themselves. The Russian intervention changed all that.... After November, 1917 this new doctrine—with special emphasis on the Negroes—began to be transmitted to the American communist movement with the authority of the Russian Revolution behind it...."
>
> —"The Russian Revolution and the American Negro Movement," appendix to Cannon, *The First Ten Years of American Communism*

Reed fought doggedly and openly for his positions in the Comintern—a powerful indictment of its later bureaucratic destruction by Stalin. Only a few years later heads would roll for far less. As Theodore Draper noted, in those days:

> "It was possible to defy the highest leaders of the Comintern, to stand up openly and fearlessly for what one believed, to go down to defeat proclaiming victory for one's ideas the next time, and to be rewarded with the highest honor bestowed by the Comintern on its most faithful servants. John Reed proved that it was possible—in 1920."
>
> —*The Roots of American Communism*

Reed's death before the Stalinist degeneration of the Russian Revolution makes it possible for all sides on the left to claim him. Even middle-class intellectuals argue that had he lived he would certainly have gone the way of Max Eastman into the camp of imperialist Cold War. There are even "disillusionment" stories about Reed, originating from a series of contradictory statements by Louise Bryant and Emma Goldman. Certainly Reed had contradictions, but it is at least clear that this impulsive and powerful man up until his death was on a trajectory from observer to committed party revolutionary. Reed intended to carry on his arguments within the Comintern—hardly the perspective of disillusionment. It is to *Reds*' credit that it doesn't buy the apocrypha of "disillusionment." Perhaps Reed's essential honesty as a political leader inspired Beatty as a filmmaker. ■

Reed vs. Stalin

"Ten Days That Shook the World"

John Reed was the most important American popularizer of the Russian Revolution. His columns in the pages of the *Liberator* stirred radical Americans to the support of the Bolsheviks and their October. Reed's main political accomplishment and literary masterpiece is *Ten Days That Shook the World*, the classic account of the Bolshevik Revolution. The book was such an honest and inspiring account, filled with eyewitness vignettes of the seizure of power, that it won a ringing endorsement from Lenin, who wrote an introduction for it in 1919:

> "With the greatest interest and with never slackening attention I read John Reed's book, *Ten Days That Shook the World*. Unreservedly do I recommend it to the workers of the world. Here is a book which I should like to see published in millions of copies and translated into all languages. It gives a truthful and most vivid exposition of the events so significant to the comprehension of what really is the Proletarian Revolution and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

But after Lenin's death Stalin found that the thunderous proletarian internationalism of *Ten Days* clashed with his counterrevolutionary bureaucratic theme of "socialism in one country." Furthermore, Reed's honest account, in which Lenin and Trotsky figure as co-leaders of the revolution while Stalin is barely mentioned, undermined the developing Stalinist mythology, in which Trotsky was erased from history and Stalin was painted as Lenin's right-hand man. Thus when Stalin launched his attacks on "Trotskyism" in the early '20s, Reed posthumously came under fire as well:

> "Rumours are being vigorously spread among members of the Party that the Central Committee as a whole was opposed to an uprising in October 1917. The usual story is that on October 10, when the Central Committee adopted the decision to organize the uprising, the majority of the Central Committee at first spoke against an uprising, but, so the story runs, at that moment a worker burst in on the meeting of the Central Committee and said: 'You are deciding against an uprising, but I tell you that there will be an uprising all the same, in spite of everything.' And so, after that threat, the story runs, the Central Committee, which is alleged to have become frightened, raised the question of an uprising afresh and adopted a decision to organize it.
>
> "This is not merely a rumour, comrades. It is related by the well-known John Reed in his book *Ten Days*. Reed was remote from our Party and, of course, could not know the history of our secret meeting on October 10, and, consequently, he was taken in by the gossip spread by people like Sukhanov. This story was later passed round and repeated in a number of pamphlets written by Trotskyites."
>
> —Stalin, "Trotskyism or Leninism?" November 1924, *Collected Works*, Vol. 6

In its essence, Reed's account was accurate: the fact is the Bolshevik Central Committee at first *did* waver on the question of the insurrection in October 1917, and Zinoviev and Kamenev openly threatened to split the party over the question. Reed simply could not know that the "worker" referred to was Lenin himself, who spent agonizing days in October trying to win over the sluggish CC to the idea that insurrection was now on the agenda. Lenin felt so strongly about the deadly danger posed by this initial hesitation that he even threatened to resign from the Central Committee and go to the party rank and file, stating "there is a tendency...among the leaders of our party which...is *opposed* to taking power immediately" and castigating the shameful sluggishness and "unwillingness of the Central Committee even to consider this question" (Alexander Rabinowitch, *The Bolsheviks Come to Power*).

Lenin won over the Central Committee instead, with the exception of Zinoviev and Kamenev, who then themselves threatened to split the party on the question. Only nine days after the famous October 10 Central Committee meeting referred to by Stalin, Lenin sent a letter to the CC denouncing Zinoviev and Kamenev as "strikebreakers" whose "threat of a split" must be answered by their expulsion from the party. By 1924 Stalin felt compelled to attack Reed in order to cover up his own role and that of his new-found bloc partners, Zinoviev and Kamenev.

Reed's book was so widely read and moving that the Stalinists found it useful to use his name by forming "John Reed Clubs" in the U.S. in the early '30s—until the big turn to the Popular Front in 1936, when the proletarian internationalism of *Ten Days* became an embarrassment in the search for bourgeois respectability. Then the John Reed Clubs and *Ten Days* were ditched. But the book remains a source of proletarian inspiration, and indirectly demolishes Stalinist theories of "socialism in one country"—as in this excerpt of the scene at the Congress of Soviets on November 8, right after the seizure of power when the Bolsheviks were accused of establishing an isolated and doomed regime:

> "And now Trotzky stood upon the raised tribune, confident and dominating, with that sarcastic expression about his mouth which was almost a sneer. He spoke, in a ringing voice, and the great crowd rose to him.
>
> "'They speak of the necessity for a coalition. There is only one coalition possible—the coalition of the workers, soldiers and poorest peasants; and it is our party's honor to have realized that coalition....
>
> "'There are only two alternatives; either the Russian Revolution will create a revolutionary movement in Europe, or the European powers will destroy the Russian Revolution!'
>
> "They greeted him with an immense crusading acclaim, kindling to the daring of it, with the thought of championing mankind. And from that moment there was something conscious and decided about the insurrectionary masses, in all their actions, which never left them."

In his introduction to *Ten Days That Shook the World*, British historian A.J.P. Taylor caught the essential problem for the Stalinists with Reed's book:

> "In Reed's book Stalin was barely mentioned and Trotsky was the hero of it. The book was banned along with its hero. In the years since Stalin's death, Reed's book has received a grudging tolerance from the Communists and no more. For while Stalin's other victims have been rehabilitated, Trotsky can still not be mentioned and yet no account of the Bolshevik revolution can be given without him. To the present day a citizen of the Soviet Union can find no book—Reed's or any other—to tell him in detail how his state was born. Reed's book will survive the ban. It stands unrivalled as a monument to the Bolshevik revolution and to its two leaders, Lenin and Trotsky."

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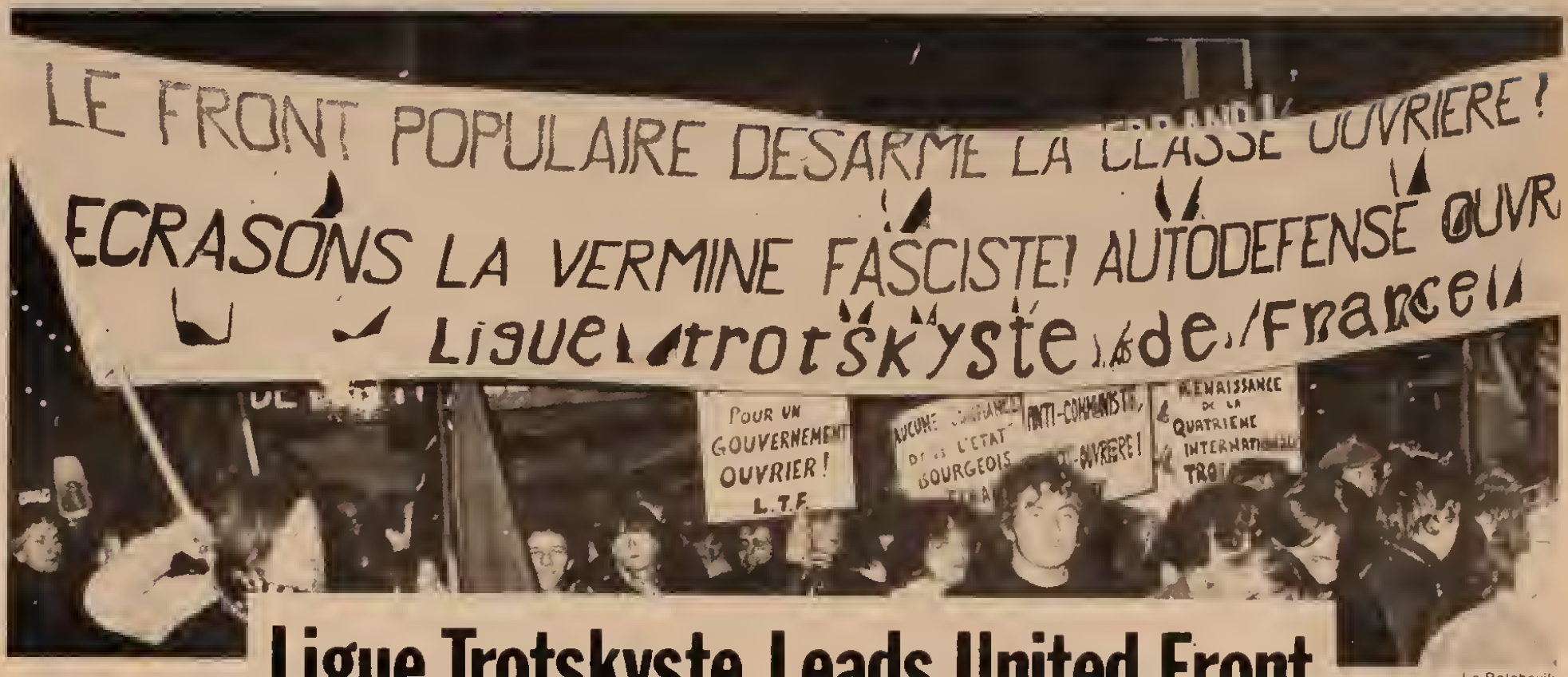

Le Bolchevik

Ligue Trotskyste Leads United Front

Unionists Mobilize to Stop French Fascists

ROUEN, France—The city of Rouen, regional center of Upper Normandy, saw one of the largest and most combative leftist demonstrations in years as more than 400 people turned out on Friday, December 11 to protest against a recent series of fascist provocations. This was a genuine united-front labor mobilization in one of the industrial and maritime centers of northern France (including the Renault-Cléon auto plant, which played an important role in the worker-student upheaval of May 1968). Nearly half the demonstration consisted of a contingent of some 200 trade unionists which linked up with the militant traditions of struggle against the fascists by the Rouen-area working class.

As the demonstrators gathered at the assembly point on the banks of the Seine, word spread that the local fascist hangout—a café called "Le Métropole"—had been closed up tight specially, in anticipation of the march passing before it. As banners unfurled and the contingents formed up, the crowd chanted "Stop the fascists!" and "Workers, French and immigrant, same boss, same fight!" The march made its way through the length of the city center, slogans echoing off the cathedral and surrounding buildings, and ended up at the railroad station where a short rally was addressed by speakers from some of the organizations supporting the demonstration.

Initiated by the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF), the demonstration was supported by several local trade unions and numerous individual militants. The poster for the march was signed by the CFDT hospital workers local, postal workers local and teachers local, as well as five left-wing political organizations, three civil rights associations and two immigrant defense organizations. It was also signed by seven individual Communist Party members, and a number of members of the CP-led CGT union federation attended, particularly from Renault-Cléon and the local Shell and Baroclem refineries.

The march was organized by the Mobilization Committee Against the Fascists on the demand, "[We Must] Stop the Fascists!" The bureaucrats were reluctant to mobilize heavily, looking instead to the Mitterrand popular-front government to counter the fascist threat. When a Socialist (PS) local office in Paris was attacked recently, PS national leaders opposed mass mobilization, arguing the "necessity of not setting off a cycle of violence"! However, the Rouen demonstration appealed not to the bosses' state but to working-class action. And the Mobilization Committee's official defense squad was prepared to translate this perspective into action: on three occasions it chased away handfuls of fascists skulking around the edge of the march. As our spokesman at the concluding rally put it:

> "I'm a worker at Cléon and a member of the LTF. For several weeks, together with my organization I have been working to mobilize workers at Cléon. There are 15 of us here today. I believe that if the Cléon workers, the chemical workers, the dockers from the port mobilize, the Nazis will be driven back into their holes like rats.
>
> "You can't count on this government to get rid of them either. Now when the fascists are raising their heads around the country, the government is protecting the enemies of the workers by saying that you shouldn't make them too important by fighting against them. *We must stop the fascists!*"

Fascist Provocations Escalate

In recent weeks, fascist goon squads have stepped up their attacks. In Paris, after wrecking the PS office in late October, they sacked a leftist publisher, EDI (which publishes Trotsky's *Writings*), on November 26 and a few days later attacked CP newspaper salesmen in several open markets in the capital. At Rouen, for nearly two years the royalists of Action Française have harassed and threatened the far left. Rather than being a nostalgic monarchist sect, AF in Rouen works hand in glove with local fascists, serving as advance scouts. In March of this year a joint royalist/fascist commando appeared to threaten LTF salesmen, chanting "Kill, kill the communists!"

The point of confrontation between the far left and these reactionary scum has been the train station located in the center of the city. Again and again, leftist groups have had to band together in order to protect their right to sell at the Rouen station. On November 13 the LTF initiated a united mobilization of left organizations, bolstered by commuting workers coming out of the station, which succeeded in chasing away the royalists. The following week the royalists and fascists returned in force to avenge this defeat. Once again they were repulsed by a mobilization of leftists, but were able to regroup and counterattack when the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR—pseudo-Trotskyist fraternal organization of the American SWP) precipitously withdrew from the station.

The need for a massive labor-centered response was now starkly posed. The issue was now citywide in scope and no longer a simple question of defending sales at the stations. The fascists of the Front National had launched a campaign around a local rape case (perpetrated by a mixed group of French and Algerian youth) in order to whip up a racist frenzy against immigrant workers. They also tried to cash in on the Cold War atmosphere with a leaflet against the "Soviet danger." And they had extended their attacks to the local campus, where a member of the LCR was attacked and tear-gassed, leading to hospitalization.

This rash of fascist gangsterism reflects the fact that these vermin are hoping to capitalize on the growing unemployment to step up their drive against immigrant workers and exploit anti-Soviet pronouncements of the social-democratic Mitterrand/Mauroy government to lend their fanatical anti-Communism an air of respectability. The fascists have infested Rouen, and it is obvious that they mean business with their terror attacks. Two months ago, a local fascist leader and ex-mercenary, Danet, was arrested on charges of arms trafficking.

"For Workers Self-Defense!"

That the Ligue Trotskyste, with its modest forces and implantation in Rouen, was able to galvanize a successful demonstration of 400 worker and leftist militants testified to the power of our program for labor mobilization against the fascists. Our demands and class-struggle strategy received a wide hearing not only among union members

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SUBJECT INDEX

Workers Vanguard—2 January to 18 December 1981 (Issues Nos. 271-295)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1981, from issue No. 271 (2 January) through the end-of-the-year issue No. 295 (18 December). During this time, *WV* was published bi-weekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Civil War in El Salvador, #272, 16 Jan. (12, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 272, 16 January 1981, beginning on page 12 and continuing on page 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Unemployment—See **Auto Workers: General, Chryster Bankruptcy; Steel Workers.**

  means that articles on unemployment can be found by going to the subject head **AUTO WORKERS** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **Chrysler Bankruptcy** and by going to the subject head **STEEL WORKERS.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primerily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Wilmington Ten) will be found under **CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases.**
- Articles on historical aspects of the Marxist movement are listed under **HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT.**
- Abbreviations used in entries are:
  - C: Correction
  - L: Letter
  - S: Series
  - R: Review

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